

TANGIBLE – INTANGIBLE HERITAGE(S)

DESIGN, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CRITIQUES ON THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

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Tangible – Intangible Heritage(s)

Design, social and cultural critiques on the past,
the present and the future

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INTRODUCTION

Volume 2:

This publication is the product of the Tangible – Intangible Heritage(s) – Design, social and cultural critiques on the past, the present and the future held at the University of East London in 2018. It was premised on the following provocation:

In a time when the construction of New Towns is on the agenda in UK; when climate change threatens historic cities and landscapes in Asia; when the cultural industries turn our art and architectural history into economic models of development; when entire cities are being built from scratch across rural China; and socio-economic change is destroying industrial communities leaving people in the West in search for answers from politicians like Donald Trump, what can we mean by 'heritage'? Our built environment of buildings, towns, cities and infrastructures are always, at inception, visions of a future. They also become – very quickly – the markings of the past. Framed as architectural history, these markings tend to be what we think of when discussing heritage. However, heritage is more than this. It is equally a question of artistic and media representations of the present and the past; the social milieus we destroy or reinforce as economies fade or grow; the societies we construct through varying forms of city governance; the artistic and political legacies we use as points of rupture in building the future.

On this basis it suggested we cannot think of heritage in reductive terms, neither as isolated objects or images nor as a purely historic phenomenon. It argued that the decisions we take about this 'heritage' today are not only based on the past, they will inform the future. Consequently, in redefining heritage as a historic, artistic, design, media, social, political, and economic issue, it attempted to open up the concept to a reading that is interdisciplinary. In questioning these relationships over time, it sought to understand the past in light of the present and identify creative ways of operating in a globalised future.

This publication reflects the diversity of responses that emerged in the conference and is split into two issues. Both the publication, and the conference which it documents, were organised by the research organisation AMPS, the academic journal Architecture_MPS, the publication organization Parade and the Department of Architecture at the University of East London.

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“A RIGHT TO AN OPINION”: POST-BLITZ PLANNING EXHIBITIONS AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN RECONSTRUCTING LONDON, 1943-1951

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“The private citizen should have at any rate the opportunity of saying what he thinks, for although I would not go as far as to endorse that business slogan that ‘the customer is always right’ I would at least concede that the customer has a right to an opinion. From the moment that the Plan is launched you can think of London as a vast forum in which authorities and others I have mentioned will subject it to analysis, admiration, energetic attack and constructive criticism.”¹

Five days before the opening of the County of London Plan Exhibition, Lord Latham, the leader of the London County Council (LCC), announced the start of an era of not only reconstructing London but also reconstructing the town planning process. Prior to World War II, experts planned for the public but not with the public. With this speech, Lord Latham formally called for public opinions on reconstructing the blitzed remains of London. From September 1940 to May 1941, the Nazis led nightly aerial attacks, known as the *blitzkrieg* or Blitz, on London’s industrial centers. Combined with the prewar problems of traffic congestion, population density, and overcrowded housing, the Blitz forced London to rebuild. The question was how, and post-Blitz planning exhibitions attempted to present citizens with the tools to answer this question for themselves.² Despite Latham’s words, there was no guarantee that the public would respond to this question or that the planners would implement their opinions.³ Regardless, the attempts to engage the public represented a diversification of planning discourse, as the public were a resource of new ideas and hopes that could help London reemerge as a foremost global city.⁴

This condensed version of a Colgate University History Honors Thesis seeks to further the historiography on planning exhibitions and public participation in twentieth century town planning. The scholarship on this niche field centers on Keith Lilley’s 2003 question of “planning exhibitions as civic propaganda or public consultation?”⁵ Instead of placing exhibitions on the spectrum of propaganda and consultation, I analyze the nuanced interactions between the planners and the public. With Peter Larkham, Lilley has identified ninety planning exhibitions in London in the decade after the Blitz.⁶ I focus on three exhibitions that represented official, albeit non-statutory, reconstruction plans for London: 1943 County of London Plan Exhibition, 1945 Greater London Plan Exhibition, and 1951 Poplar Architecture Exhibition at the Festival of Britain. Each one of these exhibitions attracted more than 70,000 visitors and helped expose the public to the various proposals.⁷ I argue that, in the context of planning exhibitions, the planners genuinely attempted to engage the public in reconstruction, and

the public genuinely tried to get involved in expert-led dialogues. Neither of these attempts was entirely successful. While the general public were eager to request further information on planning, they were hesitant and ill equipped to enter discussions on technical planning proposals. Likewise, without members of the public voicing their opinions on reconstruction, the planners did not have a complete understanding of the citizens' needs.

I compiled the archival evidence presented in this paper in three archives: The United Kingdom National Archives, the London Metropolitan Archives, and the Royal Institute of British Architects Library. Surviving letters from planners and the public, newspaper editorials, official reports, exhibition materials, and minutes are the foundation of this research. The voices of public officials dominate the archival record. In all three archives combined, I found fewer than three-dozen public letters to planners in contrast to folders of official minutes and reports. Similarly, the few surviving photographs of the exhibitions mainly show “distinguished visitors,” a term used by the Festival of Britain Architecture Council, rather than the public.⁸ I suspect that more letters and photos existed. However, these materials may not have survived or are hidden in private and undocumented collections. This paucity of popular documentation skews the understanding of the exhibitions towards planners' perspectives and provides one explanation for why the roles of the public are underexplored in secondary scholarship. Since 1940s exhibitions intended to place the voices of the public alongside those of the planners, this paper intends to create a place for the ongoing coexistence of these voices in contemporary understandings of mid-century planning.

THE PLANNERS' EFFORTS

The planners had the money and power to redevelop London without engaging the public, but they chose to use planning exhibitions as a means of fostering public interest and soliciting feedback on reconstruction. As a result, the final reconstruction plans differed greatly from the planners' original proposals. Planning the exhibitions took months or even years, leaving the planners ample time to discuss the best methods of public engagement. Despite these discussions, the planners sometimes incorrectly inferred the needs of the public, which presents one possible reason why the public were not ready to consult on the proposals themselves. Nevertheless, even if planners did not fully understand the needs of the people, they understood the need to include the people in planning. It is impossible to know the planners' full rationale behind the commendable decision to encourage public involvement or the extent to which they used public participation for political gain. They may have felt that including citizens in planning conversations would increase the morale of a war-torn population. The planners appear to have considered public engagement as part of their job, as evidenced by a report from the Poplar Architecture Exhibition aptly called “The Job of the Planner.” This report listed the stages of a planner's job. Stage six of nine was to put the “plan up for public discussion.”⁹

In staging the exhibitions, the planners focused on a range of factors with the potential to influence public visitation numbers, response, and experience. These factors included exhibition space, display, and, as this paper covers primarily, language. The unpublished revision process of a County of London Plan Exhibition advertisement demonstrates the ways in which the planners altered their language to cater to public interests:

This is an Exhibition of vital importance to every Londoner; ~~which must~~ it will also interest all other English men and women, whose capital city it concerns. Here are the results of years of research and planning by experts for the post-war reconstruction and redevelopment of the County of London, displayed in a series of arresting plans and photographs. These explain the whole purpose of this great PLAN... the causes leading to its conception, and the results which it hopes to achieve-

Some of the ~~vast~~ problems it covers are Traffic and Communications; Housing; Reconstruction of bombed areas; provision of Open Spaces; zoning of Social and Industrial communities; Schools; Hospitals; Utility Services, and a thousand other matters of general concern. The plans displayed are full of interest and the whole exhibition provides a fascinating study for all thoughtful people...

This advertisement led with the importance of the plans to every man and woman across the country instead of with the experts' planning proposals, suggesting that the public had the foremost role in reconstruction. By striking "and the means by which it is proposed to carry them out," the planners eliminated the risk of presenting the plan as finalized and left it open to both public interpretation and feedback. The change of "easy to understand" to "full of interest" increased the public's role in planning, as promoting interest rather than understanding demonstrated an attempt to encourage the public to formulate their own ideas on reconstruction. The advertisement simply presented the types of problems the County of London Plan addressed and how the exhibition displayed the proposal. It gave individuals a practical idea of what to expect during their visit.¹⁰

The Greater London Plan and corresponding exhibition were direct extensions of the County of London Plan. Patrick Abercrombie produced both plans with the intent of reducing traffic, population, and housing congestion in the postwar years. While the County of London Plan only applied to the area under the jurisdiction of the LCC, the Greater London Plan covered all 143 localities in Greater London.¹¹ A caption from the Greater London Plan Exhibition shows the similarities between these exhibitions' intents:

The purpose of this Exhibition is to help Londoners—
for their own sakes
for the sake of their children
for the sake of all those, the world over, who love London
to understand and debate, before final decisions are taken.¹²

Like its predecessor, the Greater London Plan Exhibition showcased the malleability of the proposal and need to foster a public interest and dialogue in planning. Placing planning debates in the context of children's futures increased the stakes of reconstruction and the public's incentive to influence the plan's implementation. Beyond exhibition language, Sir Stephen Tallents, the Chairman of the Greater London Plan Exhibition Committee, capitalized on the County of London Plan Exhibition's success in attracting visitors with maps, charts, three-dimensional models, and a souvenir brochure.

All three exhibitions presented colloquial versions of reconstruction proposals. The planners recognized that their proposals contained technical details about population density, traffic regulations, and engineering that would be difficult for people without a formal planning education to understand. They ensured that the public understood the basics of town planning with colorful maps, charts, and "the language of the everyday."¹³ In her comments on the Poplar Architecture Exhibition brochure, scriptwriter Jaqueline Tyrwhitt stated that she aimed the exhibition's language at "the British Schoolchild (of say 12-14) and the Foreign Visitor (with a limited knowledge of the English language). If these two find the exhibition interesting, understandable and convincing, others will not be bored."¹⁴ Tyrwhitt and other planners succeeded in ensuring the visitors were not "bored," as evidenced by letters in which the public declared their excitement towards the exhibitions and the planning process. The over-simplified language, however, did not succeed in ensuring visitors were informed sufficiently to engage in planning debates. Members of the public asked the planners for exhibition materials and copies of the plans. They wanted to study technical details and lead community discussions on these ideas. The only people who complained that the presentations of the plans were "too technical for the

ordinary person to take in” were specialists in planning or architecture.¹⁵ Ultimately, by trying to guarantee the public understood the gist of town planning, the planners left the public unprepared and uncomfortable suggesting reconstruction ideas to experts.

THE PUBLIC’S INQUIRIES AND THE PLANNERS’ RESPONSES

Due to the planners’ efforts, the public presented inquiries in three forms: verbal requests, written requests, and written feedback. In an ironic twist, after asking for consultation in the form of criticisms and suggestions, planners primarily received requests for guided tours and exhibition material loans. The limited input they received usually focused on improving the exhibitions rather than the planning proposals.

Verbal requests are the least common type of inquiry documented in the archival record, as they likely occurred through casual conversations at the exhibitions. However, the few documented cases of verbal requests mentioned in letters and diaries strongly suggest that the planners genuinely valued public feedback. At the Poplar Architecture Exhibition, staff members kept a diary on the public reactions they observed throughout the day. This diary does not document public complaints about the proposals, as it appears these complaints did not exist. Instead it included visitor qualms about the quality of the cafeteria, poor directions from the carpark, and lack of publicity for a change in hours. In response to the last complaint, the exhibition opened early multiple times to appease eager visitors, showcasing again the planners’ willingness to cater to citizens.¹⁶ Similarly, at the Greater London Plan Exhibition, staff member T.C. Coote forwarded the visitors’ stated desire for more chairs to Tallents. The need for chairs suggests that the public were interested in learning about reconstruction. They wanted a space to stop and reflect on the proposals or to rest after spending a long time walking around the exhibition. As requested, the planners added more chairs.¹⁷ While issues with food, parking, and chairs seem like minor nuisances, they greatly affected the visitors’ experience and comfort at the exhibitions. The planners’ willingness to respond to small public requests showed citizens that their voices mattered in exhibition issues and major planning debates, even if the public were not ready to enter these conversations.

Educators asking for exhibition materials or guided tours formed the bulk of the written requests the planners received. Yet, regardless of true intentions, the planners could not fulfill some requests due to wartime restrictions. In a series of letters, Ada Barry, the Mistress at Lode Heath Junior School, asked Eric Salmon, the Clerk of the LCC, if she could “beg or borrow” the hemispherical map on display after the conclusion of the County of London Plan Exhibition. She wanted to permanently install the map in her school of “1,000 pupils who would never have a chance otherwise of seeing or learning from such a glorious map.” Salmon responded that he had to deconstruct the map. It was made of a large amount of hardboard—a construction material used as a wood replacement during resource rationing. Barry offered to trade an equal amount of cardboard for permanent usage of the map, emotionally replying, “it seems unbelievable that such a marvelous piece of educational apparatus should be scrapped for the sake of a bit of cardboard which I am sure we can obtain.” In his final reply, Salmon explained that, despite the educational value of the map, the LCC was only able to build the map under the condition that it would revert back to its intended use. Although Salmon could not fulfill Barry’s request, this series of letters represents a genuine conversation between a planner and a member of the public. Salmon took the time to explain to Barry the differences between cardboard and hardboard and thoroughly explained why her school could not use the map. This letter exchange reads as a conversation between equals rather than a superior and subordinate.¹⁸

Despite these limitations, the County of London Plan Exhibition planners created a compromise in order to address the “considerable number of requests” for lectures and exhibition material loans.¹⁹ J.H.

Forshaw, Abercrombie's collaborator on the County of London Plan, advocated for the creation of lantern slides and lecture scripts in a report to the LCC Civil Defence and General Purposes Committee. These slides and scripts allowed community members to lead lectures and spread planning ideas to individuals who did not have the chance to visit the official exhibitions. In 1946, the town of Hastings hosted a satellite exhibition of the County of London and Greater London plans based on these materials.²⁰ Thus, while the official exhibitions remained open for a fixed amount of time, their main ideas diffused across the country in the weeks, months, and even years to come.

This continual diffusion of information allowed the public to develop ideas on planning before confronting an expert. Challenging authority in a wartime and early postwar society that discouraged individuality was a daunting task for many citizens. While urging public consultation immediately after the exhibitions was a respectable idea, it was not feasible in a society in which people rarely had been asked for opinions before and were not able to obtain full technical understandings.²¹ The public never gained the full confidence to consult on planning proposals in the decade after the Blitz. Still, citizens found a less daunting way to at least engage in a dialogue with the planners. The public submitted ideas for planning the Festival of Britain. One citizen, identified in a newspaper editorial only by the initials R.D., suggested the Festival provide a "plentiful supply of good coffee" to foreign visitors.²² A man named Merton Tester submitted a more substantial idea. He encouraged the Festival of Britain to present architecture "as an art form to be enjoyed in the same way as painting or sculpture" through the use of photographs and drawings. The Council already had planned to use these types of materials in the exhibition, so Tester's suggestion likely reinforced rather than altered the planners' views. Regardless, this document shows an individual's eagerness to "enjoy" planning and the planners' willingness to consider public consultation.²³

In summation, the public became active participants in the planning process without submitting technical planning suggestions. They engaged in dialogues with the planners through requests for exhibition materials and information. These requests supported the planners' prediction that the public would develop interests in planning. Although these exhibitions did not manifest into the public consultation that the planners expected, they were not failures. Requests for information and suggestions on the Festival of Britain were productive steps towards consultation, and the planners' responses to these requests showed their dedication to public consultation. Both the public and the planners thus contributed to the gradual evolution of a more democratic planning process. Today, we can use these post-Blitz planning exhibitions as inspiration and continue to strive for, as the title of a County of London Plan Exhibition lecture states, "[p]lanning by the People for the People."²⁴

NOTES

¹ Lord Latham, Transcribed Speech to a Press Conference at the County Hall, July 9, 1943, County of London Plan Exhibition Records, LCC/CL/TP/01/042, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, UK (hereafter LMA).

² Laurence Ward, *The London County Council Bomb Damage Maps 1939-1945*, (Harlow: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2016), 24.

³ In regards to terminology, I use the word “planner” to refer to both the creators of the town planning proposals and the creators of the exhibitions. When I discuss the public, I am referring primarily to individuals in the working and middle classes. I recognize, however, that “public” is a broad term that overlooks differences in race, class, sex, and other personal identifiers.

⁴ Lord Latham, Transcribed Speech to a Press Conference at the County Hall.

⁵ Keith Lilley, “On Display: Planning Exhibitions as Civic Propaganda or Public Consultation?” *Planning History* 25, no. 3 (2003): 3-8.

⁶ Peter Larkham and Keith Lilley, “Exhibiting the City: Planning Ideas and Public Involvement in Wartime and Early Post-War Britain,” *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 6 (2012): 651.

⁷ Letter from Stephen Tallents to Misters Neal, Wagner, Stewart & Bird, August 17, 1945, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London, UK (hereafter TNA); Draft Letter to Directors of Education in G.L. Area, “Extension of the Greater London Exhibition,” August 17, 1945, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, TNA; Stephen Tallents to Mr. Stretton, Letter on Greater London Plan Exhibition, September 19, 1945, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, TNA; Comparative Graph, September 29, 1951, Office of Works and Successors- Events and Exhibitions, Work 25/33, TNA.

⁸ Festival of Britain 1951 Exhibition of Live Architecture Lansbury Poplar Visitor Book, Summer 1951, Office of Works and Successors- Events and Exhibitions, Work 25/16, TNA.

⁹ “The Job of the Planner,” Undated, J. Tyrwhitt Collection, TyJ\14\11, Royal Institute of British Architects Library (hereafter RIBA).

¹⁰ E. Ward Burton, Draft Advertisement on Exhibition of the County of London Plan, May 26, 1943, County of London Plan Exhibition Records, LCC/CL/TP/01/041, LMA.

¹¹ Stephen Tallents, “Greater London Plan—Captions in the Preliminary Exhibition,” January 1, 1945, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, TNA.

¹² M. Charter, Full List of Captions, Undated, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, TNA.

¹³ Burton, Draft Advertisement on Exhibition of the County of London Plan.

¹⁴ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Annotated Script for Town Planning Exhibition, March 1950, J. Tyrwhitt Collection, TyJ\14\7, RIBA.

¹⁵ Letter from John Hutcheon to E.C.H. Salmon, August 1943, County of London Plan Exhibition Records, LCC/CL/TP/01/042, LMA; Letter from T.C. Coote to Stephen Tallents, August 22, 1945, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, TNA.

¹⁶ Official Diary: Exhibition of Architecture Poplar, Office of Works and Successors- Events and Exhibitions, Work 25/31, TNA.

¹⁷ Letter from T.C. Coote to Stephen Tallents, August 24, 1945, Ministry of Housing and Local Government- Greater London Plan- Exhibition, HLG 52/1180, TNA.

¹⁸ Letter Exchange between Ada Barry and E.C.H. Salmon, November 1-18, 1943, County of London Plan Exhibition Records, LCC/CL/TP/01/044, LMA.

¹⁹ J.H. Forshaw, “Report to Civil Defence and General Purposes Committee—Standard Lectures with Photographs and Lantern Slides,” August 1943, County of London Plan Exhibition Records, LCC/CL/TP/01/043, LMA.

²⁰ Photos of Town Planning Exhibition in Hastings, October 1946, F3487-F3493, LMA.

²¹ Larkham and Lilley, “Exhibiting the City,” 661.

²² R.D., “Festival Amenities.” *The Times*, April 19, 1951, *The Times* Digital Archive, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/6PmGg9>.

²³ Hugh Casson, FB. Architecture (48) 5- Summary of Proposals made by Mr. Merton Tester, December 7, 1948, Office of Works and Successors- Events and Exhibitions, Work 25/49, TNA.

²⁴ Letter from E.C.H. to L. St. G. Wilkinson, October 25, 1943, County of London Plan Exhibition Records, LCC/CL/TP/01/043, LMA.

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ALCÂNTARA: MEMORY AND LEGACY OF AN INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT IN THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY OF LISBON

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INTRODUCTION

From 1840, the industrial development of Lisbon led to the formation of new industrial zones distributed to the East and West of the city in proximity of the river. The choice of these two new industrial zones was determined by the need for larger spaces for factories that were beginning to specialize and require greater dimensions in terms of both land and plant use and the proximity to the river that provided a supply of raw materials and fuel. The industrial development of the entire area west of Lisbon was accompanied by further initiatives that altered the characteristics of the area, such as silting in Boavista, the modernization of the port of Lisbon and the opening of the railway line.

Since ancient times the natural characteristics of the area of Alcântara and the presence of the river had encouraged the establishment of various industrial activities such as tanneries and dye works.¹ Such industrial concentration tended to increase over the following decades with the continuous creation of new factories throughout the Alcântara area. Moving from the city centre towards the periphery of Alcântara, the Fabrica Goarmon C^a de Ladrilhos e Mosaicos, set up in 1877 in the district of São Paulo, was relocated in 1899 into the same street as the gunpowder factory.

The area would thus become distinguished for its textile factories, including the Texil Bernardo Daupias factory, established in the Calvário area in 1844. Four years later the factory relocated to a new building. The Companhia Lisbonense printing and dyeing works, founded in 1874, was located within the gunpowder factory. This factory functioned until the first decade of the 20th century and was acquired prior to 1940 by the Sociedade Têxtil do Sul, although many of its spaces would subsequently be leased to other companies. Indeed, by 1985 many of these businesses still coexisted within the space.²

While the factories reported above were situated along the Alcântara canal, beside waterways that led to the aqueduct, it was the area of Calvário that would witness the establishment of the most significant textile company: The Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Lisbonense, “which represents a historic brand in the evolution of architecture in Portugal and its industrial heritage in particular”.³ This building, with its northwest/southeast orientation, was built between 1846 and 1849, according to a design by the

architect Pires da Fonte (1796-1873) and consists of 4 floors, to which a further floor was later added. With a length of 123 meters and steel pillars and beams covered with vaults of brick and cement it would constitute “the first great example of ‘iron architecture’ in Portugal”.⁴

This factory is also distinguished by an archetype imported from England and introduced to Portugal by the engineer Alexandre Black and an agent of the company that would provide the materials.¹ The building was later occupied by the Companhia Industrial de Portugal and Colónias, the Anuario Comercial de Portugal, the Gráfica Mirandela typographers and is presently home to the LxFactory.

The “A Napolitana” factory is located in the same area. Originally owned by Gomes, Brito, Conceição, Reis & C^a, this pasta production plant is distinguished by the use of calcium-silicate bricks, a trademark of the Vieillard & Touzet construction company.

The “Sol” factory is also located in this area of Alcântara, which belonged to the Companhia União Fabril, founded in 1865 on the initiative of the Viscount of Junqueira. This enterprise had the objective of building a factory for the “production of detergents and soaps of all qualities, stearin candles, jatropa oil, and all known oils that have been gradually discovered and the trade of such products as well as the production and trade of tobacco...”.⁵

However, the factory did not provide the expected results and the situation of the plant remained problematic until 1890. In 1898, on the initiative of Alfredo da Silva, the Companhia Aliança Fabril was merged into Sol, thus forming the Companhia União Fabril. The factory has today been converted into an apartment building yet the façade and the chimney are strangely decontextualized.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

The best synthetic representation of the nature of the district of Alcântara today would be that of a tangled web. Indeed, its fundamental nature can be recognized in its fragmented fabric; it is through the etymology of the word “text” that we recognize the key to these spaces. Barthes spoke of the text as a fragment, of the importance of finding meaning in the paratactic composition of language, bringing writing to a level zero where we are finally able to recognize the threads of hidden readings. The communication system network of the district presents a multiplicity of intertwinement. Just as fabric is intertwined, so are the streets, railways, public transport, bridges and rivers, giving life to structures such as the station, port, quays and docks. The river Tejo has assigned functions to the built-up landscape: industrial buildings and structures built to support production. In addition to the Tejo, buildings have also had to take into account the presence of a system of tributaries including the Alcântara canal. The arrival of the railway reinforced the existing centrality of communications, allowing the further development of industrial production. Finally, the construction of the 25 de Abril bridge brought about the ultimate polarity of the district and its urban image. It remains however a place of landing, a place of passage, a place of production, a place of residence and a place of a strongly marked identity.

The complexity of communication channels has given rise to a wealth of possibilities for the reading of the urban space. The various urban features are found at a range of altitudes that, from an aerial perspective, permeate the district, causing the reader to lose all points of reference. It is thus not uncommon to see the built feature of a bridge sweeping over the roofs of previously built homes, or to read the façade of an abandoned industrial building from an unusual height such as a viaduct crossing a main street.

IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY

How may the issue of identity be approached in a place characterized by such complex signs? Which elements should be chosen that establish the parameters from which we either move away or approach an original identity? How is this achieved?

When discussing identity, it is necessary to interact with those issues which relate to the memory of the events that built it. Conceiving of architecture as a “built text” leads to a realization of the complexity of such an exercise, as every time we refer to a ‘word’, the same word, spoken by different voices or by the same voice from different heights, producing different sounds, each building provokes differing images depending on who benefits from it and these images remain in the minds of everyone with different features and modes: “...*All these images accumulate in the brain or, should the brain choose, which one will it prefer?*”⁶ We are therefore immediately aware of how difficult it is, for those who enter into a relationship with an urban memory, to select signs that should be maintained, above all if these spatial signs have suffered from “urban amnesia” over time, including abandonment, demolition, replacement and depopulation.

What kind of memory should we hold for a place born with an industrial identity of this level? We could choose to align ourselves with one of two extreme states; the first in which we would employ “*a totally contemplative memory, with a vision only able to learn in the singular*” which promotes the memory of differences and unconditionally accepts all changes, all amnesia, all intrusions and the anomalies of identity. A second approach would be to assume a “*fully motoric memory, which imprints the sign of the generality of actions and promotes the perception of similarities*” and, therefore, having established which is to be our principal identity, acts to ensure compliance with that and only that.⁷

Yet these two concepts would not be complete without the addition of that which in phenomenology refers to the perception we have of the duration of transformations in urban space⁸. Thus, in order to decipher the architectural object, be it a factory, home or specialist building extended in its temporality, it is necessary to have a *fluid perception* of the succession of its change. This same concept is employed by Husserl when describing the temporal structure of the “stream of consciousness”⁹.

However, when we are faced with such a strongly structured urban fabric, the perception we have of buildings is both a “synthesis of identity” and a “temporal synthesis”. The consciousness of time must therefore be regarded as a formal condition of the possibility of the perception of an object.¹⁰ In the fluidity of time and the sequence of transformations, we should also contemplate those moments in which we witness the “dissolution” of space or, rather, the loss of buildings.

How should planning stages be correctly carried out when faced with an architectural absence brought about by demolition or by abandonment?

We could talk of a principle of discontinuity, i.e. having the courage to accept the “empty”, assuming that when a building has finished its dialogue with the urban space, it is not necessarily the case that an outright substitution is an essential action.¹¹

We would continue with a principle of specificity, which would save us from the constant temptation towards the museumization of all things and render us constant accomplices of knowledge, “*not resolving discourse in a game of preconceived meanings; not imagining that the world makes our faces readable, we would only have to decipher; the world is not an accomplice of our knowledge*”.¹²

In cases such as the district of Alcântara, questions are raised regarding such innovative strategies and which ideas to adopt in order to “save” the place. Four concepts have, very generally, dominated the traditional history of creativity: meaning, originality, unity and creation. Generally we seek the “*point of creation, the unity of a work, of an epoch or a theme, the mark of individual originality, and the undefined treasure of hidden meanings*”.¹³ However, as Foucault points out, the concept of event (as opposed to creation), regularity (as opposed to originality), of possibility (as opposed to meaning) and

the concept of the series (as opposed to unity) should perhaps instead be employed as regulatory principles.

THE REAPPROPRIATION OF SPACES

In the most important of the industrial complexes of the earliest examples of Portuguese industrial textile architecture, associated with energy and steam, the Lx “culture factory” has been established, with the aim of replacing past “industrial production” with modern “cultural production”, and of creating a symbiosis between work and recreational areas (a cosmopolitan, dynamic, cultural, business and creative space with bars, restaurants, co-working, shops). The factory, converted into a new semantic urban centre far from the disturbing concept of the first industrial revolution, has become an archetype of the Cultural Revolution. Springing up from this place, as a real dynamic of germination, expressions of urban culture have proliferated around the concept and today Alcântara is the district where the most innovative forms of art come to life. The artist Vilhø has dedicated his work to one of the great façades of an abandoned building, the Village Underground Lisboa in the Carris Museum, where recovered containers have been used as spaces to host cultural events.

The new form of “spatial occupation”, legitimized by the absence of functional historical production, has reinforced the complexity that the district itself already possessed. The sudden and irreverent presence of urban art accelerates the reading process, it fractures it, chops it up until reaching saturation point, then quickly reassembles a new language of identity which is now already in the new forms of the urban present. Is it acceptable to replace a “work culture” with a “culture of leisure time” in a location with such a strong productive identity?

Such discourse flows when our field of interpretation is art and its manifestations, yet the factory is an anthropological space, which contains memories, organizational hierarchies, knowledge, constructive wisdom, flows of goods and materials. Every factory builds a protocol of relations, from the first moment of its foundation, within the district that hosts it, and defines the words of the dialogue which will be developed from that moment on. The factory has an identity and creates further identities within it. The factory creates atmosphere, once filled with voices, the noises of machines, means of transport, smells and striking contrasts. Imagine what producing multiple, extended histories may signify to every member of a community in a neighbourhood: every inhabitant becomes a carrier of histories and a conductor of memories and the materialization of buildings is the result of such a flow: “Historicity means not simply that things are placed in a certain point in history, but that I carry my history with me: my past experiences have an effect on the way we understand the world and the people I meet in the world”.¹⁴

How many of those, mostly tourists, who walk among such industrial spaces today are able to relive or at least “smell” this atmosphere?

If these intrusions through artistic language dynamize the process and delay spatial oblivion, it is perhaps appropriate to question how long an alteration of identity (albeit having remained in the realm of “creative production”) will stand up to the comparison of time.

I believe we should certainly, as a healthy attitude in imaginative design, get away from the usual comforting willingness to museumize everything that once had a role and a specific meaning. A factory does not always stop talking the language of functional production in order to hide in the nostalgic materialization of a semantic memory. Perhaps it would be healthier to provide “work” beyond places where they produced “work”. Indeed, the Lx Factory co-working in the halls of the textile factory was partly envisaged in this perspective.

Yet the entire building fabric that supported and made “daily” the industrial space failed to follow this process of functional revitalization. The redevelopment of industrial buildings into luxury condominiums contributed to an even more evident phenomenon of alienation, separating the connective tissue of the neighbourhood marked by a single and “unique” constructive intervention with an aesthetic criteria *à la page*. The re-functioning of buildings previously allocated to workers as housing, converting them into hotels or holiday homes is helping to strengthen this process. This is creating a change of voice, a change of face, a change of sounds and is removing the **normality** of everyday actions that a neighbourhood of this kind had, has and should have in the near future.

And it is with the term “normality” that we conclude, borrowing it as a final synthetic image, with the intention that the condition of normality leads us back towards habit and regularity and away from exception and randomness.



Figure 1. Alcântara views. Photograph of Raffaella Maddaluno

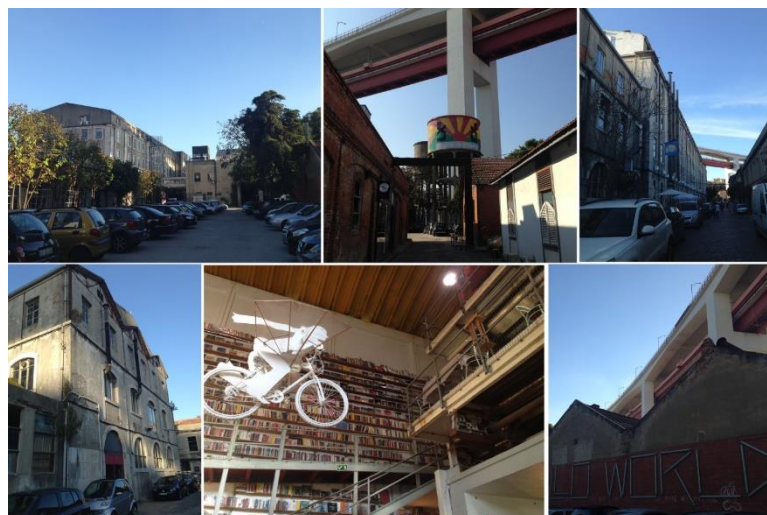


Figure 2. Lx Factory – Alcântara. Photograph of Raffaella Maddaluno

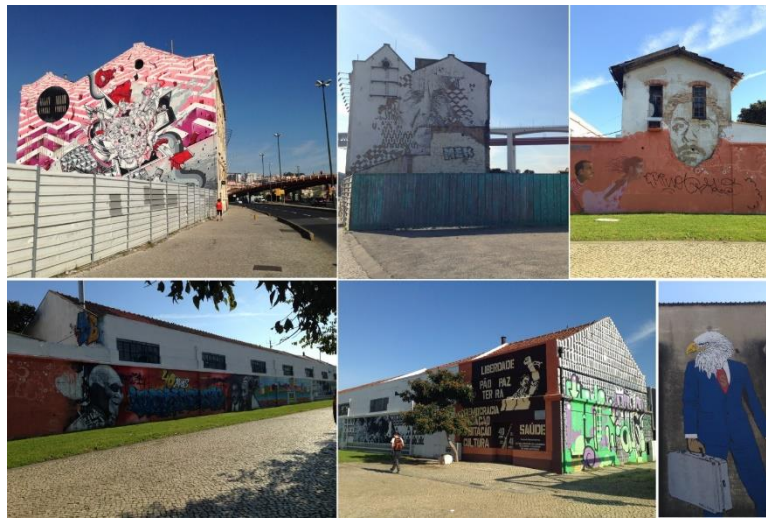


Figure 3. Street Art – Alcântara. Photograph of Raffaella Maddaluno



Figure 4. R.M., Village Underground Lisbon- Museum Carris

NOTES

¹ These included that of Anna Maria Nazareth that was established in the Horta Navia area. AHMOP, MR 59. For a detailed description of the industry in the Valley of Alcântara see Isabel Ribeiro, Jorge Custódio and Luisa Santos, “Arqueologia Industrial do Bairro de Alcântara”, *Estudo e Materiais*, Lisbon, APAI/CCFL, 1981 and Jorge Custodio, “Reflexos da industrialização na fisionomia da cidade de Lisboa”, *O Livro de Lisboa*, Coord. Irisalva Moita, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1994, pp.462-467.

² Maria Clara Assunção, “Inventário do Heritage Industrial de Lisboa. Alcântara”, *I Jornadas Ibéricas Heritage Industrial y Obra Publica*, Seville, Regional Government of Andalucia, 1994, pp.150-158. This work is part of the Lisbon Factory Inventory which affected the areas of Belém, Alcântara, Vale de Chelas and Campo Grande, carried out by the APPI (Portuguese Association for Industrial Archaeology) and coordinated by Ana Cardoso de Matos.

³ Maria Luísa Santos, Ana M. Cardoso de Matos, António Maria A Santos “A Fábrica de FIACAO and Tecidos Lisbonense: uma de preservação proposal”. In *PINHEIRO*, Elisa (ed.), *Actas III Jornadas de Arqueologia Industrial*, Covilha, Universidade da Beira Interior, 2002, pp. 499-517.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Quoted in “Os Anos 100 from CUF do centenário History”, *Revista Indústria*, no. 17 (October 1965), pp. 3-33

⁶ Henri Bergson, *Materia e memoria*, Adriano Pessina (Ed.), Bari, Editori Laterza, 1996, p. 99

⁷ Ibid, pp. 131-132

⁸ Shaun Gallagher, Dan Zahavi, *La mente fenomenologica*, Raffaello Cortina (Ed.), Milan, 2009, pp. 116-117

⁹ Edmund Husserl, *phantasy, image consciousness, and memory (1898-1925)*, translated by John B. Brough, Springer, pp. 127-128

¹⁰ Ibid., pag. 123

¹¹ Michel Foucault, *L'ordine del discorso*, in “Il discorso, la storia, la verità, interventi 1969-1984”, Mauro Bertani (Ed.), Turin, Giulio Einaudi (Ed.), 2001, pp. 30-31

¹² Ibid, pp. 30-31

¹³ Ibid, pp. 30-31

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 135

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THE MEDINA OF TUNIS FACING THE MODERN CITY TANGIBLE, INTANGIBLE AND SOCIAL VALUES IN AN ARABIC OLD CITY

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INTRODUCTION

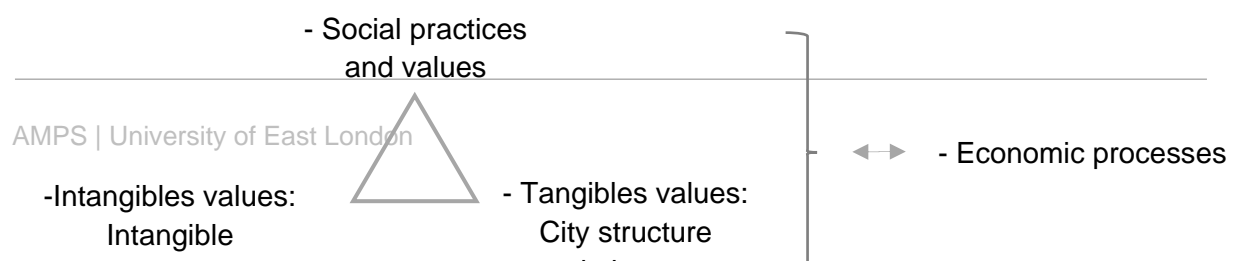
While the world is enduring an immense urban upsurge and an increasing urbanization pressure causing vulnerability to nature and people. The problematic of urban and heritage management is becoming more and more complex.

Since the industrial revolution, the modern movement and under different economic and social circumstances, many cities have been a testimony of a rapid development. In consequence, most historic cities are nowadays located in the centre of a growing metropolis.¹ Particularly, in this study, we will apprehend the historical medieval centres, which differ in their urban typology and morphological structure from the modern cities which are designed to offer larger urban tissue, a dynamic circulation flow and transportation network. As a consequence to these facts, urban conservation appears as a “modern utopia”, threatened by the rise of gentrification, tourism uses and real-estate pressures.²

In order to understand this problem, to implicate the preservation of the historic sites into the sustainable management strategies and to find a structural link of the historic city with the rest of the territory.³

The historic sites should be included in the entire urban landscape and should progressively acquire environmental and ecological implications to cover the whole urban planning.⁴

The UNESCO has declared in November 2011 a recommendation that opens horizons to find a balance between the urban heritage preservation and to respond to the social and environmental needs. According to the declared chart, “The Historic Urban Landscape” is an urban area understood as the result of historical layering of cultural and natural values and attributes.⁵



HUL

Figure 1. The UNESCO approach: The interaction between tangible, intangible and social values in an HUL (Historic Urban Landscape)

Source: Author

This scheme shows the interaction between the social, tangible and intangible values that constitute the Historic Urban Landscape and must be the generators of the interventions in a historic site and its adaptation to the economic processes and development of the city.

The objective of this study is to exhibit the problematic of the urban transformation and the urban heritage with the case study of the Medina of Tunis. A historic city that reveals historical and cultural values concretized in an architecture and urban vocabulary marked by the Arabism and the Islamic character of the middle age. The city was built since the end of the 7th century by Arab tribes and was listed in the UNESCO world heritage sites in 1979. It covers around 290 ha and has more than 700 monuments. Its Souks, particular urban tissue, residential quarters, monuments and doors, are the most conserved in the Islamic world cities.⁶ However, currently, as attested by the ex-director of the ASM (Association of the Safeguard of the Medina), only around 150 monuments have been well kept till the present days.⁷ Under the governance of the Al-Mohads and Hafsids civilizations, the city used to be one of the cities that flourished the most in North Africa and in the world especially between the 12th and the 16th century.

THE MEDINA OF TUNIS AND THE APPEARANCE OF THE MODERN CITY

The Roman Carthage decline was in 439. Later, it was occupied by the Vandals and the Byzantines. Then, the Arab tribes came to Tunis after being installed in the first Tunisian Arabic capital “Kairouan”. They chose a site which had an emplacement that permitted them to be protected from the enemies, especially, the previous occupants.⁸ A few years later, Tunis was considered as the capital. The Medina was then, the first urban entity from the Medieval period.

However, in the present days, it has become submerged by the urban mass of the city. The urban expansion all around the Medina has been developed according to modernist strategies since the installation of the French colonization in the city.

Tunisia was declared as a colony from 1881, but the installation of the modern colonial city started according to a progressive mutation process starting from the beginning of the 19th century.

In this general context, appeared a new centrality in the external limits of the Medina. Specifically, all around an urban axis, forming a continuity between the fundamental axis of the Medina (Bab Bhar-Kasbah), until the lake of Tunis (Al Bahira). This main street used to be called “The Promenade of the Marina”.

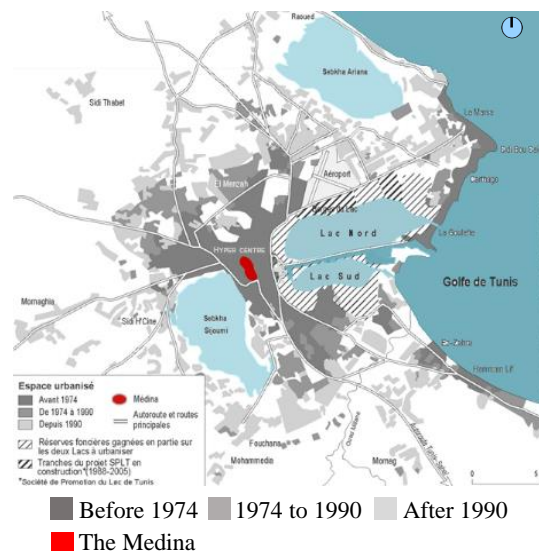
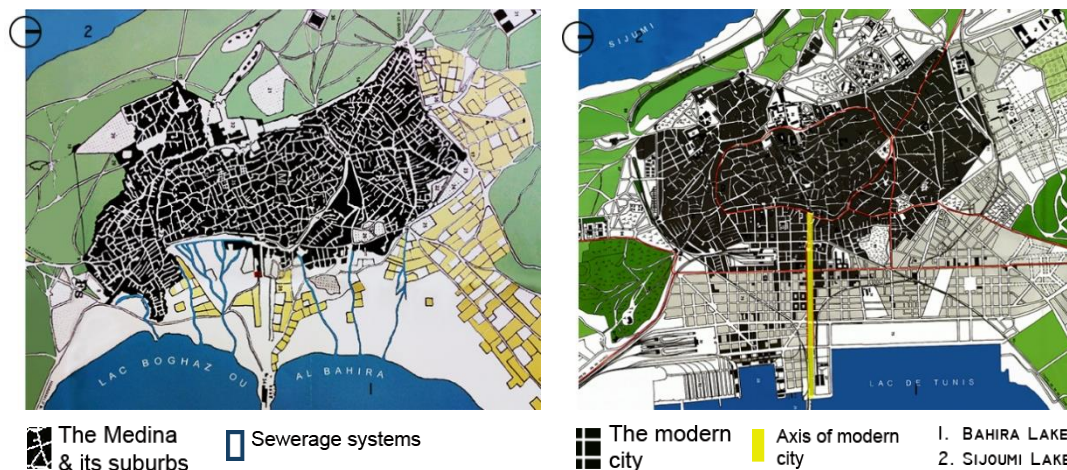


Figure 2. Map of Tunis (capital of Tunisia)
Adapted source: www.journals.openedition.org



Figures 3, 4. The Medina and the Beginning of the Modern city's installation
1860 – 1914

Adapted sources: *Tunis, d'une ville à l'autre* (Leila Ammar, 2010).

As a result of this urban transformation, a traditional and modern city were juxtaposed. The proximity of the colonial city has affected not just the social values of the city, but also, its physical structure. In opposition to the organic plan of the Medina, its narrow and winding streets, the emptiness and fullness of its tissue, the proximity of the built elements and also its physical limits before that the ramparts of the Medina were demolished. The extension all around the Medina was established according to a new urban fabric. The modern city offered a chessboard plan, open perspectives and also exposed green spaces, and especially, a transportation network. Moreover, during the transition modern period, the number of the population has dramatically increased, as a big number of Europeans came to occupy the city, but especially the inhabitants that came from nearby areas to the city to find a better life.⁹ The urban surface of Tunis had increased from 5000 ha in 1956 to 40000 ha in 2015.¹⁰ This

phenomenon of the industrial revolution and its influence on the city had affected the city in an incoercible way since 1945, but it had started years before in Europe.¹¹

THE ACTUAL THREATS IN THE MEDINA

Adapting the city to the actual needs of the present generations and the urban conditions caused by the urban pressure, are the main challenges when intervening in the city.

Nowadays, the streets of the Medina are highly densified by the large mass of passengers, inhabitants and tourists.

The surroundings of the city are also undergoing a problem of the traffic jam. Moreover, there isn't an ease of common transportation from the periphery of the Medina to the rest of the city. This fact should be taken into consideration in the urban and transportation planning projects to enhance the accessibility to the Medina and its surroundings and by providing cycling and more relevant pedestrian roads.

In addition to that, except for many houses that were preserved by their occupants, many houses are either deteriorating or have been transformed with no respect of the specification document of the zone, despite the effort made by the ASM (Association of Safeguard of the Medina) to ensure the conformity of the housing morphology to the traditional stamp, either inside the houses or on the facades. That is also the case for the different patterns that were added in the city with no respect to its authentic character. During my visit to the Medina, I noticed an ancient building, that used to function as a school, called "Tribunal school". It is now appropriated by a number of families without any legal authorisation which are living in non-sanitary conditions.

THE MEDINA: AN ORGANIC LIFE IN AN ORGANIC CITY

Referring to the Historic Urban Landscape approach, we will analyse the tangible and intangible values in the city, and also, the needs of its users.

Firstly, the organic cellular tissue of the Medina is one of its main specificities. It provides variety and originality in its architectural elements and a structural link between its components.

The sacred character of the Islamic culture is a preeminent impact in shaping the city. "The sacred space includes spaces that can be entered physically, imaginatively and visually".¹²

In this context, where the city is perceived as a cultural and historical fact. According to a study that was led by a group of Tunisian and orientalist architects and psychoanalysts, in order to analyse the mutual relationship between the religious values (the Islam), the space and the human body (in analogous to human scale). In fact, the imaginary representation in its spaces transmuted in the city's structure reveals the attachment of the Arab tribes with the deserts. The city is presented as a nomadic space. While the house is connected to its interior and with the sky. Its heavenly court insures, not just, the communication with other people, but also, with the universe.¹³

From public to private and from private to the beyond world. Such is the successive progress to enter the houses. The streets in the Medina aren't overlooked, it is also the case for the houses. The facades don't reveal the interiors.



Figures 5, 6, 7. The visual succession from public to private spaces

Source Fig 5, 6, 7: Author photography, 02/2018

In this architecture, every element is designed to respond to a specific function and has a semiotic and spiritual meaning. An architecture that expresses a nation's vision of the world. Until the present days, geographers, sociologists, architects and space designers and psychanalysts have proved that the historical realities in the Medina are still not totally revealed.

In addition to that, the Medina of Tunis is presented as a human settlement of the interaction between architecture, urbanism, economic and socio-cultural mixture. The city was a testimony of different Islamic dynasties that came from different parts of the world and transferred their culture and knowledge. As well, the construction materials were imported from different parts of the world.

THE INTERVENTIONS OF REHABILITATION IN THE MEDINA

Regarding the problem of the urban pressure, and given the fact that until the beginning of the 20th century, there weren't any active politics preoccupied with the urbanization problems of Tunis. In this context, the municipality of Tunis asked the French architect Valensi in 1920 to conceive a project of planning and embellishment. This latest proposed a project that aimed to avoid partitioning the Medina. However, his idea was rejected because they estimated that he wanted to transform the traditional city into an unanimated museum.¹⁴

Several preliminary projects of conservation and rehabilitation were also proposed. As an example, the project proposed by the design team of Zehrfuss in 1945, it consisted in opening an urban axis in the Medina which ensures the separation of the two urban entities, it aimed to project the image of the new urban "order" in a functionalist plan. This intention didn't also convince the local authorities.¹⁵

After the independence, under the governance of the first Tunisian president, another project was launched also, to open an urban transition road crossing the Medina according to the North-South constructive axis of the city, in order to permit the vehicular circulation, with the intention to offer a more dynamic flow in the city's main streets. The project wasn't realized finally, and since then, especially after the foundation of the ASM in 1976, the politics of conservation in the Medina were more oriented to projects of facade embellishment or architectural and public squares rehabilitation, without altering to the urban structure of the city.

Although, two main mega-projects were achieved. The project of "Hafsia", that was realized in two phases. It was a Jewish quarter in the periphery of the city. After its inhabitants started to move from their houses for better life conditions, the district was deteriorated and destined mainly to low and middle-class society. The main objective was to respect the specificities of the traditional architecture, and also to respond to the inhabitants' needs. For that, a social survey was carried out. However, even after the second phase of the project Hafsia II, many inhabitants had modified the organization of their houses, which had caused a non-coherence between the buildings.¹⁶ The project "Beb Souika" had also

brought radical changes in the periphery of the traditional city. It constituted a big square, around which a series of commercial and housing buildings were built. In both projects, (Hafsia and Beb Souika), the streets were managed to permit accessibility of cars. Nowadays, the two quarters are under a pressure of an intense flow of vehicles and an uncontrollable number of street merchants. Furthermore, the architectural typology and elements were reinterpreted without obtaining an urban atmosphere in the spirit of the traditional city.¹⁷

SOCIAL, INTANGIBLE AND TANGIBLE VALUES IN THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

After analysing the examples of projects in the Medina, we confirm that we must reinterpret the relationship between the social structure and the historic landscape according to a bottom-up approach, to better understand how the urban environments are used and transformed by people. It is important to enhance innovative methods to interact with people and raise their awareness towards their heritage. In addition to that, to integrate the city users in the theoretical and practical phases of the conservation and rehabilitation projects. According to the architect urbanist Jan Gehl, people should contribute to the design of their city.¹⁸ “Always put people first. It is the essence of good urbanism”.¹⁹

Furthermore, according to the historian architect of the 19th century Gustavo Giovannoni, who belongs to the school of thought which denies that the heritage interventions must be static, in the sense that, its physical features must be intact. However, the Italian architect considers the city as a “kinematic system”. A city that should be capable to manage the progressive augmentation of the population and the mutation of our social and physical environment. At the same time, to respect its nobility by valuing the legacy that has been transferred by our ancestors.²⁰

As a reflexion to social participation and cohesion in the Medina of Tunis. We firstly admit that the Medina has always been a suitable environment for socialization and conviviality. This fact has not just permitted a particular social atmosphere in the narrow streets of the Medina, but especially, it has host different artistic manifestations, such as, contemporary performing art inclusion in public spaces, manifested by the project “Dream City”, and also, the event “Interference” for fine and light arts exhibition. In addition to that, the workshop “El Houma Khir” (a better quarter). This latest is a social participative action for urban inclusion and co-designing the city with people. The project started in 2017 with the participation of different professionals and students and is supposed to continue its actions in different seasons during the year, in order to collect a theoretical study basis to be adapted later in real public projects. Certainly, similar actions must be enhanced because they permit to people to appropriate their space.

The intangible heritage must be revitalized and revisited. Cultural and spiritual ethics were the fundamental basis that shaped the space in the vernacular architecture of the medieval city. If we consider this fact, we can produce a modern architecture that is inspired from the traditional architecture and use ancestral techniques in an original way without a superficial imitating of the existing elements but by understanding their function and especially their semiotics, to transmute the intangible values into the tangible ones.

“The historic city is not just a fragment of the urban complex, it is a basis for its identity and a fundamental recourse for its development.”²¹ In order to bring any transformation in the historic city or its surroundings, the analysis should reflect on the radical transformation in the topography of the city in which it is located, to the study of the city’s morphology from a macro-scale, by understanding the live forces that formed the urban fabric. Afterward, the meso-scale of the quarter, including the visual and spatial context of the buildings. Moreover, the sub-units in a micro-scale, specifically, the smallest

individual components that generate and form the global organic fabric of the city. Likewise, respectively an approach from particular to general contexts.^{22 23}

In his book “Historical Urban Landscape” that was published recently in 2017, the author Sonkoly, confirms that: “According to the new paradigm of urban heritage protection, the protected heritage unit is defined in a continuous time (sustainability), in a continuous territory (landscape), and by the perception of its local community, which is the custodian of the survival of cultural diversity and, consequently, of human culture.”²⁴

Also, in his book, the author stressed out that, the “security” of the heritage through the changing conditions in time is not just related to the precious objects but the whole natural and cultural site.²⁵

We conclude that, as a result of the urban transformation after the colonial period. A contrast between two cities has emerged. A traditional city characterized by its traditional and indigenous architecture and a colonial city recognized by different architectural styles, such as, the Art nouveau, Art and craft and Arabisance architectural style (refers to the colonial style architecture inspired from the Arabic-style patterns). However, it has also brought different negatives impacts that continue to menace the Medina of Tunis. For that, city users and stakeholders should be aware of the heritage protection by retaining the mutual relationship between the tangible territory and the intangible and cultural values, and also, its implication in the issues facing the city of today and tomorrow.

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NETWORKS AND PATTERNS OF TECHNOLOGY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY: THE CASE OF LUCKNOW OLD CITY, INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

The relation between cultural identity and electronic media varies in different parts of the world. There is a significant diversity in the way new socio-technical processes are adopted depending on the culture and history of each society. Castells, in the preface of his edited volume titled “The Network Society A Cross-cultural Perspective” states that the objective of the volume was to suggest methods of inquiry on a variety of key themes of the network society, in a diversity of cultural and institutional contexts, and hopes that this would stimulate more country specific studies around the world, and cumulatively build the “human cross-cultural map of the emerging network society”.¹ This research attempts to test some of the ideas developed since then, on the theme of the network society, in the context of the Indian city of Lucknow, which is a cauldron of rich culture and heritage on one hand and a fast growing modern metropolis on the other, and hence presents an interesting case of the network society.

INTRODUCING LUCKNOW WITH ITS LAYERED HISTORY

The city of Lucknow, is the capital city of the state of Uttar Pradesh, India’s most populous state, with a population of 2.82 million within the limits of its Municipal Corporation, as enumerated in the Census records of 2011. The Municipal area is divided into six zones and 110 administrative wards. However, the city today is more of an urban agglomeration and spreads much beyond its municipal limits and spreads over an area of 980 sq.m. within the boundaries of its planning area.² The planning area has new planned areas, British cantonment areas and the old organically evolved core as its disparate components. The river Gomti divides the city in two with the older parts to the south and the newer parts referred to as the ‘trans Gomti’ development to the north.

Days of Pre Independence (before 1947)

Lucknow has a layered history through the Mughal and British periods and is known for its living heritage. It has been a centre of transnational trade, culture, and learning since the 18th century. It remains an important site of globalisation in India, continually inhabited by a well-educated, worldly elite, but simultaneously housing industries based on an excess of low-cost labour.³

The transformation of Lucknow into a main urban centre is considered to have been in 1775 A.D., when the *Nawab*, Asaf ud-Daulah moved the seat of the government of the province of Awadh from Faizabad to Lucknow.⁴ However, as early as the 18th Century, a tale of contrasts was attached to Lucknow with

visitors marveling at its palaces and bustling commercial life on one hand, but the squalor and poverty among its underclass also not going unnoticed.^{5,6}

Since then, Lucknow has been home to a blend of modernities, and preferences for the old as well as the new as the Persianate *nawabs*, were famous for their patronage of both European style and Shi'a traditionalism. The strong Persian influence permeated the society of Lucknow in the form of music, philosophy, and other humanistic subjects.⁷

Also notable is the influence of European styles in architecture through the works of Claude Martin, a Frenchman who entered the courts of the Nawab Asaf ud Daulah around 1755 A.D. European styles had blended with the Persian styles and created a hybrid architecture unique to Lucknow. In 1856, its population was estimated to be 1 million and it remained the “largest city in India except for the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay as late as 1870.”⁸

The city played a significant role in the national history of the British period, and was one of the epicentres of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Post 1857 A.D., significant British interventions occurred in the city in urban planning with insertion of broad roads cutting through the old fabric in order to be able to control larger parts of town.⁹

The image of Lucknow in public imagination is one where ‘*Nawabi*’ or Islamic culture abounds, which is attributed not so much to the religion of Islam, but more to the social and cultural traditions and rituals historically associated with Islam and Muslims.¹⁰ This imagery dominates the old city areas and the ‘Lucknowi’ is referred to both Hindus and Muslims, the city being known for its ‘*nawabi tehzeeb*’ (refined etiquette), its cuisine, and refined embroidery of ‘*zardosi*’ and ‘*chikankari*’ work, its handicrafts and pastimes, all legacies of the *Nawabi* era.

This juxtaposition of the global and the local became intrinsic to the culture of Lucknow, expressed in the form of art, architecture, music, literature and cuisine. Here collaboration supersedes contestations, and the identity of the city emerges as one whole Lucknow, albeit with its disparate parts.

Post Independence

In Post Independent India, Lucknow continued to dominate the political scenario. Lucknow and its surroundings play a key role in the caste politics of the north Indian Hindi heartland. Lucknow had rapidly alternating Governments, representative of the ‘lower’ castes, the *dalits*, that transformed Indian politics in the 1980s and ‘90s.¹¹ *Dalit* refers to the untouchable castes that have been socially and economically marginalized in Indian society and constitute 22% of Uttar Pradesh’s population. The BSP party (the party of the dalits) provided them with a voice and platform to overturn centuries of exploitation and repression by the higher castes.¹² (Amita Sinha) Mayawati, the BSP supremo, over her multiple tenures, has constructed large scale parks, memorials and statues of dalit icons and party leaders and herself to reconstruct a collective *dalit* mythography. These recent urban insertions in the form of memorial parks and plazas have created a new look for Lucknow, at odds with its historic *Nawabi* character and its colonial past.¹³ Space in Lucknow’s parks seems to have been reduced to a space of political representation rather than an arena of citizen engagement.¹⁴

THE CONTEMPORARY URBAN STRUCTURE AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE POLITICAL NARRATIVE

An analysis of the present urban structure of Lucknow is undertaken to understand its disparate components and spatial and social structure. In Lucknow, we witness multiple spaces of places, fragmented and disconnected and displaying diverse temporalities.¹⁵ The mobile telecommunication network with the mobile towers forms a new layer as a result of the insertion of new technology systems

within the urban fabric. The recent insertion of network of open spaces, though physically very dominant, had little impact in bonding people. On the other hand, the social networks in the old city, which have developed organically and spontaneously over time, as a product of a layered history, are much more cohesive and create networks of collaboration across religions and cultures inserted in the city in different eras. It is to be seen, whether the near invisible network of telecommunications, has a much stronger role in creating social networks.

Dominant City Areas

The chronological development of the city has led to a certain urban pattern, with its land uses. The city is divided into two main parts by the Gomti river. Across the banks of the Gomti River, New Lucknow faces off with Old Lucknow and life on either side proceeds according to different notions of space, order, and morality.¹⁶ The part, to the south of the river, forms the core of *Nawabi* and British Lucknow, while the part to the north is the urban expansion of the post-independence city. During the British period, the Cantonment was set up and new planned roads, gardens and new areas developed. With the setting up of the Municipal Board in 1862, Lucknow developed rapidly as an urban centre with planned infrastructure.¹⁷ In recent years, the IT sector has also entered Lucknow, with its own hybrid global culture, and is located in the New Lucknow across the river.

The old city of Lucknow being the focus of this research, is described in more detail. The old city may be deciphered into three distinct hubs: *Chowk*, the core area to the west, Aminabad, the old market area to the south, and Hazratganj, the new market area to the east. In these areas, narrow lanes (*galliyan*) connect neighbourhoods of the same ethnic, religious, and family groupings while, often, dividing them from others, in a labyrinth like fashion. *Chowk* is the hub of wholesaling and the oldest bazaar of Lucknow, with many *Nawabi* heritage structures. The Aminabad area grew since the early twentieth century as a place of refuge for new migrants, and presently includes the old Aminabad market and the residential areas around it. Hazratganj is the newest bazaar of the old city and has the most expensive high end retail shops of the old town.¹⁸

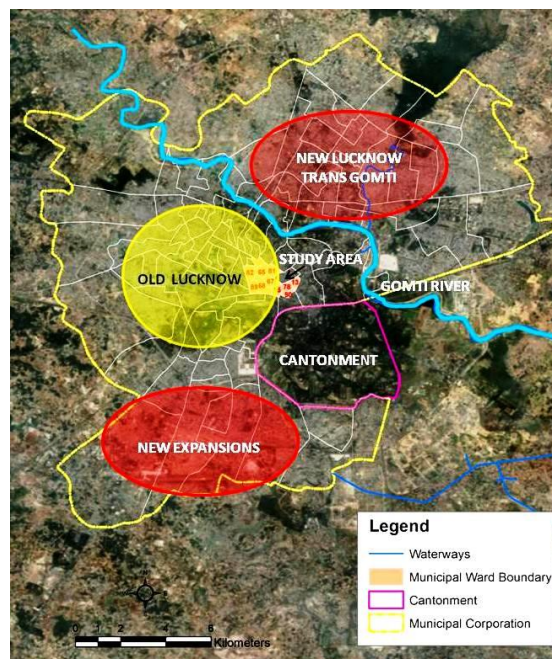


Figure 1. Map of structure and defining

Lucknow depicting urban the study area

In this research, the locality of Aminabad is studied as a case of a transforming old city area. It is a locality, which has seen transformation over time, yet retained its flavour and identity of the past, typical of communities around the world trying to preserve the meaning of locality and to assert the space of places.¹⁹ Whether the telecommunication technology is disruptive in its role of fostering a social network, or acts as a catalyst in enhancing them is investigated through a detailed study of Aminabad.

THE CURIOUS CASE OF AMINABAD AREA

Aminabad is an area adjacent to the *Chowk* and has a dense fabric of mixed land use. The areas around *Chowk*, and in the neighbourhood of Aminabad, apart from being the city's retail areas, have household industries. Many of these industries are legacies of the *Nawabi* times, and include forms of embroidery-*chikan* and *zardosi*, *ittar* or perfume making, silver and gold foil work, as well as kite making.²⁰ Kite running which was a favourite pastime during the *Nawabi* era, continues to be so even today, although it is long dead in other urban centres. Aminabad is also in close proximity to Hazratganj, the main upmarket commercial spine of Lucknow. The average density of wards in the *Chowk* and Aminabad area is as high as 300 persons per hectare and the average building height is about 4 storeys.

On any day from September through June, (omitting the monsoon season) the skies of Aminabad are dotted with kites of all colours and traditional patterns. The invisible kite runners are strategically located on the rooftops of the houses and fight their battles from these locations. A closer view of the skyline reveals a very high density of telecommunication towers by various service providers. In fact their density is much higher than visible in other parts of Lucknow. This makes for a curious case, as it is seen in other contexts, that the digital divide is clear between the young, educated and affluent urban society and the older, closely knit traditional ones.²¹ What then is the reason for such high densities of telecommunication towers in the old city of Aminabad, than the rest of Lucknow?

Down on the streets, as you walk in the dense lanes and bylanes of Aminabad, there are shops full of ethnic clothes, lining entire stretches. The aroma of kebabs from small and large restaurants fill the streets and the atmosphere is one of a culturally vibrant and socially active place, in total contrast to the machine like designed spaces of the modern IT hubs. Yet, the invisible layer of the IT network runs

deep in this area and the only manifestations are in the tall towers which dot the skyline, standing testimony to the fact that there is a very large mobile network subscriber base existing in these parts.? A study was thus conducted to investigate into the aspects of network society in Aminabad area of Lucknow. A patch of, around, 2.3 sq.km., consisting of 11 wards having a population of 198,954, was selected in the area and data from the Census of India, 2011²² were analysed to understand the demographic patterns, the patterns of consumption and the patterns of economic activities existing. The findings from secondary sources were also vetted with empirical studies on ground and interviews with people in the area. The results present a set of findings which validate the premise that network societies develop in a multiplicity of cultural settings, produced by the differential history of each context.²³

The Social, Cultural, Economical and Physical Fabric

The study area is a highly dense neighbourhood with predominantly mixed land uses of residential, commercial and household industries predominating. The density of population in the 10 selected wards is around 300 persons per hectare as compared to an average of around 80 persons per hectare for the whole of the 350 sq.km of Municipal Corporation area. Some wards in the area have densities as high as 750 to 825 persons per hectare.²⁴

The population is predominantly Muslim in the *Chowk* and surrounding areas, as is seen while deciphering the names appearing in electoral roles of these wards and the existence of many mosques in the neighbourhood.²⁵ An author's sketch of the neighbourhood, gives the intangible 'feel' of the place, to match the statistical evidence.

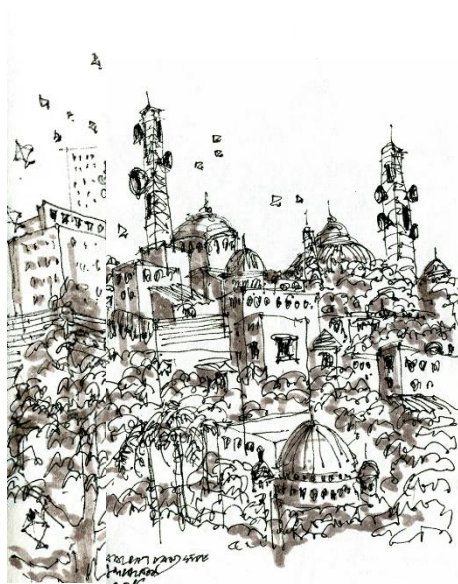


Figure 2. Sketches of Urban Form and Skyline of Aminabad Area²⁶

The demography and worker profile of the area in comparison to the city of Lucknow as seen from the enumeration of Census data of 2011, ²⁷ is as follows:

Sl. No.	Parameter	Study Area	Lucknow City
1.	Population	257,373	2,817,105

2.	No. of Households	48,442	538,149
3.	Average Household Size	5.31	5.23
4.	Literates in percentage	77.1%	73.9%
5.	Working Population in percentage	33.7%	33.5%
6.	Percentage of total main workers	78.3%	80%
7.	Percentage of main workers in Household Industries	6.23%	6.22%

Table 1. Demographic Comparison of Study Area to City

The demographic comparison of the city and the study area in Table 1, brings to light the characteristics of the study area. This reinforces the image of the Aminabad area as a retail area as well as an area with household industries. Residents are engaged in production of mainly traditional goods.

A visual survey of the area reveals many clothing shops of mainly *chikankari* work along main roads. These are all not produced within the city and some are also produced in the rural fringes, but sourced and sold within the city. The numerous kites which dot the skyline are mostly produced and sold in the old city area.

A comparison of the assets (general and digital) in Tables 2 and 3, owned by people of the study area as compared to the city gives a picture of the socio economic levels of the people. While most indicators show that socio-economic levels match the city average, it is interesting to note that ownership of televisions, mobile phones and laptops with internet are marginally higher, inspite it being an old city area.

Parameter (in percentage value)	Study Area	Lucknow City
HH with good quality housing	60.5	63.1
HH living in small (1& 2 rooms) units	48.2	51.0
HHs availing banking	82.2	78.8
HHs possessing cars	16.4	16.1
HHs having radio/transistor	37.5	37.3
HHs having television	83.3	81.0

Table 2. Comparison of Households' (HH) Socio-economic Indicators in City and Study Area

Networking and Entrepreneurship in Aminabad

As the household industries show a significant number in Lucknow and in the study area, a few case examples of leading entrepreneurial units in traditional art forms were documented and the recent transformations in them resulting from the use of the communication networks, analysed.

Chikankari industry

The *chikankari* industry being one of the leading industries also having significant export earnings, was one of the cases studied. *Chikankari* is one the finest and oldest form of traditional embroidery practiced in Lucknow and nearby towns and villages. This form of craft was introduced by Begum Noor Jahan,

wife of the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Initially it was restricted to the ladies of the royal family. In the realm of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah it was opened for the masses and flourished. It was usually done by the Muslim community.²⁸

Chikankari may have started in any form, and practiced by certain castes or religions but today it is the livelihood of many Lucknowi families. There are many stages involved in the entire process, and unskilled to semi skilled and highly skilled workers are involved in the whole process of production. An organization named SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association), in existence in Lucknow since 1984, has been instrumental in removing the middle man and acts as platform where artisans can directly respond to the social needs and sell their product directly to the market. In recent years, with online retail platforms having become very popular, the aim of SEWA of having direct sales is further enhanced and fulfilled. Following the success of SEWA, many more entrepreneurs have also started units in *chikan* apparel manufacture. Today the *Chikankari* industry is growing in new directions of the market and blending traditional skills with new design techniques, fabrics and colours.²⁹ This impetus has given rise to a whole new ecosystem of a robust *chikan* industry and boosted its sales and employment in recent years. The image and identity of *chikan* apparels has revived manyfold across India, with its wide online visibility.

Parameter (in percentage value)	Study Area	Lucknow City
HH with good quality housing	60.5	63.1
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HHs having radio/transistor	37.5	37.3
HHs having television	83.3	81.0

Table 3. Household (HH) Digital Asset Ownership

Local Restaurants and Cuisine – the Case of *Tunday Kababi*

The *Nawabi* food of Lucknow has stood the test of time and reinvented itself in the contemporary world in contemporary styles, famous for its meat delicacies and kebabs. There are many restaurants all across the town, more so in the *Chowk* area and its surroundings, including Aminabad selling many variants of the *kebab*.

One of the landmark eating joints named ‘Tunday Kababi’ is discussed as a case example of the retailing of local cuisine in the network society.

Originally established in a bustling street in the *chowk* area of Lucknow in 1905, as a one-dish shop by a single proprietor, it opened a branch in the Aminabad area in 1996, by third generation family members to widen the reach to city folks.

Since the late '90s into the early 2000s Tunday Kababi became more visible. In 2014, Tunday Kababi opened another branch in Aliganj area of Kapoorthala, in the trans Gomti region of Lucknow. It was called ‘Tunday Tower’ and added banqueting and large dining facilities to the restaurant format, catering to the modern needs of the New Lucknow. Around the same time, in 2015, Tunday Kababi decided to go national, giving out franchising rights. The quality dipped, prices soared and the brand suffered. The owners decided to withdraw from all those operations. But as a result of this, the shop

became a brand and was known nationally inspite of being rooted to its geographic location, to maintain quality standards.³⁰

Information and communication technology had its role to play in the transformation of the Tunday Kababi shop from a single small outlet in *Chowk* to a national brand across India. The growing use of restaurant aggregator platforms operating online propelled its visibility and sales. Tunday Kababi is listed in all three of India's leading online portals for restaurant search and discover options – Zomato, Food panda and Swiggy. Thus the expansion of Tunday Kababi from an old city eating joint to an iconic Lucknow eatery brand was fuelled by its online visibility. Thus Lucknow cuisine not only binds Lucknowi society together by facilitating dialogues with people of other religions and cultures inhabiting the New Lucknow but attracts patrons from across the country.³¹

Networking for Leisure and Recreation

The leisurely lifestyle of the Lucknowi is a source of many a jest in India. The pastime of kite running, is one such leisure activity which continues to remain popular in old Lucknow. The entire *mohalla* (neighborhood) gathers at strategic roof tops, and socializes, narrating old anecdotes connected to kite-flying. It is indeed an entirely different social network at the level of the rooftops, in a dense neighbourhood where open spaces are minimum and community gathering is not possible. The rooftops compensate for the layer of open spaces and create a different network and flow of spaces defined by 'kitescapes', governed by wind direction, competing neighbourhoods and the density of built form.

Interviews with residents revealed that the mobile phone and social network groups are used extensively by neighbourhoods and communities for fixing time and venue of meeting for kite flying too. Word spreads faster and crowds can be gathered faster with the help of the mobile phones, opine some residents of Aminabad.

Also, communities in Aminabad, being largely trading communities, now transact a lot of their business through online and mobile phone networks. This leaves them with more spare time and they can still indulge in their favourite pastimes. Thus the mobile phone networks help link similar interest groups, and bring them together at specific locations. Interestingly, in most other cities of India, Kite running as a regular pastime has almost died due to the time required to indulge in it, with it being celebrated on only a particular day or week of the year. Here in Lucknow, the communication technology of the new era is also utilized to help maintain the leisurely lifestyle passed on through generations.

THE NETWORK CITY OF LUCKNOW: CONTINUITY VERSUS CONTESTATION

Thus, the case study of Aminabad brings to light a new dimension of network society- one of collaborative transformation. Where the traditions run deep enough, technological advancements are only used to strengthen the social and cultural fabric rather than disrupt it. The spontaneous use of the telecommunication network and its incorporation in the existing lifestyle as if it were but an extension. In conclusion, Lucknow comes across as a city embedded in a culture of its own, which is going ahead with contemporary advancements in technology, enabling it to grow and develop without distorting its soul. It is a city where 'spaces of places' imposed as insertions have failed to foster social bonds across classes and 'spaces of flows' have succeeded in enhancing social bonds to greater depths.

The disparate layers of technology and social and cultural networks are juxtaposed to form a unified whole in the old city, complementing each other. Here, it seems, Castell's assertion that in cultures having their relevance as nodes of a network system of cultural dialogue, there is no opposition between 'hypermodernity and tradition', but 'complementarity and reciprocal learning', is seen as a living example.³² Perhaps, for Lucknow with its ingrained culture of accepting modernity hand in hand with

tradition, through the different ages, the modern network society is but an extension of a very long history of gradual adaptations and assimilations rather than one of dramatic disruption and transformation.

NOTES

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- ¹⁵ Manuel Castells, "Internationalism, Networks, A Network Society: A Theoretical Blueprint" in *The Network Society A Cross cultural Perspective*, ed. Manuel Castells (Massachusetts: Edgar Elgar, 2004), 37.
- ¹⁶ Raphael Susewind et al., Introduction to "Islamicate Lucknow Today: Historical Legacy and Urban Aspirations," *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* 11 (2015): 9, accessed August 28, 2018, DOI :10.4000/samaj.3911.
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- ²⁴ SENES Consultants India Pvt.Ltd., *Revised City Development Plan, Lucknow City-2040, Vol 1* (Lucknow: Lucknow Municipal Corporation, 2015), 47-49.
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COMMODIFICATION OF PLACE AND THE DECLINE OF PATCHWORK COSMOPOLITANISM: CASE OF URBAN PATCH AT THE CANTONMENT EDGE OF PUNE, INDIA.

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INTRODUCTION

The present paper deals with the urban patch on the western edge of the cantonment of Pune, the second largest city after Mumbai in the Indian state of Maharashtra. The diverse communities settled on the edge of the British cantonment town in Pune established in 1818 to serve it, traded in daily provisions like grains, fuel, vegetables and crafted articles like shoes, saddles and imported luxury goods. Cobblers and other service providers were also part of the settler communities and occupied urban blocks specializing in products and services and over time consolidated to form a cosmopolitan urban patch on its western edge.

Within the guidelines of the cantonment authority an eclectic Indian urban form with its ‘Allis’, ‘Gallis’ (bylanes) and ‘Puras’ (clusters) emerged with central courtyard type house as the dominant building plan form. Vernacular expressions and ornamentations typical of the diverse communities of Hindus, Bohra Muslims, Parsis, Goan Christians and the Jewish communities settled here formed unique urban artifacts in a mixed use urban space.

Growth of Pune as the second most prominent city of Maharashtra in post partition Bombay state in 1960 and growth of industrial areas around Pune increased pressure on urban land. In the last twenty five years the IT industry has also consolidated the city’s global nature. The cosmopolitan mixed use urban edge of the cantonment in question has been transforming fast into a commodified space dominated by global retail footprints and finds itself in certain ways within a “larger narrative of eviction”¹ of traditional commerce and living processes in this urban space.

The present work examines ways of retaining the urban fabric and uses heritage as a thematic device and explores the role of urban design interventions to counter the “visually seductive, privatized public culture”² having identified the right time to address issues of outmigration and degeneration of the urban fabric (and its placeness) in the context of the development control guidelines of the cantonment over the patch. It is also worthwhile to mention that in spite of the cosmopolitanism and trade diversities and engagements in this urban patch, which, we feel are preconditions to a robust urban experience, housing and overall urban conditions have deteriorated to the extent that living processes are seriously compromised with failing infrastructure and a decaying urban fabric.

In this context it is worthwhile to revisit David Harvey's preface to the *Rebel Cities* where he refers to Lefebvre's work and his own take on the 'nostalgia for an urbanism', which he says has always been a cherished myth: "I am not sure how Lefebvre would have responded to the Ecologistes' poster vision. Like me, he would possibly have smiled at its ludic vision, but his theses on the city, from the *Right to the City* to his book on *La Revolution Urbaine* (1970), suggest that he would have been critical to the nostalgia for an urbanism that had never been. I would agree with this, but assert it even more emphatically, because Lefebvre takes very little care to depict the dismal conditions of life for the masses in some of his favored cities of the past (those of the Italian Renaissance of Tuscany). Nor does he dwell on the fact that in 1945 most Parisians lived without indoor plumbing in execrable housing conditions in crumbling neighborhoods"³.

In the same book, subsequently, Harvey presents two cases, both of which are well known and numerous quoted but brought together effectively in reinforcing the argument against the spectacular as a replacement of the organic and incremental aspects of preserving old city areas and developing on what they possess. The first case he quotes is the Jacobs and Moses case and writes: "Traditionalists increasingly rallied around Jane Jacobs and sought to counter the brutal modernism of Moses' large-scale projects with a different kind of urban aesthetic that focused on local neighborhood development, and on the historical preservation, and ultimately gentrification, of older areas."⁴ The second case quoted is the new form of consumption which represents a mix of big and small urban spaces of consumption where "shopping malls, multiplexes, and box stores proliferate as do fast-food and artisanal market places, boutique cultures and, as Sharon Zukin shyly notes, "Pacification by cappuccino."⁵

THE CITY AND ITS EVOLUTION

Located around 150 kilometers to the south-east of Mumbai, the origin of Pune city dates back to the 13th century⁶, when a settlement evolved on the confluence of the Mula and Mutha rivers. Decades later with the formation of the 18 *peths* or wards, Pune flourished and developed under the Peshwa rule. "Though its urban growth reflected the traditional pattern, its urban space was fashioned within the narrow confines of a caste-based society, moulded by a rigid social structure."⁷ "Pune had an unmistakable stamp of Brahmin orthodoxy"⁸. Today the city's contemporary urban form is a juxtaposition of its historic events, ups and downs, big and small events, moves and gestures which define a "twin image of Pune: the cultural capital and the leading industrial city of Maharashtra." ⁹

THE BRITISH INFLUENCE

The British regiment brought along with it four types of settlements - Port cities (Provincial capital), Cantonments (the Military stations), the Hill stations and the Railway towns.¹⁰ The cantonments were established as special function towns to suit the needs of the British to rule over India. All cantonments across India were planned in a similar manner as shown in figure 1. Today within the larger urban systems prevailing in India the cantonment towns lie as a special category of urban settlements. But with the rapid urbanization and increasing development pressure the cantonments are viewed as anachronistic moribund urban features by some and a few others view them as the only green lungs left within the rapidly concretizing cities.

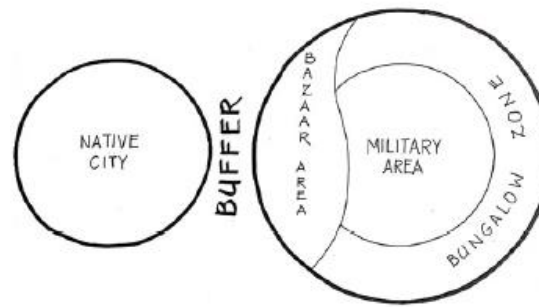


Figure 8. - Typical layout of cantonments. (Source: Authors)

Impact of the British Rule in Pune

In 1818, the Battle of Khadki led to the defeat of the Peshwas and the conquest of Pune by the British. This was climacteric point in the development of the city. The British setup the Pune Cantonment on the eastern edge of the old core city of Pune.

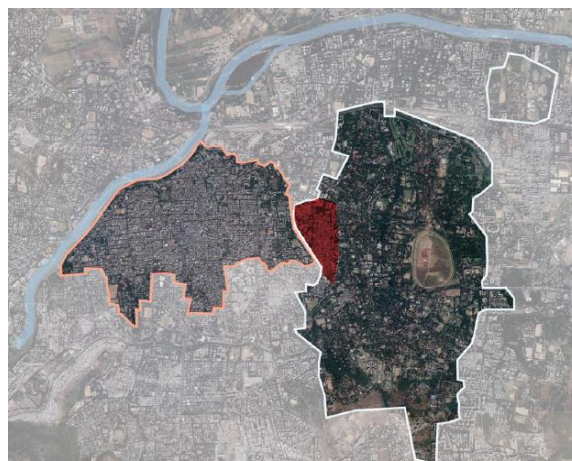


Figure 9. - Relationship with the old core city area. (Source: Authors)

The urban patch taken up for study (demarcated in red) lies on the eastern edge of the old core city of Pune and is a part of the Pune cantonment. The cantonment was setup in a vast open area between two natural streams, the Manik nala and the Bhairoba nala. It was planned like all the other cantonment towns in the country.

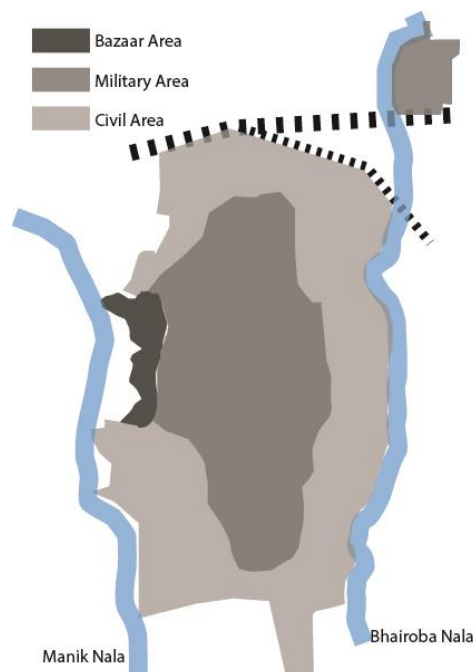


Figure 10. - The Zoning of the Pune Cantonment. (Source: Authors)

Located next to the old core city area, with a buffer in between the two, the Pune cantonment was divided into three zones, namely the bazaar area, the military area and the civil area/ bungalow area. The military area was for the military operational and soldier line purposes. The bungalow area was for purely residential purposes, where both army officers and the civil gentry could reside. The bazaar area was given to the traders and merchants for residential and business purposes, so as to cater to the daily needs services of the British. The focus of the study here is the bazaar area.

BUILT FORM STUDY

Bungalow Typology

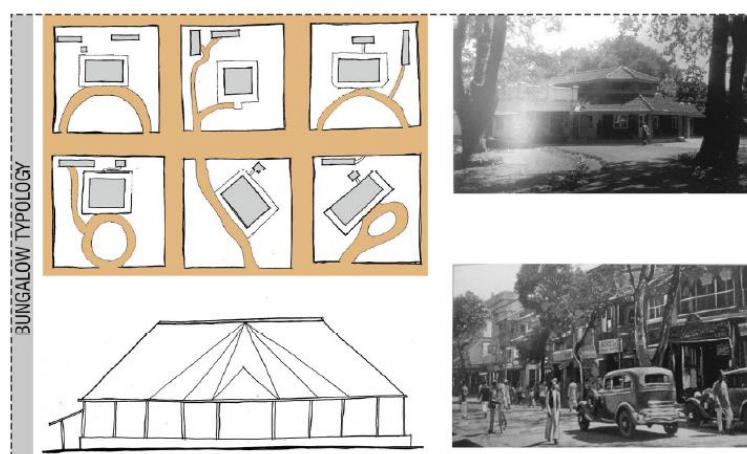


Figure 11. - Bungalow Typology. (Source: Authors)
(Old Images Source: Pune: Queen of the Deccan)

The bungalows were set amidst the sprawling acres of land within the compound, but they lay in isolation and disconnect from the surrounding urban fabric. With each bungalow having a sprawling garden, separate servants quarters, and a typical sloping roof which defined the form of the building.

Bazaar Typology

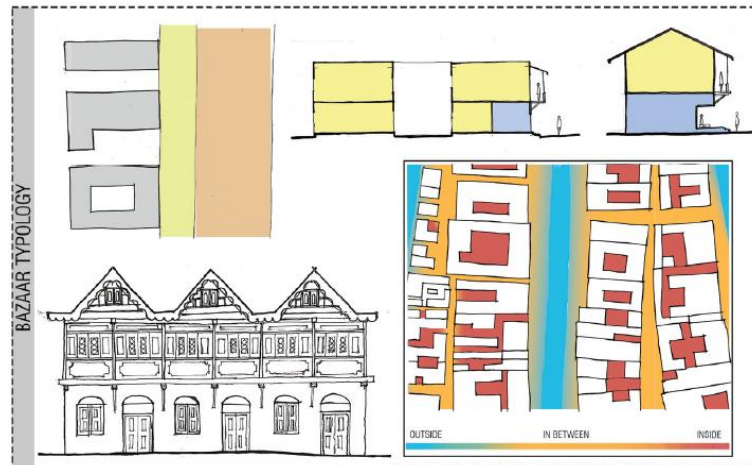


Figure 12. - Built form of the Bazaar Typology (Source: Authors)

The built form that evolved in the bazaar area was a mix of the *wada* typology from the old core *peth* areas and the bungalow typology from the bungalow zone, along with an added style from the native place of the settlers. Having setup their shops on the plots assigned along the streets, as the business flourished the houses of the traders soon transformed from light thatched structures to 2-3 storey houses. The settlement adopted a typical functional mix that existed in the old *peth* areas of Pune as well as other cities across the country with the ground floor being used for commercial purposes and the upper storey for residential purposes. Another element of Indian urbanism that reflected in the bazaar area was that of the *alis*, *gallis* (bylanes) and *puras* (clusters) of the old city. Thus the traditional urban form of clusters flourished even under the strict cantonment development regulations. “The architecture and street facade as it evolved reflected the cosmopolitan nature of the population and developed an eclectic mixture of Indian and European elements that gave it a personality of its own.”¹¹ Though there were strict cantonment rules, and regular inspection conducted, no restrictions were laid on the design of the built form. Thus the built form reflected familiar facade to that of the native place of the traders with the courtyard typology being a common one, even for the smallest plot. This organic growth consisting of hybrid architectural styles gave the streetscape an eclectic character, which was unique to the city of Pune and thus giving the city a dual identity.

SPATIALITY OF PATCHWORK COSMOPOLITANISM

Though the residential area of the British was segregated, interaction with the Indian population was necessary in other aspects of life of the British. Daily provisions like grain, fuel, vegetables and crafted articles like shoes, saddles and imported luxury goods were needed by the troops and officer residents in the camp. For this, space was allocated to the west of the bungalow area and the east of the old core city of Pune, which came to be known as the Sadar Bazaar. The traders in these bazaar areas were the Bhora Muslims, Parsis, Goan Christians, Bene-Israelis (the Jewish community that has now dwindled in Pune). Apart from these migrants there were also other castes and groups like the Telegu speaking

Kamathis, Tamil speaking shoe makers, also a large number of Shimpis (Tailor community). The social mix of various ethnic groups makes it a cosmopolitan area, gives the patch a cosmopolitan nature (which exists even today), unlike that of the old core city area of Pune, where the settlement was based on the caste system.

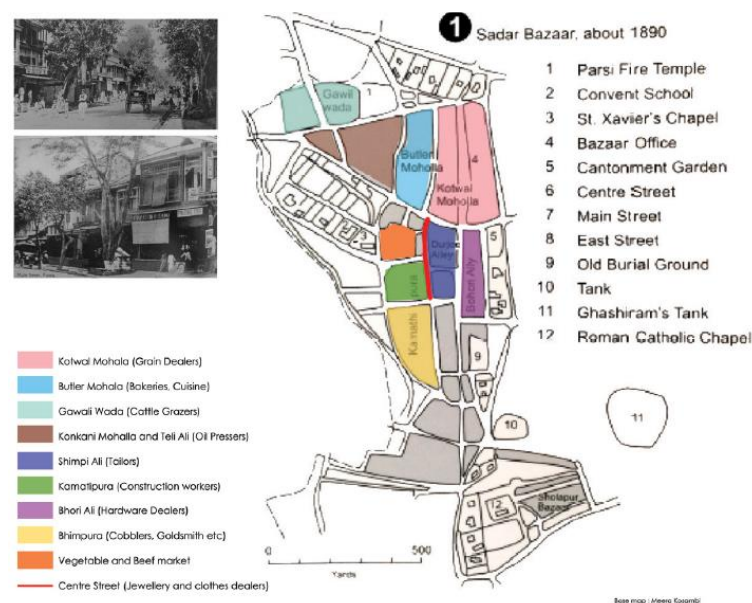


Figure 13. - Social structure of the Urban Patch.
(Base map source - Meera Kosambi)
(Old Images Source - Pune - Queen of Deccan)

IMPACT OF THE BYELAWS ON THE URBAN PATCH

There were no byelaws that were implied to the built form during the settlement. Thus resulting in an organic development of the settlement, this added to the character of the place. In 1960, the partitioning of the Bombay state, led to the decision of the state government to set up the industrial area near Pune. This led to the growth and development of the city. Thus with the boom in the economic sector, there was a pressure of development in the city areas with the rising land values and their location and connectivity to the transit stations. Thus to channelize the development in the cantonment area in cohesion with that in the municipal limits, the cantonment land policies were set up in 1976. Not having achieved the growth of the camp / bazaar area as envisioned, later on other set of byelaws were set up in 1984, 1988. The byelaws led to the stagnation in the growth of the area, leading to dilapidated condition of buildings, outmigration of the residents, and change of building use from mixed use to commercial. All of the above thus impacted the socio-spatial relationship, the public realm, the diversity of the area and the overall character of the area.

1976 Byelaws

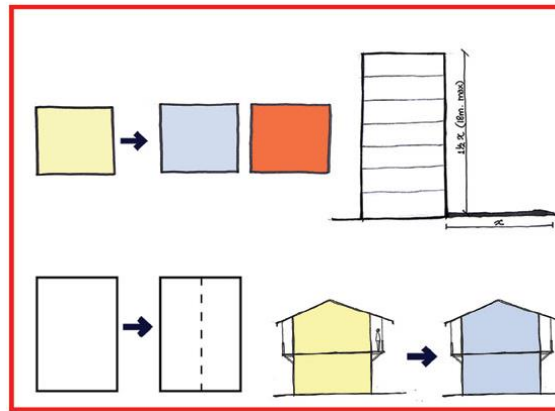


Figure 14. - Graphical representation on the 1976 byelaws. (Source: Authors)

With the vision to develop the urban patch, new land policies and building byelaws were introduced in 1976. The land policy permitted the owners to convert their old grant tenure system to a free hold tenure thus allowing them to convert their residential, mixed use buildings to completely commercial use or institutional or other uses. Also a relaxation on the building height was given with the maximum height being up to 18 m.

1984, 1988 Byelaws

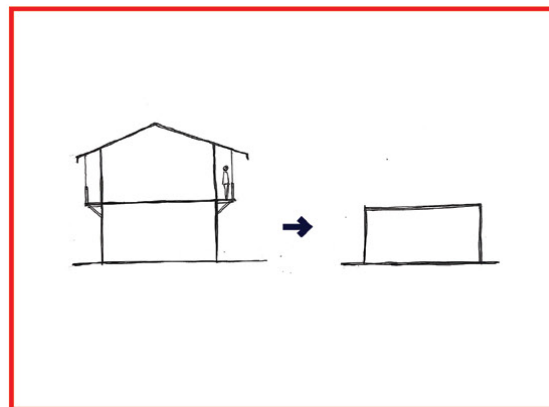


Figure 15. - Graphical representation of the 1984, 1988 byelaws. (Source: Authors)

The 1976 byelaws led to the haphazard development within the patch. Thus in 1984, for the first time the FSI was introduced in the cantonment, with a maximum permissible FSI of 2.00 in order to control the rapid development of the patch.

Having realized the failure of the 1976 and 1984 policy and byelaws for the development of the patch, which led to the loss of the character of the place. The byelaws were revised in 1988, where the permissible FSI was 1.00. Since the consumed FSI was more than the permissible FSI, there was hardly any development that took place. Thus the byelaws led to a moribund form of the urban patch, leading to dilapidated condition of buildings, outmigration of the residents impacting the overall nature of the place.

2016 Byelaws

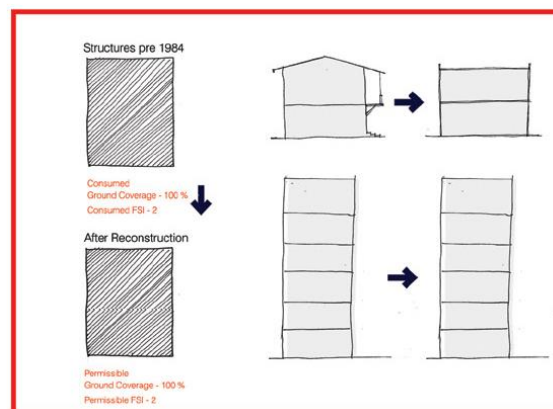


Figure 16. - Graphical representation of the 2016 byelaws. (Source: Authors)

The stagnation period led to the deterioration of the patch, with many residents out migrating to other areas within the city. In order to mitigate the impacts of the previous regulations, the byelaws were revised in 2016 stating that – “Wherever there is existing structure / building that exceeds coverage and FAR re-erection shall be permitted as per the approval granted to the original structure prior to the FSI Restrictions in Pune Cantonment i.e. prior to 26.03.1984.”¹² Permissible FAR for the sites in Sadar Bazar Area, Wanowrie Bazar and Ghorpuri Bazar, which are held on lease apart from resumable tenure, B-2 land and Freehold sites shall be one.

Over the past four decades the cantonment byelaws have led to a disruption of the rich architectural fabric of the place as shown below, thus impacting the character of the place and socio-spatial relationship of the users with the place.

A Visual Timeline Study of Streetscape of a part of M.G Road



Figure 17. - Streetscape of M.G Road pre 1976 byelaws



Figure 18. - Streetscape of M.G. Road after the 1976 byelaws



Figure 19. - Streetscape of M.G Road after the 1988 byelaws



Figure 20. - Streetscape of M.G Road after the 2016 byelaws. (Source: Authors)

The timeline study shows how the first block has changed over time under revised bye-laws. Very few of the original structures remain at certain parts replaced by structures of ad-hoc architectural character to take advantage of bye-laws. This has destroyed the character of the fabric.

The revised byelaws of 2016 provide an opportunity for the development of the patch, but are unfair on a basis of unequal distribution of FSI, such as the people who did not develop their plots during the 1976 byelaws, will get less FSI and the ones who developed their plots will get more FSI. Also the new emerging form does not relate to the rich surrounding architectural context of the place, thus further impacting the form, function, character and nature of the place.

Building Use

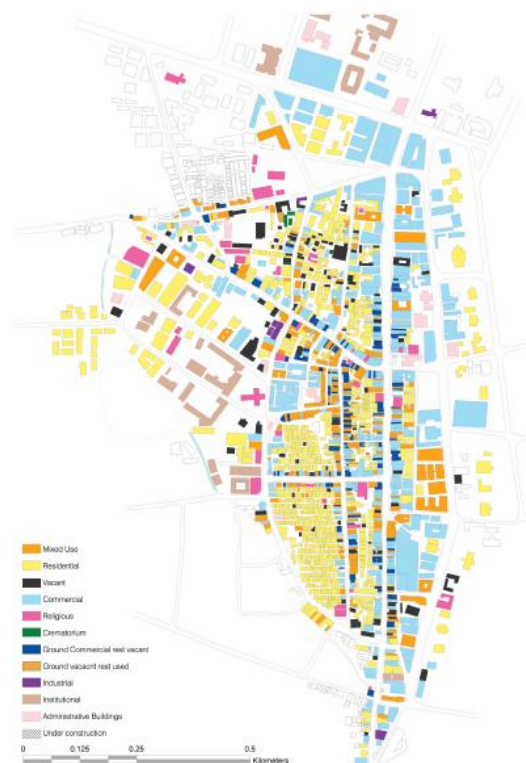


Figure 21. - Existing building use. (Source: Authors)

A mixed use of functions in the patch makes it a vibrant patch. With the commercial development arising along the main corridors, thus having a shift from the mixed use character from the settlement period to a complete commercial use. The shift in use to complete commercial can also be seen within the interiors of the patch rather than only along the networks. There are also many structures that are in a dilapidated condition or lie vacant due to the owners unable to make changes because of the byelaws

not permitting an increase in FSI, or the issue of ownership, or a few properties being under dispute, thus creating dead spaces.

Building Age



Figure 22. - Existing building age. (Source: Authors)

As a large number of pre 1976 structures exist even today, it is the right time for intervention as there is a need to retain the structures in order to retain the character of the area.

Building Condition

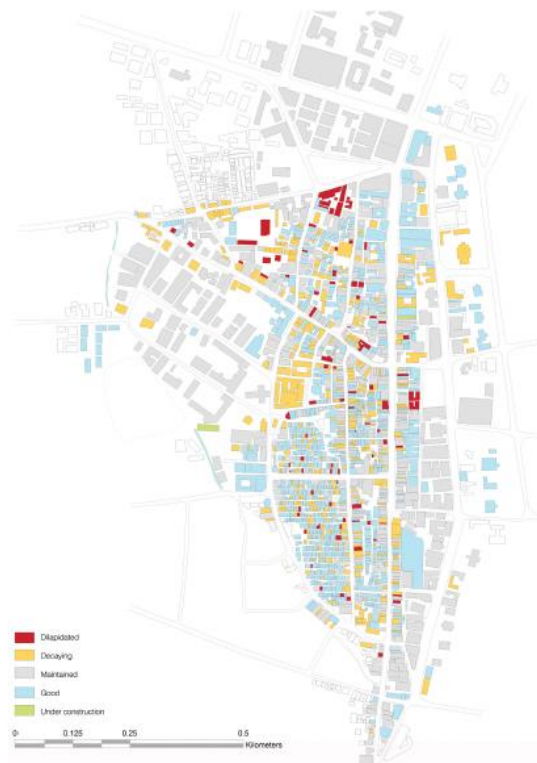


Figure 23. - Existing building condition. (Source: Authors)

A number of structures that lie in dilapidated condition or decaying condition are due to the neglect of the structures either due to being vacant or weak economical condition of the residents.

Building Typology

With the increase in the economic pressure and the commodification of place, with some architecturally significant, mixed use structures being brought down to be replaced by the tall commercial buildings. There are a few cases like the 6, Bhaktiar Plaza at Mahatma Gandhi road within the patch where a sensitive approach has been taken up to change the functional use of the structure without disturbing the character of the built form, thus retaining the rich architectural building.

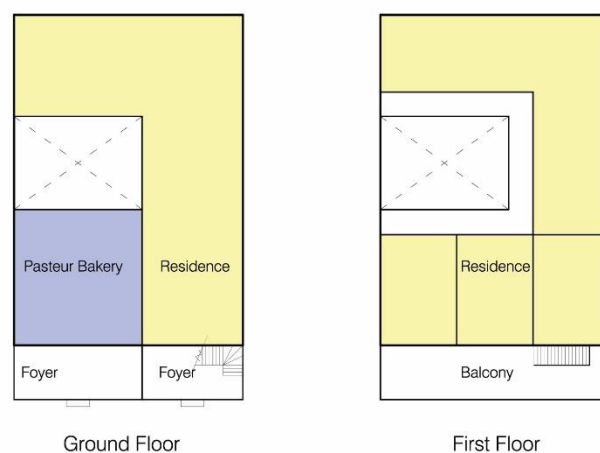


Figure 24. - Floor plan of a courtyard typology house before 1960. (Source: Authors)

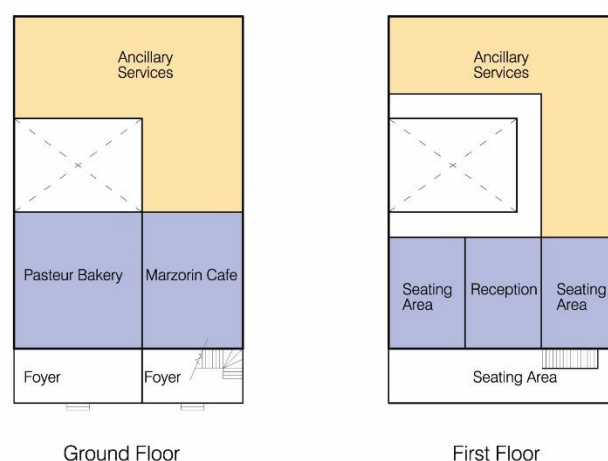


Figure 25. - Floor plan of a courtyard typology house after 1960. (Source: Authors)

CASE STUDIES

In the context of this study we present here, two cases of urban regeneration from India and Turkey to see how people, administration and action groups are involved and affect changes in the processes. In the first from India, Lalitha Kamath's study of the BATF (Bangalore Agenda Task Force) in addressing the issue of urban regeneration presents a case, which, working within the PPP (Public Private Partnership) model eventually fails to serve the underprivileged of the city. She writes "The BATF's *Nirmala Bangalore* project aimed to provide hundred hygienic public toilets in the city to improve public sanitation and benefit all residents. The toilet facilities were operated and maintained by private vendors. To ensure that people in less remunerative areas (lower density, less visible and poorer areas) were serviced, toilet facilities were packaged so that more profitable sites were balanced with those that were not as profitable. However, only two of the 23 toilet complexes ultimately constructed were in slums, and there was considerable controversy around how affordable a Pay and use toilet would be for the urban poor."¹³ Kamath goes on to show, on the contrary, how the initiative serves the more privileged classes: "BATF members, all being from the middle classes, were motivated to design a Pay

n Park scheme, the main objectives of which were to provide improved parking facilities, thereby alleviating traffic congestion and augmenting the BMP's revenues. *Pay n Park* was implemented by the BMP by awarding contracts to private contractors, many of whom were connected by family or business interests to BMP councilors."¹⁴

Lalitha Kamath cites another example of BATF's project for the renewal of the city's main KR market and illustrates how a top-down approach negatively impacts the scheme through a misjudged in-situ rehabilitation of the vendors: "The old KR market exemplified the building type of markets which is the long, low enclosed building where vendors sit in adjacent stalls, generally all on one floor" she writes "In keeping with the vision of a more ordered and modern city the new market was designed as a multi-storey building (which) however has been rather unsuccessful."¹⁵ Kamath argues that since all vendors wanted to be on the ground floor which gave them better chance to sell their wares, BATF's intervention on the traditional Indian market typology failed.

In the second study from Turkey, Müge Akkar Ercan presents another case of 'integrated rehabilitation' in Istanbul which fails to achieve the holistic goal that the urban regeneration initiative was meant to fulfill. The F&B Quarter, the historic district in question suffered from decaying historic built environment and housing stock and an overall intervention strategy was required to address this urban condition. Some historic buildings were restored and "a mixed-use strategy to balance residential, commercial and community services" was adopted. However, "apart from one street, the objective of restoring building groups to enhance the visual impact of regeneration was not accomplished. The scheme therefore failed to provide a sustainable conservation-led regeneration model of affordable, healthy and safe shelters accompanied by a long term financial and management plan for F&B."¹⁶

In both the cases we see a lost connection in ideation, approach and outcome for reasons of a lack of holistic approach involving all user groups appropriately. Design and cultural conditions were not thought out in a proper synchronized whole. Also, vested interest, as documented by the authors came in the way of an overall regeneration of spaces and uses.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is primarily twofold; the first concern is about the people of the area. To explore how we can retain the cosmopolitanism of Pune's cantonment edge and prevent outmigration of the original settlers in a physically declining urban patch and being pushed out of the area as a result of displacement by international retail coming into the area. The second concern is to find a mechanism of retaining the urban fabric through creative change in use of place and up gradation of urban infrastructure.

The structure of the stakeholders is supremely important in the process of urban regeneration (the Pune case can perhaps be read within this umbrella of urban study, in certain ways) where people, culture and urban artifacts come together to present a complex whole. It is important that we work towards a "coalition of civic organizations and agencies to promote the benefits of inward investments; and such agencies need to be a coalition or alliance of public/private and voluntary organizations."¹⁷

Through typology study earlier in the article we have established how existing assets can be used in the process of urban regeneration. This involves aspects of the tangible and intangible (physical space and specific use of the space).

The entire process needs to be incremental rather than a onetime 'big design vision' and a robust financial model with a 'bottom up' approach can be effective, provided there is a strong democratic structure based on mutual trust between citizens and their elected representatives. Here the role of 'participatory budgeting' as a financial instrument can be tried out. Graeme Chesters quotes PB

advocate and organizer, Porto Alegre in his essay on social movements and regeneration to reinforce the role of PB in the following lines: “Participatory Budgeting (PB) is a process of direct, voluntary and universal democracy, where people can debate and decide on public budgets and policy (the citizen) ceases to be an enabler of traditional politics and becomes a permanent protagonist of public administration. The PB combines direct democracy with representative democracy, an achievement that should be preserved and valued.”¹⁸

A recent study in Seoul establishes through empirical and analytical methods that “the built environment characteristics espoused by (Jane) Jacobs, such as mixed uses, small block sizes, and high building concentrations, can play a significant role in sustaining urban diversity.”¹⁹ Given the fact that the urban patch considered in the present study has all the elements presented in the aforementioned research there is strong reason to believe that with the right kind of intervention initiatives discussed, the cantonment edge will continue to be a vital aspect of the urban cosmopolitanism in Pune.

NOTES

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A PRIMORDIAL LANDSCAPE AS HERITAGE

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INTRODUCTION

Whereas in the past, our built heritage played a key role in defining the identity and the local traditional and cultural values, our current society is marked by a multitude of identities. In a conventional approach to heritage, religious symbolism is a key element in evoking a sacral atmosphere, but such symbolism no longer finds a place in a contemporary burial space.¹ Too often this results in approaches towards patrimony and architecture that are marked by generic and fit-to-all solutions².

Since our methodology consists of intertwining theory with practice as an ongoing research project, the discourse originates from a particular on-site intervention³, *Statie Stuifduin*, the design of a crematorium amidst a cemetery in Lommel, Noord Limburg, Flanders, Belgium.



Figure 1. Caspar David Friedrich, *Monastery Graveyard in Snow*, 1817-1819 –
a2o, *Access path to Statie Stuifduin*, 2018

This paper describes the turning points in the relation of symbolism and tangible burial space to the conception of nature in a Western context. It explores an attitude towards the potential of landscape as an alternative to 'built' heritage. As found in the ideals of 19th century Romanticism, the universal power of nature constitutes both a unique identity and a universally recognizable symbolism.⁴ Thus, parallels can be drawn between this ideal of romanticism and the design brief of a crematorium in a peri-urban environment.

DEATH IS FAMILIAR

The way in which man deals with death, has always been part of man's attitude towards life. For centuries, death was considered to be a familiar part of Western life. Sickness, poor hygiene, limited health care, child mortality, etc., have long given death a permanent presence. Both death and corpses were common and familiar. From medieval times onwards, the Catholic Church, as the major religious institute, has been able to provide comfort and meaning to life. People accept that they will die and prepare for the inevitable end. For Lommel, there is little difference with the Flemish or even Western society at that time.⁵

The central position of religion, and hence the notion of life and death, is translated literally in the tangible presence of a church building and churchyard as the center of a community.⁶ Church buildings and adjacent cemeteries are physical representations of Catholic symbolism. The architecture a built evocation of transcendence, the decoration a figurative display of Biblical scenes. The presence of the church was at the same both suppressing and comforting.⁷

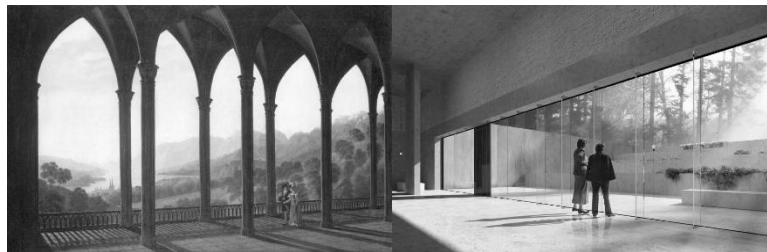


Figure 2. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Paysage avec arcades gothiques*, 1811 –
a2o, *Cremation room with a view of the antechamber at Statie Stuifduin*, 2018

Urban settlements or cities, typically centred around religious institutions, are dwarfed against a vast landscape of raw nature.⁸ The urban and the wild landscape are strongly separated.⁹ For centuries, the Noord-Limburg panorama of Lommel was one of infertile heathland and shifting sands. Man was engaged in a continuous struggle with nature. Every day, the immensity proved to be very challenging. The poor soil complicated cultivation. The sand threatened the houses. The infertile wild land dominated the region and the life that is related to it.¹⁰

DEATH IS TRAGEDY

Until the beginning of the 19th century, one religious institute generally succeeded to provide meaning. Immediately prior to the beginning of the 19th century, however, there was a great schism in history: the French Revolution (1789). The total collapse of state power, the *coup de grâce* for the Ancien Régime, the distrust in the Catholic Church, and the First Industrial Revolution. All these events had a mythical radiance and were regarded as the primal scenes of a new era.¹¹ The belief in the revolution decreased, however, when the Enlightenment proved tyrannical in its tendency towards starting with a clean slate. It made short shrift with tradition, customs and history.¹² In this atmosphere, a peculiar movement flourished that would later be called Romanticism. Romanticism responded in an emotional way to the enlightenment ratio taken to extremes, with attention to the instinctive, continuity, the natural, the ordinary (and related amazement about these). There was a predilection for mystery, and the belief in calculability and transparency of the world weakened. Ratio was making it too easy for itself, after all, it was unable to fathom the depth of life and its dark sides.¹³



Figure 3. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Ruined Gallery of Statues of the Villa Adriana at Tivoli*, 1760-1778 – a2o, *Access to the cremation room of Statie Stuifduin*, 2018

With the emergence of the Enlightenment and ratio, the trust and belief in the Ancien Régime and its religious institute had been reshaped. The lacuna left behind, was filled – among other things – by a search for the meaning of life in the (super)natural.¹⁴ It goes without saying that man has always been part of nature, but until the Romantic Era, nature was primarily seen as a supplier of the necessities of life rather than a threat to life.¹⁵ From Romanticism onwards, nature is suddenly regarded in a different light too. Raw landscape such as vast dunes and heather are revalued as primordial landscapes.^{16 17} On the one hand, full of admiration and awe. Nature is suddenly no longer self-evident. On the other hand, as an expression of the pure, a desire for simplicity and the ordinary.¹⁸ The rediscovery of nature manifests itself in the burial culture as well. For the first time in Modern Times, the 19th century witnesses a coming together of the conception of nature and the way in which death and burial are handled. A new cult of tombs and cemeteries emerges, set in nature¹⁹, in which death is dramatised and aestheticised.²⁰ The cemetery is no longer inseparable from the church building, but becomes a destination in itself. A park-like environment, a place to escape to from strict urban life, both in life and death. Consequently, death is no longer part of life, but literally a tragic and emotional breach that snatches the deceased from society, away from his next of kin.²¹ This view has also affected the mourning process, which has become more emotional, even hysteric, keeping acceptance of death at bay.²² In the following decades, the Romantic concept of nature would find resonance in the ideas of Viollet-Le-Duc, the Gothic Revival, and later on the Art Nouveau movement.²³ The conception of burial symbolism, however, would not see major turning points until the heydays of modernism.

DEATH IS TABOO

It roughly takes until after the World Wars to rethink the ‘*unique*’ character of the Christian funeral service. Although multiple lifestances take on the role of symbolism, the inability to accept death makes it a growing taboo, resulting in repression. The dying hardly ever hear from their doctors or their family that they are in a terminal phase, a phenomenon that prevailed until a few decades ago. Public mourning is suppressed, grief is only expressed in private, and ceremonies become more discrete and less emotional. Contact with the deceased is restricted to a minimum. The coffin remains closed for friends and relatives. Death has become a total taboo, a rite of passage that must remain unsaid.²⁴

Moreover, following the ideas of modernity, in the middle of the twentieth century, death ‘*moves*’ from the deathbed at home to the hospital or old people’s home. Death is medicalised, technologicalised...²⁵

It is manipulated through palliative care and ultimately euthanasia. Cemeteries continue to appear on the outskirts of cities and towns. However, where the 19th century saw this as a result of a connection with nature, from the 20th century onwards this is merely due to a modernist idea of separation of function. Following an idea of neutrality, this often leads to superficiality or generic gestures.²⁶



Figure 4. Campo Santo in Piazza dei Miracoli, Pisa, 1464 –
a2o, Great Hall in Statie Stuijfsduin, 2018

Over the centuries, the heathlands were continuously domesticated up to the current point in which only rare traces of the indigenous landscapes remain visible. Heathland surrendered to industry, agriculture, a dispersed dwelling culture. After the end of World War II, the untamable landscape was finally tamed. Man heroically subjected nature, well fitted into strictly defined functional zones. And gradually forgot about the wild grounds, the roots of Noord Limburg society.²⁷

DEATH IS MANAGEABLE

Since the end of the 1970s, an alternative movement has emerged, which opposes the ‘dehumanisation’ of death. The increasing aversion to religious and other institutions, the fear of nuclear threat, the ageing of the population, the individualisation of society, as well as the rise of the psychology of ‘entitlement’, have also given the dying certain ‘rights’: the right to information, to dignity, to personal choices...²⁸

These evolutions run parallel to the rapid and radical secularisation of society, jeopardising the comfort of a life after death. The ‘*unique*’ character of the Christian funeral service is further challenged by the major immigration waves at the end of the 20th century. Death has become more multicultural, more diverse. Diversity shows a society that there are ‘*other options*’, alternatives to the way in which they deal with death. De Baar states that we have entered a post-Christian era, centered around man, rather than the Church (...) and (...) that one of the signs of this phenomenon is the extensive range of new, free rituals around death that is on offer. Death has become less terrifying and the taboo around death is slowly disappearing.²⁹ As secularization progresses, people look to reinvent funeral rituals. As religious symbolism is no longer relevant to everyone, nature seems to have the potential of taking its place. In many philosophies of life, symbolic, natural elements already constituted part of the burial rites, in the shape of ‘earth’ to which one would return, air as a region along which the soul can escape,

fire that purifies and turns matter to ash, water that cleanses, offers comfort and provides the deceased with a way out of his earthly existence. For non-believers, nature, the landscape, also offers a powerful metaphor for the cycle of life and death.³⁰ In general, funeral ceremonies increasingly take on the forms that people also try out during their lives. Novel rituals are often combinations of existing traditions, which can be merged in a highly personal way and thus take on an eclectic nature.³¹



Figure 5. Zen garden at Ryoan-ji, Kyoto, 1486 – a2o, Great Hall in Statie Stuifduin, 2018

Until well into the 1960s, the average Belgian preferred to be buried in a graveyard. This has changed due to new beliefs, an altered view on dying, and increasing multiculturalisation, and has created a demand for alternatives, including cremation. The last 50 years witnessed a major decline in traditional burial in favour of cremation. Considering its recent introduction in Western death culture, the typology of the crematorium was relatively uncharted territory. Unlike other public and semi-public buildings, such as churches, schools and libraries, there were no centuries-old proven typologies or heritage of typological research to fall back on. This complexity concerns in particular the almost impossible combination of a ceremonial space with sacral ambitions where people experience a fundamental moment in their circle of family or friends, and a high-tech machine that is subject to strict regulations. Moreover, due to environmental legislation and a scarcity of land, crematoria are usually built in peripheral locations alongside an industrial site or business estate, far from the village centre.

The architecture of death, cemeteries, tombs, crematoria has always reflected the prevailing ideas about dying and death. Today, death has become a project that can be directed, in which little room for a single form of symbolism or semantics remains. Of course, every major philosophy of life has a system of conducting rituals. What we see today, however, is that there is not just one scenario that must be followed, but an almost endless variation of scenarios.³² This renders the crematorium architecturally related to the theatre, which also needs to be a place that offers directors the possibilities to implement many scenarios. The crematorium has become a house of prayer, a place for giving meaning to life, a space that brings life and death together again.³³ In a diverse society, however, it is evident that everyone should be able to make use of the services of a crematorium. It is therefore by no means surprising that almost all project briefs for new crematoria refer to multiculturalism as well as neutrality of symbolism. It is the architect's task to make sure that neutrality does not lead to superficiality or a generic gesture. Moreover, as Dubois stated, there is an increasing awareness that these special places can and must be more than functional buildings with technical installations and related catering facilities, ignoring local histories and heritage. Misconceptions that were often made in the first generation of crematorium buildings. One should rather look for answers that are at the same time broadly recognisable *and* exhibit a strong contextual appropriateness.³⁴ *Statie Stuifduin* finds these answers in the power of a primaeval landscape of dunes and heather. However, the primaeval landscape does only exist today as a latent landscape. As in many parts of Noord Limburg, most dunes are now turned into forested or cultivated areas and the last open heather is protected as valuable biotopes. Moreover, the pine trees that once

replaced the dunes for industrial mining purposes, are starting to be appreciated these days for their specific character and its value as a man-made landscape.³⁵

APPROACH: DRAWING PARALLELS BETWEEN ROMANTICISM AND CURRENT CONDITION

The combination of society's quest for death as part of human nature, the comfort of a life after death jeopardised by secularisation, and the filling of this lacuna by the ambiguous dynamics of nature, shows characteristics that we also find in the 19th-century art movement of Romanticism. Doorman argues that Romanticism, rather than a movement from the visual arts, music, philosophy or literature, should be regarded as a mental attitude.³⁶ Moreover, Berlin calls Romanticism the greatest revolution in Western awareness, reflected among other things in the contemporary attitude towards Romantic concepts such as (return to) nature, the commonplace and the ruin.³⁷ As a design approach on each of these concepts is reflected by visually relating design studies to monochrome images from art history.

Return to Nature – Restoration of a Primordial Landscape

Architecture is, by virtue of its basic function – to accommodate – capable of bringing man closer to a natural element: a sublime object³⁸, far enough not to elicit fear, but close enough to cause a shiver that a confrontation would destroy him. In this way, architecture manages to generate the sublime more intensely: looking out across a ravine, as in Schinkel's painting (*Figure 2, left*), experiencing a storm while sitting in front of the fire at home, standing on top of a skyscraper's observation platform...³⁹

Statie Stuifduin is foremost a restoration project, rather than landscape design, in which the indigenous environment is brought back. Here a resurrected landscape as intangible heritage challenges the traditional notion of heritage in providing consolidation and meaning. The top layer, the former farming field, is stripped. The wind gets a hold over the loosely grained soil and creates a subtle relief. The seeds of heather, still stored in the soil, are exposed and spontaneously cause the return of heather and grasses. This creates a landscape in transition. After man has helped the landscape, nature will look for a new balance. The lowered garden at the entrance to the furnaces (*Figure 2, right*), a concrete and steel antechamber, is a victory over nature, but will slowly be reclaimed by nature. Here, the sublime is not sought in the architecture, but in the proximity of the natural.

Ruins – Interiorising Nature

The characterizing ruin lust of Romanticism was largely modelled on the *Roman Vistas* by Piranesi (*Figure 3, left*) and can be witnessed in Friedrich's paintings.⁴⁰ The only thing that remains of the once grand abbey, is a ruined nave, surrounded by majestic trees. Friedrich here mixes Christian with pagan symbolism (*Figure 1, left*).⁴¹ Sacred trees were traditionally associated with rites, life span and immortality.⁴²

The access path of *Statie Stuifduin* cuts through this undulating carpet of dark brown bushes with pink heather (*Figure 1, right*). The formal idiom of the ruin shows a restrained force. Stripped of all dramatic nature, the landscape prevails over the landscape. The building itself takes on the role of a shelter which seeks to find contact with its surroundings. *Statie Stuifduin* exhibits itself as a ruin that has been made functional. The radical concrete structure is partly filled with glass and brickwork. Wooden beams are partly covered with profiled roof cladding. The surrounding nature enters through the many views (*Figure 3, right*). *Statie Stuifduin* does not want to testify to a spatial embedding of a building in the landscape, but of the reverse dynamics: the emotional embedding of the landscape in the building itself. This 'interiorising nature' characterises *Statie Stuifduin* as a ruin.

Commonplace – Local Landscapes and Histories as Heritage⁴³

Legend has it that the cemetery of the *Piazza dei Miracoli* was built around a ship load of sacred soil from Golgotha. Its circuit is based on the historically proven typology of the Roman atrium (*Figure 4, left*). Typologically similar is the *Zen garden at Ryoan-ji* (*Figure 5, left*). From any point around the garden, only fourteen out of fifteen rocks can be seen simultaneously. Seeing all rocks at the same time is supposed to be possible after reaching enlightenment.

The sacred soil from Golgotha, the soothing effect of the Zen garden, is represented in *Statie Stuijduin* by the cut-out landscape (*Figure 4, right* and *Figure 5, right*). A link with the past, the roots of life in Noord-Limburg, as well as the future, the resilience of nature.

By referring to these kind of concepts, *Statie Stuijduin* does not translate the ideological neutrality into the complete absence of ritual and symbolic elements, but into the multi-interpretability and universality of architectural symbolism, into the context of the landscape and association. Not the tangible and built spaces, but the presence of nature aspires an intangible expression of contemplation, simultaneously being universally recognizable and delivering unique and eternal identities.

NOTES

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- ⁴ Simon Schama. *Landscape and Memory*. (Amsterdam: Olympus, 2007), chapter 4.1-4.3
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- ²¹ Philippe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes Toward Death over the Last One Thousand Years*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 334-345
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- ⁴¹ Werner Hofmann. *Caspar David Friedrich*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000.)
- ⁴² Simon Schama. *Landscape and Memory*. (Amsterdam: Olympus, 2007), chapter 4.4
- ⁴³ Rüdiger Safranski. *Romantiek – Een Duitse affaire*. (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Atlas, 2009), 55-59

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THE DESIGN OF THE SUBJECT'S BODY AS HERITAGE. FROM ATTITUDINAL DESIGN TO VISUAL SOCIOLOGY.

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INTRODUCTION

“The material of aesthetic experience in being human is social.”

John Dewey, Art as experience, ch. 14. Art and Civilization

Subject of this paper is to question on the relation of contemporary design and tangible and intangible heritage, through the reinvention of the contemporary subject's body anatomy. The methodological tools that will be used are theoretical references of the past and present and the analysis of two contemporary exhibitions as case studies. At the conclusion, will be discussed the answer of the question and how the anatomy of the subject's body is affected.

Using Sartre's existentialism¹ as a filter, we define subject and object as multiple due to the variety of choices and roles that can constitute them. So, here, subject is defined as creator, consumer, viewer, ombudsman in post-industrial urban environment and object as the everyday object, gadget, prototype and hybrid. To continue we have to mention Habermas and Lyotard and their essays on defying the postmodern and the relation of art and everyday life², poetics as representations of everyday life and the objects as symbolic representations of political, social and economic issues of each society they belong. Poetics as a linguistic tool is connected to tangible and intangible heritage through narrations of everyday life. The poetic dimension of objects give them more and more heteroclitics properties that redefine them, under the tool of metaphor. So, the meaning of the object is growing multiplied and is transformed to a symbol, or to symbolic narratives of everyday life. Here we have to emphasize to the relation of representation and mimesis to the sight, so as to understand the procedure of understanding the properties of each object. As Nelson Goodman refers to his book “The languages of Art” for a mimetic view it is necessary the innocent view. But that innocence does not exist because the view is always experienced, attached to its past, to old and new insertions of hearing, smell, taste, heart and mind³. But both innocent view and complete surrender to idiosyncratic approach to an object are equally refreshing and useful for an artist, as the view of an object is an option or better an interpretation. That thesis of Goodman is reinforced by the contemporary theory of S. Zizek to his “Parallax View”. The object's properties, its description as a medium of representation, different from one context to another. So, objects are transformed to symbolic representations of everyday life using Blumberg's Metaphorology and Zizek's Parallax View and design is turned to attitudinal design as it is described

in Figure 1. In order of L. Moholy-Nagy designing is not a profession but an attitude. That attitude is reinforced by our experienced view, influenced by modernism and his relation to the preservation of the essence/value, the Avant-Gard and its rebel against institutional art, surrealism and futurism and their relation to a more romantic view of the technological production. So, we reach a post-industrial area when these art movements return as design tools in a post-digital area where the digital affects the real, and we can discuss again the aura of an art object as Benjamin refers to it, but with the difference that art is not ended but a design object is shifted to the field of visual sociology.

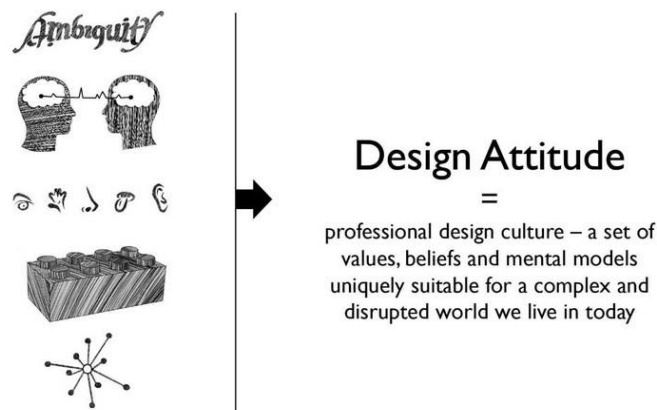


Figure 1. Definition of Design Attitude

The contemporary post-modern object can easily shift from the context of a shop, to a context of an e-shop, or can take part to the scenic of a theatrical play or to an art installation and even can be the exhibit in a contemporary art fair. Its contemporary multiplicity is its diachronic value and its role as an exhibit examines the art of curating. The question is how the reconnection to past practices support a disconnection from a present practice or/and a development of a new one, as Hall Foster says in his book “The return of the real”. Art was urged to stick to its space so as to maintain past standards of excellence. The subject like an anthropologist who enters a new culture with each new exhibition and tries to coordinate the diachronic (historical) and synchronic (social) axes in art and theory. For Burger the repetition of historic Avant-Gard by neo Avant-Gard can only turn the anti-aesthetic to artistic, the transgressive into institutional (foster hall). Avant-Gard’s the mimetic dimension, whereby the Avant-Gard mimes the degraded world of capitalist modernity in order not to embrace but to mock it. Neo Avant-Gard is to advance three claims

1. The institution of art is grasped as such not with the historical Avant-Gard but in neo Avant-Gard
2. Addresses this institution with a creative analysis at once specific and deconstructive
3. Enacts its project for the first time and is endless

Connection of art and life has occurred but under the terms of cultural industry. But can an art institution be seen as a design object? So as to connect a subject to an object and vice versa, a traumatic experience (a shift of context) is necessary to become an object of lust as Lacan says or to become an object petit to Kant.

THE FOOD OF THE FUTURE

“Art is not a replicate of the real.

From these damn things, one is enough.”

Virginia Woolf

New technology can be used as a tool for identifying the innovative character of the everyday urban narratives. Social media, google search, the web, open source communities of design are contemporary situations that affect the everyday life routines and reinvent design and the relation of object – subject production.



*Figure 2. Art installation “#YouAreAmom
Mixed media, artist: A.S. Mantikou, 2015
Courtesy of the artist*

Using food and moreover the procedures that encloses, as a paradigm of intangible heritage, we can question on the multiple identities of the subject (as creator, consumer, ombudsman) and the final object of this procedure as a result of creativity. Moreover, in the art installation in figure 2, it is represented the design of a hybrid mixer. A recipe of making bread put in google translate, through multiple translations some words were altered by completely irrelevant to the recipe objects and made the new tools for that mixer. So, this gadget was designed with tools of aesthitization (the procedure of adding heteroclites characteristics to the original), metaphors as a tool of poetics as Blumberg refers in his Metaphorology and continuous change of environment (different language translations) as Zizek refers to his Parallax view.

#THE REFLECTION OF THE PLATE

A postindustrial art and design exhibition on the everyday cultural narratives using food as a paradigm.

This exhibition took place in Athens, Greece, at the Museum Of Greek Gastronomy from April 2015 to October 2015, curated by Angeliki - Sofia Mantikou. The artists that took part in alphabetical order: A Whales Architects, E. Chasaleuri, D. Foutris, G. Grigoriadis, G. Gyparakis, K. Ioannidis, Y. Kapellos, T. Kyrgia, A. Ntelakos, A. Psychoulis, K. Velliou, K. Zafeiropoulou & T. Zafeiropoulos.

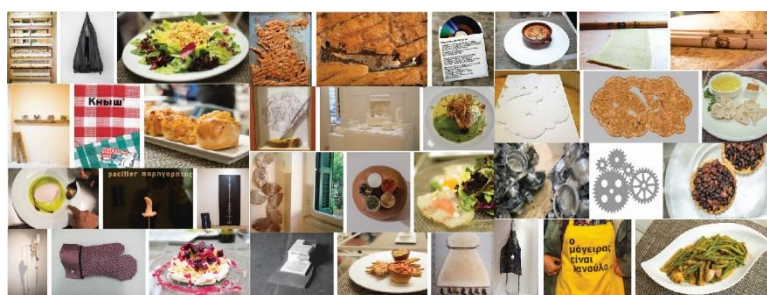


Figure 3. “#TheReflectionOfThePlate, 2015, Athens, Greece

Using the above mentioned tools, we can see how they become curatorial tools. In the art exhibition #The ReflectionOfThePlate, 12 artists and architects called to produce one triple object, which consisted of an art object for the exhibition room of the museum, an object for the shop of the museum and an edible plate, which all 12 consisted the catalogue of the museum restaurant. The following figures represent some of these triple objects. Yannis Grigoriadis (Figure 4) made an installation of construction leftovers, kitchen towels for the shop and pies with leftover food. Giorgos Gyparakis (Figure 5) made a sonic installation, translating the image of the ingredients of breast milk into music, a lollipop pacifier for the shop and panacotta from formula milk in woman’s breast shape. A Whales Architects (Figure 6) made an installation for designers with pasta from Platano banana as paper and a rolling pin with Che Gue Vara carving as a pencil, the same rolling pin for the shop and lasagna Bolognese from Platano pasta. Alexandros Psychoulis (Figure 7) made a cooking apron with a woman breast in the position of male’s penis, a cooking apron with the moto “the cook is a mother” for the shop and green beans with clams as a memory from his childhood. We can see that all art objects are related to narratives of urban life, such as the working environment (construction and the role of engineers), the male female roles, political issues, economic and environmental issues (breast milk and the formula milk) using as methodological tools metaphors and continue parallax shift. All of the art objects of the exhibition can be seen in real everyday life and are examples of what is mentioned above as attitudinal design.

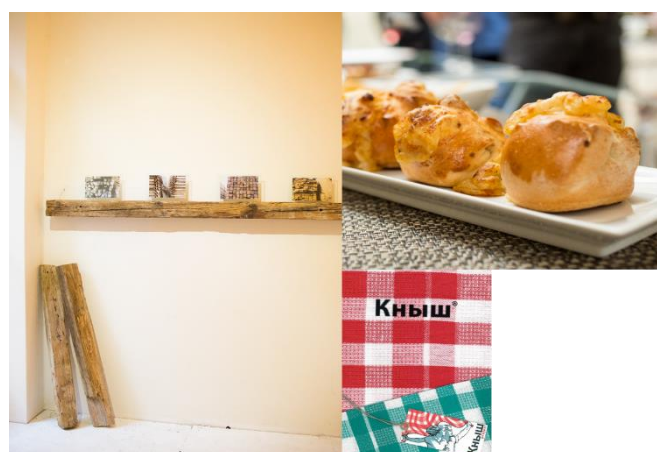


Figure 4. Art installation “The Knish Project”

Dimensions: variable, Medium: Cloth, Wood, Prints, artist: Yannis Grigoriadis, 2015
Courtesy of the artist



Figure 5. Art installation “Sonic Milk”

*Dimensions: variable, Medium: Video Installation, artist: George Gyparakis, 2015
Courtesy of the artist*



Figure 6. Art installation “The rolling Pin”

*(Fidel explains the secrets of Italian cuisine to the editor Feltrinelli)
Dimensions: variable, Medium: Video Installation, artist: A Whales Architects, 2015
Courtesy of the artist*



Figure 7. Art installation “The mother is a cook”

Dimensions: dimensions of a real apron, Medium: print on cloth, artist: Alexandros Psychoulis, 2015
Courtesy of the artist

THE LIFE FAIR NEW BODY PRODUCTS

An idiosyncratic interpretation of the objects - exhibits as creative reflections of narratives of the postindustrial city.

“Beyond the age of information comes the age of choices.”

Charles Eames

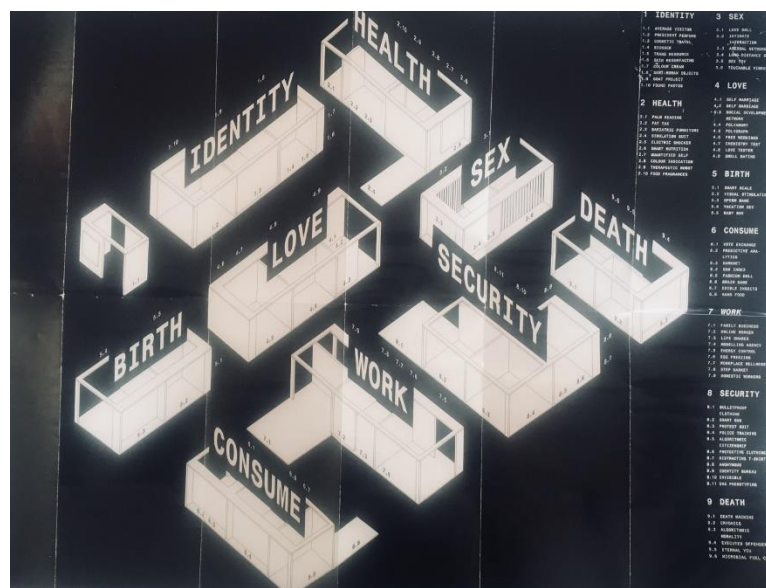


Figure 8. Main plan of the exhibition “The Life Fair. New Body Products”

This exhibition took place in Rotterdam, Netherlands in 2016, at the HET Nieuwe Instituut and was curated by Agata Jaworska. That attitudinal design we can identify and in the exhibition “The life fair. New body products”. All of the exhibits were objects accessible to mass consumption and in the following figures we can see a view of them under a procedure of interpretation not with an innocent view but with an idiosyncratic brainstorming, or a procedure close to google search. Seeing the “visual stimulation” (Figure 9, Figure 9a) and this digital nanny, comes in my mind the Greek word *dada* which means nanny, the *dada* fountain too and commercial educational methods. So, summing up the title birth – visual stimulation is represented by some idiosyncratic images broadened, altered or even destroyed the original meaning. Continuing, with “Putin’s perfume” (Figure 10, Figure 10a), comes in my mind sport commercials, masculinity commercials and *dada* object the air de Paris. With the “quantified self” (Figure 11, Figure 11a), I think Mizuno body image, the body image Abramovich’s Zero performance, the NLP, and the Amway pyramid. In “fat tax bariatric furniture” (Figure 12, Figure 12a), I think of Boys fat chair, Ikea’s Poang chair and Kosuth’s one and three chairs. In “sex toy” (Figure 13, Figure 13a) long distance sex, I think of tinder application, sex shops, fashion industry, art industry, the Venetian carnival, film industry and the design of new words. In “love tester” (Figure 14, Figure 14a), I think of chastity belts, half tattoos, love meters in fun fairs, droid love in film industry which became android love. And there goes a very long list of such gadgets that represent the whole spectrum of everyday urban life. Concluding we can see another spatial plan of the exhibition (Figure 15). In that diagram referring to Lakov’s diagrams, we can see that we move from one exhibit to the other from generalization to specialization and vice versa and we can see conceptual densities and dilutions. But what is more interesting is when we read that diagram horizontally and vertically without following the spatial movement but creating conceptual new routes. So, from a conceptual parallax that is used as a tool for understanding the spatial route of the exhibition, we create a spatial parallax following the conceptual parallax that has been already created. But what happens to the multiple subject, is that is in the same time viewer, curator, artist, consumer, art critic, citizen etc. As a conclusion, each object acquires multiple properties depending on the different context it is placed in, upgrading aestheticization as a tool of contemporary design. Result of this method is the revelation of a process as an exhibition statement and the shock theory of W. Benjamin, as a process of understanding the subject by the object. As a conclusion of this analysis is to question about the limits of art practice and design, the art of curating in post-industrial urban environment and how art practice abates the design in general (architecture, small objects, urban planning, religion, law). So, not only the spatial body affects the digital but what is more interesting is that the digital affects the spatial and environmental. Human senses acquire more and more properties and the process of perceiving the world of objects that surround them, the contemporary post-modern urbanism, is changing affecting the process of understanding and inhabits the urban environment and its heritage.



Figure 9. "Visual Stimulation", "The Life Fair. New Body Products

5. BIRTH

5.2 VISUAL STIMULATION



Figure 9a. "Visual Stimulation", "The Life Fair. New Body Products



Figure 10. “Putin’s perfume”, “The Life Fair. New Body Products

1. IDENTITY

1.2 PRESIDENT PERFUME



Figure 10a. “Putin’s perfume”, “The Life Fair. New Body Products



Figure 11. “Quantified self”, “The Life Fair. New Body Products

2. HEALTH

2.7 QUANTIFIED SELF

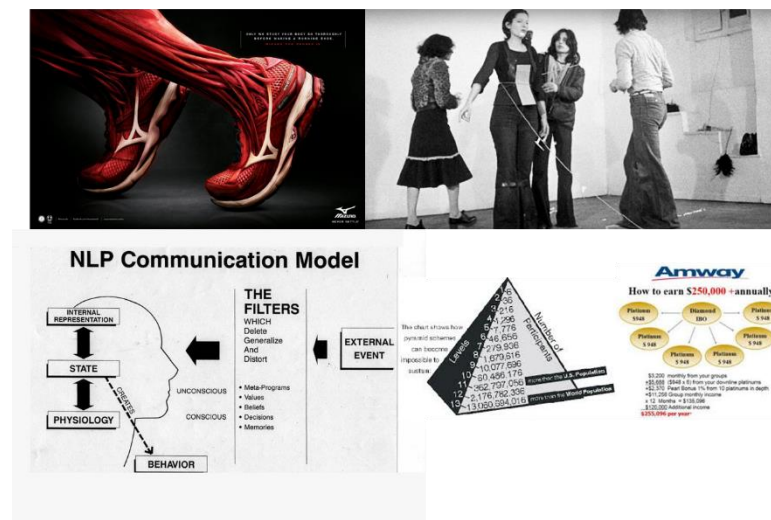


Figure 11. “Quantified self”, “The Life Fair. New Body Products



Figure 12. "Fat Tax-Bariatric furniture", "The Life Fair. New Body Products

2. HEALTH

2.2 FAT TAX

2.3 BARIATRIC FURNITURE



Figure 12a. "Fat Tax-Bariatric furniture", "The Life Fair. New Body Products

3. SEX

3.5 LONG DISTANCE SEX





Figure 14. "Love tester", "The Life Fair. New Body Products

4. LOVE

4.8 LOVE TESTER

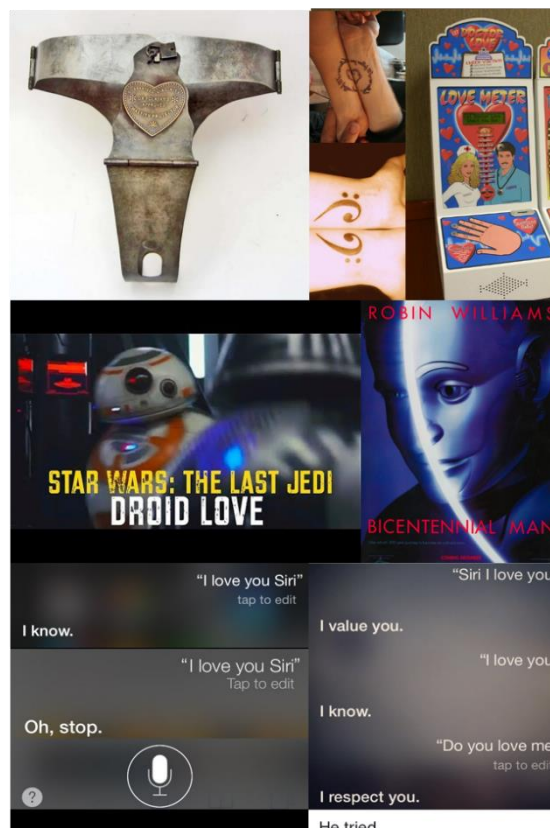


Figure 14a. "Love tester", "The Life Fair. New Body Products

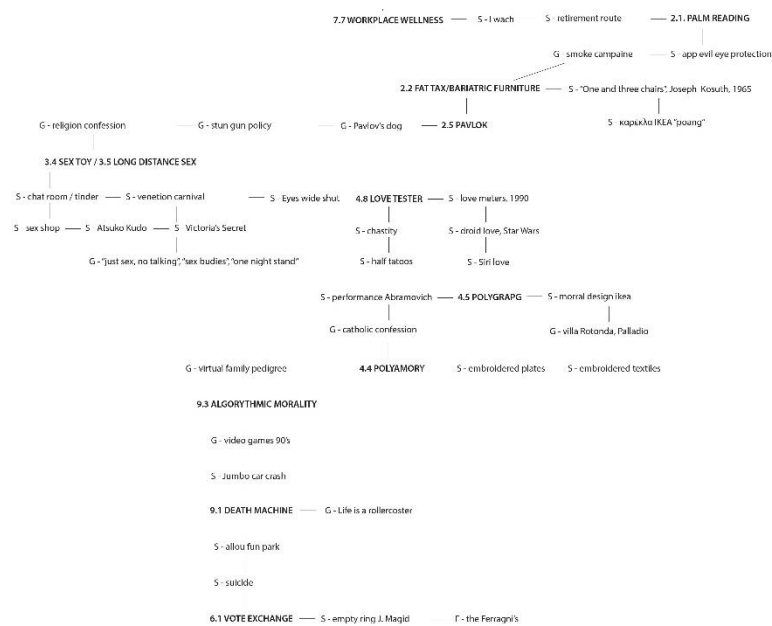


Figure 15. Conceptual spatial plan of the exhibition "The Life Fair. New Body Products"

THE NEW BODY:

HOW WE THINK CAUSALITY, TEMPORALITY AND NARRATIVITY?

"Diversity and inclusiveness are our only hope. It is not possible to plaster everything over with clean elegance. Dirty architecture, fuzzy theory, and dirty design must also be out there."

Sheila Levrant de Bretteville

The human processes of understanding the urban surrounding (hearing, seeing, smelling) become hybrids through the social media and the everyday postindustrial objects as the human senses become hybrid. Postindustrial attitudinal design produces objects symbols as representations of urban life narratives and the object urban environment relation is a communication procedure that deals with economic, political, and social topics. So, the postindustrial object becomes a reflection of contemporary urban narratives when it is excluded from reality (social media, exhibitions) and its multiplicity is a representation of the multiple object leading to a subject object relation as a communication procedure. The analogy of socioeconomic evolution and anatomical evolution is telling⁴.

NOTES

¹ Jean Paul Sartre, *Existentialism is a Humanism* (Connecticut: Yale University, 2007)

² Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A report on Knowledge* (Mineapolis: University of Minesotta Press, 1984). 71-78

³ Nelson Goodman, “*Art and Illusion: a Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*”, *The Journal of Philosophy* Volume 57 Issue 18 (1960): 595-599

⁴ Karl Marx, *The Capital* (Germany: 1867)

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REGENERATING THE EGYPTIAN COUNTRYSIDE: A MODEL FOR INTERACTIVE HUMANISTIC HERITAGE

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INTRODUCTION

The 1950's nationalization of large agricultural lands resulted in major modifications in the Egyptian countryside and radical effects on Egypt's agriculture. This research discusses the gap resulted between the families previously owning farms and the remains of their assets after being substantially reduced. It assesses the overall degradation of the countryside, and points to the fact that the matter is still neither studied nor considered in national agendas.

This paper presents the authors' role in raising the interests of members of some families to restore the remains of their heritage assets in the Nile Delta. The heirs, not usually in mutual agreement in setting up priorities and in defining values, are with different nostalgic preferences. The paper demonstrates that despite this and other difficulties, positive results were achieved, and suggests means to invest on the limited and fragmented outcomes to up-scale and institutionalize the impact. It proposes the adoption of some international frameworks, such as HUL, to integrate heritage attributes into national plans to regenerate the Egyptian countryside. Preserving the identity and the heritage of those countryside villages would then augment their role in the Nation's economy by adding to their agricultural assets a new cultural heritage role.

The research deals with al-Deir as an example of the Egyptian countryside villages. It is located within the division of Tukh Center, Qalyubiyya Governorate in the Nile Delta. The discovery of an unpublished related technical report dated to 1936-37 was one of the main criteria to select that case as it laid down an economic and environmental reform principles adopted in a plan we propose for the village and for the Egyptian countryside in general.

THE GARDEN ENCLAVES OF THE EGYPTIAN COUNTRYSIDE

It is important to differentiate between the countryside and the cities' suburbs represented by the garden city and the garden suburban. The earlier was initiated by Howard in 1898 to offer self-contained communities surrounded by greenbelts containing proportionated areas of residences to assure an effective urban life.¹ The Garden Suburb emerged around the same time as residential cities with no industry built at the outskirts and linked to industrial hubs through new transportation types.²

The countryside, on the other hand, is a geographic area located outside towns and cities, often called rural. Agricultural areas are common examples. They encompass territories of low population density and small settlements not included within urban areas.³ Countryside settlements are usually within

garden villages, which were first introduced by English estate owners to house farmers on their large lands instead of having them dispersed in nearby urban settlements. For these, architects designed small houses for the farmers beside the villa-like homes of the owners and linking the entire landscape to the public spaces and roads.⁴ As they often do not include civic services, garden villages are spatially independent to nearby cities and remain connected to them by transportation. This typology flourished in the second half of the 19th century all around the World. If those villages focused on growing specific crops, these villages become “garden enclaves” whose public spaces are exclusive for the local community.⁵

The 19th century agricultural reform in Egypt led by Mohamed Ali Pasha (r. 1805–1848) empowered elite families to own large agricultural lands to cultivate cotton as a strategic crop. By the beginning of the 20th century the landscape of the Egyptian countryside was transformed into a series of privately owned enclaved villages each with a villa-type house for the owning family, built with fired red bricks dominating the landscape and usually directed towards the north where the fields are and from where the preferred winds blow. (Figs. 1 & 4) The south side is reserved to a courtyard flanked with service rooms; e.g. kitchens, poultry nursery, a porch where ceremonies would take place, and central baths and toilets. While the family houses were strictly accessed by the owners, the service areas are where the family members, farmers and servants interact. The farmers’ residential units were typically constructed out of mudbrick. Other light straws structures, sometime mudded, were scattered within the fields to shelter the farmer and cattle. Each village would have a weekly market area.

Those enclaves which reached about 3000 feddan each spread over the Egyptian countryside, and housed by the end of the thirties, three quarters of the Egyptian population, all sharing common habits and identity. This made the *fellah* (the farmer) the then prevailing image of Egyptians,⁶ with all of his festivities, music, story-telling, and plays such as those based on stick fighting, called *al-tahtib*, now a World intangible heritage. Only dresses and tattoos indicated their background and familial connections.⁷

AL-DEIR A COUNTRYSIDE NOSTALGIA

The Egyptian countryside witnessed a major modification after the 1952 nationalization, when the Government confiscated most of the enclaved villages and distributed them among the farmers with a maximum of 5 feddan each, and allowed a maximum of 200 feddan for the original owners, usually including the main house area. Many of the members of those elite families fled outside the country leaving behind a representative to supervise the dramatically shrunken property. The fragmented land portions were built over by their new occupants reducing the overall agricultural lands and consequently the agricultural productivity. The Egyptian agricultural bourse, once ranked first internationally no longer exists. Many farmers preferred immigrating to cities, especially that the *fellahs* became symbols of backwardness. The remains of the enclaved villages are rapidly disappearing, urging for rapid documentation of what remains of physical and intangible attributes. We believe, however, that what remain of attributes of such,⁸ are the foundations for exploring the opportunities to found new local economy that would develop models of sustainable development.

The al-Deir is located along a road that connects the cities of Tukh to Shebin al-Qanatir in the heart of Qalyubiya Governorate. The main road, only 700 meters from the al-Deir’s main house, is connected to an expressway that extends from Cairo to Alexandria, making the village easily accessible. The Arabic term Deir means a monastery, and it is still attached to many of the Egyptian villages possibly for the connotation of being enclaves.⁹

Al-Deir had a central open space around which the main house of the owner and the farmers' houses are built. The main house is of plastered red bricks, whereas the farmers' are mudbrick houses. A mosque, a small mudbrick preliminary school and clinic are also on the central open space. There were also many little structures dedicated to nursing poultry and cattle, as well as a small factory to produce dairies. The surplus of products of such nurseries and the dairies was sold in the weekly market located on the main road. (Fig. 1)

We know little about the original owner of the land, Ibrahim Murad Pasha. The 1937 report discovered while conducting restoration in the main house indicates that Ibrahim's time was the heydays of the farm due to his care for agricultural quality as well as for the cattle. After his death in 1930, his son Othman was appointed as the overseer. The report indicated that Othman's days were different than those of his father because the heirs were disputing their shares. The village witnessed an overall deterioration and quickly went into debts resulting in a 4-years judicial guardianship that was elevated in January 1936. In July, the overseeing was transferred to Hassan Murad, the author of the report. (Fig. 2) A graduate from agricultural studies with rich practical experiences in the farming, Hassan to proposed in his report a "management reform for the Village." The "village cannot be treated as a milk extracting cow,"¹⁰ he wrote indicating that assets should not be consumed for momentarily benefits. For that, he proposed the establishment of a Fund to be supplied by a fix percentage of income before it would be distributed among the heirs to sponsor the fertilization of the agricultural land, the village's nurseries and the production of dairies for commercial purposes. The Fund would also support the maintenance of the village houses, and the improvement of the farmers' living standards. We don't have indications if the plan was implemented. The interest here is on adopting the principles of this plan in a plan we introduce below.



The degradation witnessed in the village started after the implementation of the 1952 nationalization, as confirmed by the farmers themselves despite being the direct beneficiaries. As for the owning family members, they immigrated either to Cairo or outside the country and appointed the elder to manage the remaining 200 feddan. Only during the yearly harvesting of the crops, the heirs would gather in the village to divide the shares, gatherings are full of sorrows witnessing the gradual and steady degradations of the village.

In the middle of 2015, one of the family members, a friend of the authors, wanted to fix a serious crack that threatened the main house. Mr. Yehia Murad, the current overseer of the farm, agreed to sponsor the repairs including the reroofing of the building and extending proper sewerage system to annul the main causes of deterioration. He also adopted a proposal to restore a hall full of wall and ceiling

paintings located in the first floor, even though it was the share of a cousin. He thought that this might bring the family members back all together. Indeed the plan was quite effective. (Fig. 3) The nostalgic motivation to save the house resulted in securing the house stability, in revealing the hall values, and many other family members were motivated to furthering the restoration of other spaces. The main house quickly became the family's vacation attraction bringing in the new generations who had never seen the farm. The interest of the family grew fast, and covered many other structures in the village. The authors had to deal with different viewpoints of the family members, each with a different background, motivations and prospects. It was crucial to set some non-negotiable principles to guarantee no harm to the heritage and the valuable attributes, but at the meantime to negotiate the needs and practicality to propose scenarios where values are not jeopardized.

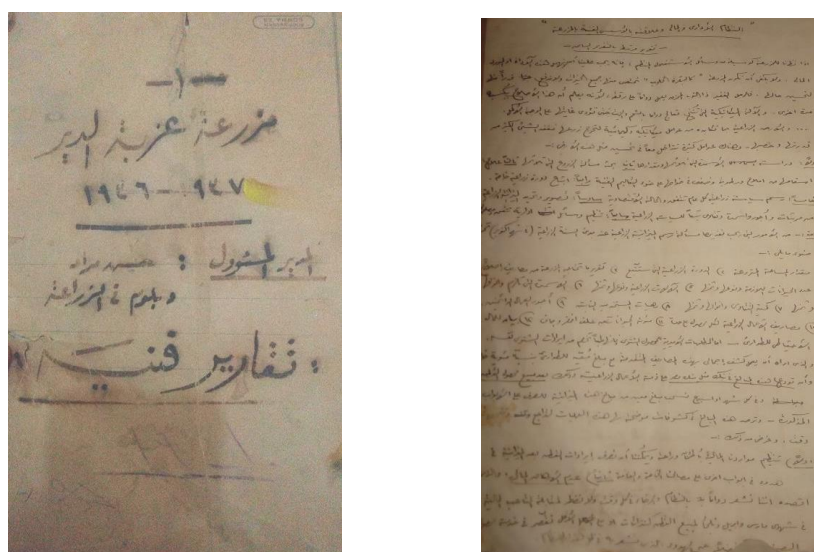


Figure 2. Unpublished Report by Hassan Murad: cover page (left); page 7 (right) 1937



Figure 3. the main house and the service southern courtyard (the authors)

THE HISTORIC ATTRIBUTES OF AL-DEIR VILLAGE

The remaining tangible attributes in al-Deir are numerous but unfortunately disfigured. The general historic urban context can still be recognized despite the post nationalization disfigurations. The northern and the western boundaries are those which have preserved the traditional landscape, where one can still perceive the extent of the agricultural fields for long distances. The main northern unpaved path that originates from the main urban space at the eastern side of the main house is still used by pedestrians and cattle to lead to the municipal road. Ruins of mudbrick shelters are scattered along that path. The eastern and the southern sides are where all recent reinforced concrete expansions took place, but still containing ruined mudbrick structures once farmers' houses or shelters.

The Murad family main house and its southern service area courtyard is the best preserved in the village, especially after the recent interventions described above. The mudbrick buildings surrounding the main open public space are mostly remaining, with the exception of the Mosque, recently rebuilt with reinforced concrete. Most of the farmers are using traditional tools and techniques in the agricultural practices, such as the plow pulled by cows. The irrigation system, however, is altered from the traditional *saqia* (waterwheel) whose ruins are still scattered in the fields, to using gasoil pumps.

Many crafts are still practiced among the current residences of the village such as the nursing of cattle and poultry, and the manufacturing of in-house dairies. However, most of such activities are done for their personal uses, and no longer for commerce. The weekly market is still held every Tuesday, but no longer with the same capacity of the old days when it was considered the essential trading of all goods. The traditional cooking is still practiced mainly to produce pastries, bread, and other traditional dishes. Dances, plays, tattoos and others are no longer practiced.

REGENERATING AL-DEIR

The research takes upon the following listed opportunities to propose a development plan for the al-Deir Village based on heritage conservation:

- the nostalgia emerged from the recent restoration of the main house,
- the reform plan explained in the discovered 1930's report,
- the preserved historic and heritage attributes,
- the enthusiasm of the community to participate in regenerating its heritage.

Our approach is to locate an existing logistical framework that would be the basis of a proposed conservation plan. At the national level such framework does not exist, and not foreseen in the 2030 sustainable development strategy, which only focuses on augmenting the agricultural resources;¹¹ recalling the insatiable consumption criticized by Hassan Murad in his report. At the international level, the World Heritage Center and ICOMOS are currently concerned to propose management system that is based on “Historic Urban Landscape, HUL”,¹² and the International Council of Museums is discussing ideas of Eco and community Museums.¹³ The latter is not yet as conclusive as the earlier.¹⁴ This paper, therefore, suggests promoting HUL approach to the local, and lays down the plan on the following venues and sub-venues: (Fig. 4)

1. Developing cultural tourism in al-Deir:
 - 1.1. Establish a cultural tourism trail encountering the physical attributes after restoration and interpretation.
 - 1.2. Establish an open air museum where remains of the waterwheels are integrated to present the traditional agricultural system ceased to be used.
 - 1.3. Establish a visitor center in the service courtyard of the main house to introduce the history of the village, and where the traditional kitchen would be rehabilitated to offer traditional meals.
 - 1.4. Establish a museum in one of the rooms of the southern courtyard of the main house where historic documents and photographs related to the history of the Village would be exhibited.
 - 1.5. Establish a 10-rooms bed and breakfast in the building next to the main house.
 - 1.6. Establish periodical festivals and exhibitions for the gastronomy related to the village's crops.
 - 1.7. Reviving the weekly market in the main urban area east of the Murad house.
2. Reforming Rural Contexts:
 - 2.1. Activate capacity building programs to enhance the crops quality and the marketing skills for local products, and banning inorganic soil fertilizations.
 - 2.2. Develop on cattle nursing in the Village to found a new economy based on dairies as well as to invest on commercial trading with high quality cattle stocks and races.
 - 2.3. Establish a dairies factory in a historic building located south of Murad House.
 - 2.4. Develop on poultry nursing in the village's houses and elect a dealer from the farmers.
 - 2.5. Reuse of the traditional carpentry factory to offer new job opportunities based on the use of the

produced wood from the farms' trees.

The objective of the plan is to encourage the Murad family to continue its growing interest towards the conservation of the historic and heritage attributes since it will financially support the family to widen its scope and upscale its hopes. This will encourage the villagers to get more involved as it will associate them with sets of unique products, and activate the local economy.



Figure 4. Proposed development plan & cultural tourism trail for Al-Deir Village (the authors)

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research demonstrates that the limited nostalgic feelings that were ignited due to our works in the main house of the al-Deir Village can lead to a comprehensive development plan. This plan guarantees that all members of the community would be beneficiaries. The idea is to activate a framework in which stakeholders would actively participate to fulfill the prospective economic development and meanwhile preserving and accentuating the historic attributes. The objective is to introduce cultural tourism as a new means for heritage appreciation, and to boost local economy. A series of actions with identified local implementers is proposed. However, the type of the current land ownership that is no longer familial, and the State administrative system mandate that involved governmental institutions shall participate as inseparable entities of the plan.

We envision a scenario for the implementation as following: after the completion of the restoration of the main house, the Murad Family can further invest through the establishing of a family fund, reviving the 1930's wish of their grandfather Hassan Murad to restore the southern entity of the house to activate actions 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5 of the plan. These new establishments will initiate cultural tourism. The financial profits of the familial fund would then grow to invest in other aspects, for example Nos. 2 and 5. The expected gain would then motivate the family to negotiate with the local authority to adopt the logistical framework of the HUL; an aspect that would lead for the Government to lay down policies and budgets to support the familial approach with infrastructure for the benefit of the entire community. The growing gains can then be invested upon gradually in implementing other actions of the plan, which will quickly establish a better and healthier way of living, and would raise pride among the Murad family members as well as among all the local community.

Once succeeded, this experience can then take a national recognition and be propagated in other similar villages in the countryside, each with its own traditional characteristics and preserved different historic attributes. Reviving the weekly markets is an exchange means between the villages from one side, but also to emphasize on continuous cultural exchanges; a fact that would further raise the feelings of belonging and encourage the residents of each village to preserve their own heritage. The outcome would then initiate a national momentum based on the recognition of local assets and local heritage attributes, and emerging from international principles to give it legitimacy, and thus guarantees sustainability and sensible management for the future of the Egyptian countryside.

NOTES

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100 YEARS OF UNFULFILLED IDEA OF CZECH PARLIAMENT

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ARCHITECTURE OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is today understood as the main legitimate principle of power. It is often perceived to be an abstract term used not only by representatives of democratic regimes but also by politicians in authoritarian and totalitarian states.

The best known historical example of the system is the Athenian democracy, where proto-parliament can be found. Free-born citizens gathered in the *agora*, which was in ancient cities an open space that served as a meeting ground for various activities of the citizens.¹ This form of citizen's assembly was called *ecclesia*. It is interesting to follow the usage of the term of *ecclesia* further in the history of mankind: Thomas Aquinas often quoted the definition of what *ecclesia* is: *Domus in qua sacramentum celebrates, ecclesiam significat et ecclesia nominatur*. *Ecclesia* is primarily a building that performs a certain function, premises accessible to public, it fulfills the assembly function of the celebration, but at the same time, the same concept denotes to the community of believers who gather around their interest.² There is a very thin distinction in the meaning of the representation of architecture and the meaning of the assembly of people. In the question of present Czech Parliament, we are much less sensitive to this relationship between the form-architecture and the assembly of people-politics. The meaning and the symbolism of the architecture of the current parliamentary buildings remain latently behind the political scene. The current buildings of the Czech Parliament must solve problems of daily operation. However, in my opinion, the most fundamental is the request on representative meaning of building as an institution. This "ecclesia relationship" between architecture and assembly of people inside of architecture should be a priority of Czech Parliament which is to be the personification of representative democracy. Without such a viewpoint, Prague's Film Studio scenery would be enough.

ARCHITECTURE OF ASSEMBLY

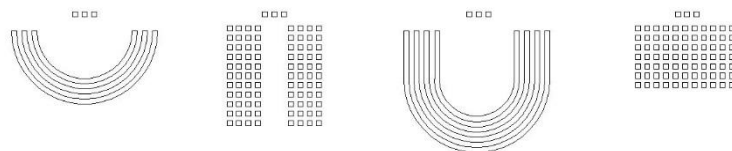
By the end of the 1970s, over 90 countries had autocratic regimes, nowadays more than half of the globe lives in a democratic establishment.³ Recent elections, however, show the success of populist politicians in traditionally democratic countries and regions. There are concerns that the Czech Republic might follow the lead of Hungary's Prime Minister Mr. Viktor Orbán and Mr. Jarosław Kaczyński, the leader of ruling party in Poland, or President of USA Mr. Donald Trump and move the Czech Republic into the illiberal waters. Is there present, after a long-term growth, decrease of

democracy? ⁴ Is democracy crisis able to initiate the redefinition of the architecture of democracy, architecture of Parliament?

At the time when democracy is under increasing pressure in different parts of the world and the meaning of democracy is blurred, it is time to review the architecture of the Assembly - the architecture of the parliaments. Studio XML wrote definition: “A parliament is the space where politics literally takes shape. In the parliament, collective decisions take form in a specific setting where the relationships between various political actors are organized through architecture. The architecture of political congregation spaces is more than an abstract expression of political culture – it participates in the politics.” ⁵

The study, which was presented in the Austrian pavilion at the Biennale 2014, points to four recurring typologies of Assembly hall as follows: ⁶

- 1) the most common type is a semicircle, which refers to a classical antiquity and made its neoclassical comeback with French Revolution, and subsequently formed the National Assembly. Examples can be seen in France, Japan, the Netherlands, Germany and in the EU Parliament;
- 2) the second, distinctly different, type is the British model of opposing benches. It dates back to the pews of St. Stephen’s Chapel, the home of the House of Commons from the mid-sixteenth century. Due to its historical ties with Britain, this type can be also found in the Commonwealth countries;
- 3) the third is called a horseshoe. It is a hybrid arrangement of the semicircle and opposing benches, in which the benches curve towards each other at the ends. Examples could be found in the South Africa and Bangladesh;
- 4) the fourth and final type corresponds to the traditional classroom seating arrangement, where politicians focus on a single speaker in the hall. Such seating arrangement are used in the Russian or Chinese Parliaments.



*Figure 1. Semicircle, opposing benches, horseshoe, classroom.
Study of XML on Biennale 2014*

Despite the great differences between countries, cultures and traditions, there could be observed incredibly limited number of typologies of parliamentary seating arrangements. This fact reveals a systemic lack of innovation in the architecture of parliaments. While the world outside the walls of houses of parliaments has changed, parliaments do not respond to these changes.

It could be stated, that the Assembly Hall of the Czech Parliament is unclassifiable according to the above listed seating arrangements types. Moreover, its representation is difficult to interpret. Such unreadability of Czech Assembly Hall lead me to the hypothesis which will be mentioned later.

100 YEARS OF UNFULFILLED IDEA OF CZECH PARLIAMENT

In the context of the Czech Republic history, the story of the Parliament premises is much more complicated and seems more serious and controversial. For one hundred years, from 1918 till 2018, there have been made a great effort to build a new house for Parliament. Until today, all the efforts were not successful.

The story of Czechoslovakia started in 1918, when the democratic state was established, and on this first democratic state the present Czech Republic builds. The story of the Czech Parliament is formed by a hundred-years line of various forms and political establishments of the state, not all were democratic.

After the years of Vienna influence, there was a sudden opportunity to make Prague a modern city and to apply the long-repressed emancipatory ambitions of the Czech nation and to create the tangible identity of the new state. There were also few architectural and urban competitions of new government district, which should include the Parliament, but there were no built realizations. Due to this and during the long time period, the members of parliament were placed in a several temporary solutions.

DEMOCRATIC CASTLE

The first president, Mr. Tomáš G. Masaryk, set it as his goal to convert the old castle, monument on horizon of Prague, into a symbol of the new democracy.⁷ The Czech President in 21st century, still seated in Prague Castle, seems to be exception.⁸ The Hungarian president left the seat of Budai Vár, the French president does not reside in Versailles, but in the architecturally non-monumental Élysée Palace and many others. The majority of the European presidents live in the typology of presidential palace. This gesture of continuity, the phenomenon of desire to continue in Czech history is probably living till nowadays.

COMPETITIONS IN THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

On February 1, 1928, the State Regulatory Commission published a public ideas competition of government district with Parliament, which was already initiated by the urgency of the competition in 1920, both on Letná Plain, a large site on horizon of Prague.⁹ According to the interpretation of Michaela Marek, the visual link between the castle and the planned government district symbolized the link of the past, when the Castle was the seat of the Czech King, and the future, represented by an independent state and a parliamentary democracy. At the same time, it should be a declaration of the equivalence of the political instances – the head of state at the Prague Castle and the National Assembly.¹⁰ Letná Plain should become the future representative and power center of Prague, a manifestation of state sovereignty.¹¹ Max Urban complained: "The program was a monster, its adherence to the building was half a kilometer long."¹²

Work with the Prague importance of horizon was confirmed also in 1929 competition searching for the Parliament placement, where most of the contestants worked with an urban or visual link to Prague Castle.¹³ In 1929, the Style magazine for this account remarks: "It was, in fact, only to formally exhaust all the possibilities that could lead to finding a place."¹⁴

RUDOLFINUM

While the competitions and the public debate on the future architecture of the Parliament were in the progress, the Chamber of Deputies of the Czechoslovak National Assembly seated for the entire period of the First Czechoslovak Republic in relatively inadequate conditions in the Rudolfinum. Originally, the Rudolfinum building was developed for the Conservatory of Music, the Gallery and the Museum of Industrial Arts. Its main concert hall was adapted for the purpose of the Assembly Hall by project of

Václav Roštlapil and Rudolf Kříženecký.¹⁵ Despite the fact that Parliament had repeatedly taken steps to build a representative parliamentary premises, deputies had to meet in a provisional solution of Rudolfinum's reconstruction for a whole period of 1918-38.

COMPETITION OF 1947

Since May 1946, the Parliament had to satisfy itself with another temporary solution – it moved to the premises of Prague Money and Commodity Stock Exchange near Wenceslas Square.

In 1947, a new competition for Parliament premises was announced. In the competition, there participated more than 70 proposals and two equally valuable prizes were awarded (Jaroslav Fragner and the studio František Čermák-Gustav Paul). Again, the project realization never happened. Surprisingly, most projects preferred the center Letná Plain, rather than its exposed edge, as it was in the competition of 1928. Only five projects chose other location in the city. The particular forms of buildings often reflected public debate on monumentality in the architecture.¹⁶ The Czechoslovak coup d'état in February 1948 stopped any planned construction of the Parliament. Since then, the Republic has been governed by the Central Communist Party. The Parliament occupied the former Engel Ministry of Railways on the Vltava riverbank, but this institution was not too much important in the atmosphere of fear.

Opinions on today's placement of Parliament on the Letná Plain are contradictory, and it seems that century-old stigmatization has conserved this area.

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

In the course of the 1960s, the building of the Money and Commodity Stock Exchange stopped to suit for Parliament due to both spatial and technical parameters, and there was an urgent need to solve this problem – until the National Assembly would have a separate representative new seat on Letná Plain (even in 1965 there was almost no doubt about it). The competition won the trio of architects Jiří Albrecht, Jiří Kadeřábek and Karel Prager. They integrated the original Stock Exchange premises and built a technically significant concept of "house over the house".¹⁷ The project was controversial, but finally, it was built as a temporary solution until the National Assembly would have a separate representative new seat on Letná Plain.

The original assignment of the National (was redefined as a result of political changes to the Federal) Assembly of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. The building served to this purpose from 1974 to 1992. There was discussion on the future of the building after the split of the federal state of Czechoslovakia in 1993 and in this year the building had been several times offered to the Prime Minister for the parliament houses purposes, but he refused it and thus would be stripped of the building function.¹⁸ In 1995, Radio Free Europe moved there. In 2011, the mayor of the capital city even said to the mass-media that for him there would not be the problem to break down the building of former Federal Assembly.¹⁹ In 2016, the house won the prize of the ugliest building²⁰, and the label of the communist past probably still holds on, however, its architectural and technical quality is undisputed.

THE CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL

The Czech National Council was established on January 1, 1969. It was legislative body of the Czech Republic since 1968, when the Czech Republic was created as a member state of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the government form of federation (Slovak Republic had a parallel political body Slovak National Council). It was much less influential political institution than the Federal Assembly. It had a completely different architectural concept as the technical and visionary building of Federal Assembly.

²¹ The reconstruction of Baroque and Renaissance Palaces of the Czech National Council, originally residential and representative buildings, was towing ²² even there was not achieved demanding construction work. These premises were not "nonames" in the Czech history – the National Committee seated there, there was also proclaimed the Republic and the First Czechoslovak Constitution was approved here. A key moment in the history of the reconstructed building of the Czech National Council was the decision, that after the end of Czechoslovakia, it would stay as a workplace of the newly established Czech Parliament. The decision not to transfer his seat to the former Federal Assembly building was mainly ideological. The idea of the Czech Republic's continuity with the federation was, back in 1992, politically unacceptable. ²³

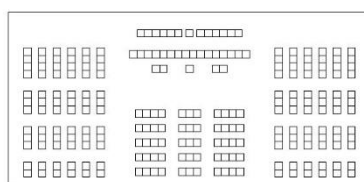


Figure 2 Assembly hall of the Chamber of Deputie of Czech republic.

The seating arrangement in the Czech Parliament session hall is a reconstructed former theater hall of the historical palace. Its space is limited, the hall barely provides sufficient room for 200 seats, and their arrangements does not reflect the political spectrum of the Chamber of Deputies. The one can wonder if the arrangement falls under the typology of a horseshoe model or rather a British model with a three opposing benches.

The interior of the hall, the corridor, the communication between the clubs is characterized by the irrational labyrinth and the lack of transparency. The deputies themselves for the media are saying they are "lost" in the building organisation and they are not able to "catch-up the voting".

The location of Parliamentary complex does not allow demonstrations and other civic engagements. As per legislative in force, such events cannot be distant less 100 meters of buildings of state institutions.

²⁴ Because of that, the deputies miss the contact with people. It also seems symbolic and illogical that the Parliament is located in not very well-known side streets in Prague's Lesser Town (Malá Strana) and it is situated „under“ the Castle, which does not correspond to the current legislative relations to the President. Many local Prague citizens cannot identify Parliament's building from outside in the city structure.

The Czech Parliament House is not an icon. ²⁵

SENATE

In 1996, three years after the establishment of the independent Czech Republic, there were first elections to the Lower Chamber of the Czech Parliament – the Senate. It settled, following the Upper Chamber – the Chamber of Deputies, in Lesser Town (Malá Strana) and took seat in the Waldstein Palace. The Waldstein Palace was originally the seat of a Czech nobleman. The Waldstein Square, the main public space adjacent to the Palaces of Senate, is today a parking place for about fifty cars, what seems to be alarming from the urban point view and the political importance.

The temporary solution could be recognized also in non-clear connection to the Senate's function and in the form of the assembly hall. The room is sixty meters long and 8.6 meters wide. It originally served as a barn for thirty-seven Waldstein's horses, today there is in talks eighty senators. The hall has linear ground plan and the senators sit there in four rows length of 20 chairs in configuration of a long rectangle. The shape has no more symbolic significance.

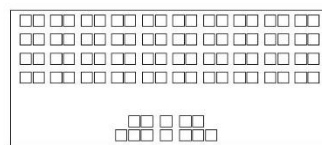


Figure 3. The assembly hall of the Senate of Czech republic.

CURRENT DISCUSSION

The research of parliaments premises through the Europe shows that it is very exceptional if a building that was built for another purpose, is seat of the main legislative body of the state – the Parliament.²⁶ Although the buildings of the Czech Parliament have a historical background (a bit nostalgic) and are reconstructed (reconditioned could be probably better term), but deeper research shows, that architecture and urbanism of the palaces and assembly halls often does not suit for this purpose and they don't have readable representative meaning.

In my understanding of the *ecclesia* relationship between the architecture and the content of institution, it is absent in the story of Czech Parliament. I dare to put forward a few hypotheses why it is not articulated in the Czech Republic. It is probably phenomenon of provisionality persisting throughout one hundred years, which leaves an unpleasant latent feeling due to the long-term unfulfilled effort to realize a new building of the Czech Parliament. One possible interpretation could be seen in the saying: who does nothing, won't spoil anything. The ambition to realize a new building of the Parliament seems like a juvenile dream.

To materialize the community in architecture and vice versa, to create a community that fulfills the Parliament demands the courage to formulate, to get rid of the fear of standing with a certain political statement.

Some Post-Communist states have already been able to react to the new parliamentary premises. For example, Georgia built a new Parliament building, which should be „a sign that Georgia is shaking off its communist past.“²⁷ Another example from Albania, where Austrian architects Coop Himmelb(l)au won a worldwide competition with the project of the Open Parliament of Albania.²⁸ The face of government buildings act a supporting idea of statehood, they supplement urban in important points, or develops some of motifs or vision.

Today, the often criticized Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, known as a billionaire businessman and the Czech Republic's second-richest man, raised the question of the Czech Parliament again and media published several interviews in the last year with Mr. Andrej Babiš himself about this topic, but

also with the Mayor of the capital city from the same political party, Ms. Adriana Krnáčová.²⁹ The Prime Minister and the Mayor were initiators and they assigned the task to The Institute for Planning and Development of the City of Prague – to elaborate a study of the new government district in location with many brownfields, still close to the historical center called Bubny. Architectural studies were published in May 2018.³⁰ The topic is being processed also by the Czech universities.³¹

In the context of the Czech Republic, there are many open questions for future ideas development of the new Parliament premises. How to deal with past unfulfilled projects? Does the Federal Assembly have the potential to satisfy the claims of Parliament's service and to get rid of sticker communist architecture?

What is the relationship between the architecture of representative buildings and their political significance? How to formulate parliamentary architecture in the modern language so that it is not just one of the other administrative buildings? Where is in urbanism of Prague the place for the parliament of the 21st century? And how important is it to find a relationship of the architecture and the politics in the Czech Republic in the spirit of *ecclesia*?

NOTES

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- ⁶ In 2014 in Venice showed Austrian Pavilion exhibition *Plenum: Places of Power*
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- ¹⁰ Klára Brůhová, *Praha nepostavená / Unbuilt Prague*, (Prague: ČVUT, 2017), 303-315.
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- ¹⁸ Michal Fialka and Robert Malota, “Každý měsíc za milión/ Every month for one million” *Lidová demokracie* 49,(April 29,1993)
- ¹⁹ “Část Federálního shromáždění by se mohla zbourat, připustil pražský primátor/ Part of the Federal Assembly could be ruined, admitted the Prague Mayor,” *iDnes.cz*, accessed July 28, 2018. https://praha.idnes.cz/budova-byvaleho-federalniho-shromazdeni-by-se-mohla-zbourat-rekl-svoboda-1l2-/praha-zpravy.aspx?c=A110304_133252_praha-zpravy_sfo
- ²⁰ “NEJOŠKLIVĚJŠÍ STAVBA PRAHY JE FEDERÁLNÍ SHROMÁŽDĚNÍ, ROZHODLI ČTENÁŘI / THE MOST UGLY BUILDING OF PRAGUE IS THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY, THE READERS DECIDED,” *IDNES.CZ*, ACCESSED JULY 28,2018. https://zpravy.idnes.cz/anketa-o-nejosklivejsi-stavbu-prahy-d7o-/domaci.aspx?c=A130204_132046_praha-zpravy_sfo
- ²¹ Milena Bartlová, “Obrana tradic. Rekonstrukce budov České národní rady 1985–1996/ Defense of Traditions. Reconstruction of buildings of the Czech National Council 1985-1996,” (paper presented at Conference Czech National Council: Roots and faces of National Parliament, Czech republic, Prague, Institute of contemporary history and Parliament Institute, May 17–18, 2018). Not published
- ²² Because of non-role priority of the Czech National Council in public life reconstruction took more than ten years.
- ²³ Vladimír Kindl, *Parlament*, (Praha: Enigma, 1996), 116–117
- ²⁴ Pursuant to Act No. 84/1990 Coll., The right of assembly is enshrined in Article 20 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. the Assembly is forbidden within 100 m in the buildings surroundings of the legislature or from the places where these bodies act and from the buildings of the Constitutional Court or from where the Constitutional Court is acting.

²⁵ Most of the European parliaments are rarely housed in buildings designed for a purpose other than Parliament like in Czech Parliament. This information is processed by the author Elena Fialková in the dissertation work at UMPRUM under the direction of Roman Brychta.

²⁶ "Plenum. Places of power," A wiki on National Parliament Building Worldwide. accessed on February 28, 2017 https://www.places-of-power.org/wiki/index.php?title=Plenum.Places_of_Power.

²⁷ Damien McGuinness "Georgia Sees Glass Parliament As Symbol Of Future," *Bbc News*, Accessed On May 18, 2018

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FROM URBAN VISION TO MUSEUM PIECE

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INTRODUCTION

One of the questions raised in the call for the conference *Tangible - Intangible Heritage(s)* was “how have and can we preserve the architecture of the past while building for the present”? This question could be slightly rephrased as “how have and can we preserve the architectural ideas embedded in projects of the past in order to inspire the architecture of the future?” Such reformulation points to the fact that architecture exists, not only as physical, tangible buildings but also as representations, and that representations form an important part of our architectural heritage. Just like physical structures, architectural representations can be said to contain valuable information about architecture, but the character of such information and the way it is communicated allow it to do more than tell us about the past; architectural representations can transfer knowledge from the past into the present in both agile and challenging ways. An important quality of a representation is its ability to transgress time and place and stimulate architectural discourse across history.

In the following, the power of architectural representations and their ability to sustain the obstacles and challenges that meet our built heritage will be discussed through the case of the Robin Hood Gardens housing estate.

ROBIN HOOD GARDENS

In November 2018, demolition of the Robin Hood Gardens in Poplar, East London began. This happened after years of heated debate on the project’s architectural qualities - or lack of qualities. Several attempts had been made to have the project listed, but despite the support from a number of prominent architects, these were all unsuccessful.

What was preserved, though, was a segment of the now bulldozed western slab of the estate, rescued by the Victoria & Albert Museum. On the museum’s homepage, we find the following statement from Dr. Christopher Turner, keeper of the Victoria & Albert’s Design, Architecture and Digital Department: “This three-storey section of Robin Hood Gardens, complete with 'street in the sky', is an important piece of Brutalism, worth preserving for future generations. It is also an object that will stimulate debate around architecture and urbanism today – it raises important questions about the history and future of housing in Britain, and what we want from our cities.”¹

Approximately six months after the bulldozers arrived at Robin Hood Gardens the Architecture Biennale in Venice opened, and here the salvaged fragment of the housing block was presented as part of an exhibition on Robin Hood Gardens entitled *A Ruin in Reverse*.

The move from contested building to exhibition piece gives the Robin Hood Gardens a very special status as architectural heritage; first deemed unfit as a housing estate and unworthy of listing – and then (in fragment) included in the V&As collection of architectural pieces and exhibited in one of the most prestigious architectural events.

Such very different assessments of a work of architecture point to the fact that valuation depends on contexts: on intellectual as well as physical ones. Furthermore, the fate of Robin Hood Gardens can serve as an example of the importance of representations in architecture, not only as technical projections of future constructions, but also as a form of communication which goes beyond the boundaries and limitations of a building.

The Robin Hood Gardens estate was designed by Alison and Peter Smithson and was completed in 1972. The decision to demolish the estate means that the project was granted a lifespan of only forty-five years. That is if we think of the Robin Hood Gardens as a physical, tangible phenomenon. We might, however, also look at the project in a slightly different way, namely as one of several representations of the architects' vision of urbanism and housing, a vision which was developed about twenty years before the Robin Hood Gardens estate was erected and which has continued to play a role in architectural discourse ever since.

Seen in this way, the piece that was salvaged by the V&A becomes the latest in a series of manifestations of this vision. According to Dr Neil Bingham, curator of the V&A's Contemporary Architectural Collection, the fragment of what was once a huge concrete slab will “motivate new thinking and research into this highly experimental period of British architectural and urban history”.²

Now, the project for Robin Hood Gardens was always accompanied by thinking and research. In 1970 – just a few years before the buildings were finished - the Smithson couple published *Ordinariness and Light*.³ The book is undertitled *Urban theories 1952-60, and their application in a building project 1963-70*, referring directly to the Robin Hood Gardens. It stresses the fact that this commission was the architect couple's chance of finally realising an idea which they had been pursuing for more than a decade.

It is well known that Robin Hood Gardens was developed from the Smithsons' 1952 competition project for the Golden Lane Housing in London. The Smithsons did not win that competition, but in the following years their project gained a position as an important example of post-war British architecture, and the architects stuck to their Golden Lane “study” or Golden Lane “idea” as they called it. Alison and Peter Smithson kept developing this vision of contemporary urban housing and promoting it through both writings and a number of compelling representations, many of which can be found in *Ordinariness and Light*. These include a range of diagrams, the famous mixed media “Urban Re-Identification Grid” presented at the 9th CIAM meeting in 1953 and the much-published perspectives of the brutalist blocks and their “street decks” in which the mix of drawing, photographs and magazine clippings portrays the project as being immersed in both the reality of post war London and the popular culture of its time.

In *Ordinariness and Light* such representations are accompanied, not only with the architects' essays, but also with an abundance of illustrations of very different origins. Some are images of historical structures and situations that somehow represent the urban, formal or social qualities the architects were aiming for, some are advertisements depicting the reality of the consumer society that was at this time well on its way, yet others show pieces of contemporary art works suggesting the haptic or visual properties which the Smithson couple were intending in their own work. This idiosyncratic agglomeration of different visual material and of different genres creates a quite distinctive context for

the project for Robin Hood Gardens, which is presented in an appendix in the book together with a text describing the specific challenges of the commission.

IDEAL AND REAL

Ordinariness and Light is crucial for a discussion on Robin Hood Gardens as the book works as a kind of counterpart to the actual buildings. Both are architectural statements: The book a collection of arguments, the edifice a physical manifestation of these same arguments. And both form part of the modern architectural heritage.

In the BBC production *The Smithsons on Housing*,⁴ Peter Smithson called the Robin Hood Gardens “a model, an exemplar of a new mode of urban organisation” stressing how he aimed for a close connection between the architects’ ideal and the tangible real. And this relation between idea and reality, between concepts and concreteness has been a persisting issue in discussions on Robin Hood Gardens.

We all know how architects work at a distance from the material reality of their final products and how architecture is developed through representations: drawings, models, conceptual sketches and so on and so forth. The distance – and thereby the distinction – between the architect’s visual representations and the physical materiality of a building defines two separate contexts for the practice of architecture: a virtual context of the architectural idea – and an actual context of a physical building. The first – as we find it in the Smithsons’ book – is fragmentary and open: it enables the bringing together of material from locations and times that are far apart in a sort of heterogeneous aggregate. In this context, a project can be communicated as a series of arguments, all referring to the same idea, but presented to us as individual statements. This context of disconnected bits leave room for our imagination and interpretation in a way that is quite different from our confrontation with a tangible building, anchored in a specific geographic context and inhabited by very real people.

The virtual context of ideas allows the designer a high level of communicative control. The choice of references, of representational techniques, of image cropping and angle of vision; the possibility of including and leaving out information – it all enables the designer to develop and communicate his or her vision in a very precise way. Obviously, such contextual control is impossible in the reality of the built edifice. And in the case of Robin Hood Gardens, the distance – or even contrast – between the urban vision and the actual context of the housing estate soon became painfully clear.

In the numerous representations, the Golden Lane concept was depicted as a *connective* housing idea: in photomontages, the project seems almost to be massaged into an existing context, establishing new connections with what is already there and both diagrams and perspective drawings convey the idea of housing as a sort of urban infrastructure.

Now the building site for Robin Hood Gardens made such an interlacing ambition impossible: cut off from the rest of the city by large roads, the plot was a sort of urban island hindering physical connections with the surrounding areas and forcing the architects to consider noise as a primary condition. A major focus in the project, then, became how to avoid the immediate context rather than how to connect to it. The result was a fortress-like estate, shifting the Golden Lane vision of urban associations to the idea of a “pool of calm” as the Smithsons’ described the green space they created between two shielding concrete slabs.

If the physical context presented a challenge to the architectural idea, so did the ideological atmosphere. Twenty years had passed since the Golden Lane competition – and in 1972, the reception of the Robin Hood Gardens was far from being univocally positive. Architectural Design published a critical review by Peter Eisenman⁵ – and the following year an extended version of this was published in the magazine

Oppositions, entitled *From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens; or if you follow the Yellow Brick Road it may not lead to Golders Green*.⁶

As that title implies, Eisenman was scrutinising the disparities between the Smithsons' original urban ideal and what they had managed to accomplish in a contemporary context.

Then of course, 1972 was also the year when the American housing estate Pruitt-Igoe was dramatically blown up after years of neglect, vandalism and a history of social problems. In his book *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*,⁷ Charles Jencks famously identified this incident as “the death of modern architecture,”⁸ and among several examples of unsuccessful modernism, Jencks argued how Robin Hood Gardens was completely lacking the qualities that the Smithsons themselves had argued for.

So, to both Peter Eisenman and Charles Jencks the lack of correspondence between the ideal and the real was a key issue, and to both writers the Smithsons own idealism becomes the standard against which the Robin Hood Gardens is assessed.

REVISIONS

If we return to the recent years debate on Robin Hood Gardens, it is clear that in the architectural discourse, the pendulum has swung back in favour of the Smithsons' work. And just like the rejection of the Smithsons Golden Lane competition entry can be said to have paved the way for its privileged position in the history of modern architecture, the threat of demolition of the Robin Hood Gardens may very well have secured the project a place in the discipline which the proposed listing could never have done. Not only has the debate following the announcement of the redevelopment plans brought renewed interest in Robin Hood Gardens, it has also spurred a second round of discussions, of writings and of representations of the project. Again, we see a diversity of forms of expressions and modes of communication. A few examples will indicate the range:

Recently, the Swiss-based interdisciplinary practice Urban-Think Tank has produced the film *The Disappearance of Robin Hood*.⁹ The film was released at the Architecture Film Festival in London in June 2018 and the premiere was followed by a round table discussion between the filmmakers and the architects Sarah Wigglesworth and Simon Smithson. The film exemplifies how the fate of the housing estate combines questions on architectural heritage with the political and social issue of the current housing crisis in London.

Secondly, the above-mentioned exhibition in Venice by the Victoria and Albert Museum is not the first time that the Robin Hood Gardens has visited the biennale: At the 15th Architecture Biennale in Venice in 2016, the office SmoutAllen (Mark Smout and Laura Allen) displayed their project named *Infractus: the taking of Robin Hood Gardens*.¹⁰ This work was a direct comment on architecture minister Margaret Hodge's much-quoted statement on the preservation of modern architecture. As an alternative to listing, Hodge suggested what she called a third way: “This is the 21st century”, she argued – “a perfect digital image of the building, inside and out, could be retained forever.”¹¹ SmoutAllen's response to this was to perform a 3D laser scanning in Robin Hood Gardens capturing parts of the structure as well as traces of its inhabitation and transferring the data to massive glass blocks. As an artistic interpretation *Infractus* offers yet another version – another narrative - of Robin Hood Gardens adding a new layer to our knowledge on the project.

Finally, back in 2010, The Twentieth Century Society published the book *Robin Hood Gardens Revisions*¹², a sort of apologia for the project which formed part of the campaign to save the complex. Not quite unlike *Ordinariness and Light*, this publication sheds light on the project from different sources. It is a collection of the architect's own words and drawings, photographic documentation both recent and from the Smithsons' archive together with a number of essays arguing for the projects

preservation What is stressed in these statements is not so much the value of the project as urban housing but rather the importance of the Robin Hood Gardens as an object of study and a bearer of knowledge on a particular era in the history of architecture:

Neil Jackson: “Whether it is considered good or bad is not really the question; what is important is what it represents and what one learns from it.”¹³

Peter St John: “It is enormously important that the Smithsons wrote and built, and as they did not build much, each building is a touchstone which you can follow at great depth in their writing”.¹⁴

Deborah Saunt: “Without Robin Hood Gardens, where would we go to see the work of the Smithsons on this scale and in this sector?”¹⁵

The question remains, though, if the lessons and knowledge imbedded in the Robin Hood Gardens are really lost because of the demolition, or if instead we could see the debates it spurred and the material it has provoked as a valuable contribution to the discipline of architecture? If we could think of the built project – not as the exemplar or model, Peter Smithson was hoping for - but as a kind of test of an urban idea, a visit to the real, tangible world from which it has now withdrawn, continuing its life in the virtual realm of representations. But adding to this realm important knowledge on materiality and on inhabitation, which it previously lacked.

CONCLUSION

Architecture as a practice is about creating physical, liveable environments for human activities and social life. In order to do so, architects need the experience and the knowledge that is provided by tangible, physical constructions. But they also need the critical body of knowledge that we find in the territory of virtual architectures: the projects that never came to be or has ceased to exist and which are therefore only available to us in the form of representations. This pool of knowledge is an equally important part of our architectural heritage. Since architecture is developed through representations, representations of what has been created before is a direct and open source of knowledge, and in many cases accessible in a way that physical buildings are not. The fragmented and diverse character of the virtual realm allows us to revisit and use its material as a dynamic, adaptable matter which can be introduced into new contexts and strengthen new architectural discussions and proposals.

The Robin Hood Gardens was and still is an important piece of architecture. Not only as a work by Alison and Peter Smithson or as a piece of brutalist architecture, but also as a memory of a post-war welfare society. Consequently, discussions on its demolition involves interests and positions within a diversity of fields: aesthetics, urban design, housing policy and economy. The critiques and protests on the demolition of Robin Hood Gardens has been well argued and there are many good reasons why it should have been saved and refurbished.

But it could be that the project’s potential influence on future architectures will be much more powerful from its now privileged position in the virtual realm.

NOTES

- ¹ “Robin Hood Gardens,” V&A, accessed August 10, 2018, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/robin-hood-gardens>
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light: Urban Theories 1952-60, and their application in a building project 1963-70*. London, Faber and Faber, 1970.
- ⁴ B. S. Johnsen. Director. *The Smithsons on Housing*. BBC 2. Screened July 10, 1970. Accessed August 10, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UH5thwHTYNk>
- ⁵ Peter Eisenman, “Robin Hood Gardens housing development, London borough of Tower Hamlets; Architects: A. & P. Smithson,” *Architectural Design* vol. 42, no 9 (1972).
- ⁶ Peter Eisenman, “From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens; or if you follow the Yellow Brick Road it may not lead to Golders Green,” *Oppositions* no 1 (1973).
- ⁷ Charles A. Jencks, *The Language of Post-modern Architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 1977
- ⁸ Ibid. 21-24.
- ⁹ Klearjos Eduardo Papanicolaou. Director. *The Disappearance of Robin Hood*, Produced by Alfredo Brillembourg, 2018.
- ¹⁰ See “Infractus: the taking of Robin Hood Gardens”, accessed August 10, 2018, <http://www.smoutallen.com/infracts-the-taking-of-robin-hood-gardens/>
- ¹¹ See for instance “Robin Hood Gardens is not the same as a digital model of Robin hood Gardens”, City of Sound, accessed August 10, 2018, <http://www.cityofsound.com/blog/2008/03/robin-hood-gard.html>
- ¹² Allan Power, ed., *Robin Hood Gardens Revisions*. London, The Twentieth Century Society, 2010.
- ¹³ Ibid. 117.
- ¹⁴ Ibid. 118.
- ¹⁵ Ibid. 121.

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RETAILSCAPES-THE CONTEMPORARY METAMORPHOSIS ON THE HISTORICAL RETAILING TISSUE

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INTRODUCTION

One of the best ways to capture the feeling of a neighbourhood is by looking at its shops. Souvenir shops, restaurants and cafes (especially those with world food and new trends), indicate a touristic area. Gourmet stores, luxurious brands, expensive hair salons and spas, suggest an upper-class neighbourhood. Supermarkets and small groceries, cheap restaurants and cafes with local food, newspaper kiosks and pharmacies, are often situated in a lower-middle class district.

Simultaneously, it's possible to understand the socioeconomic environment of the neighbourhood by observing in more detail its commercial offer, as well as the design components of its brand, which can inform about its positioning and its history.

With changes on consumer habits and behaviours and with recent economic recessions, cities have lost numerous historical shops who have so far survived in the same location for more than fifty years. These shops may have been transformed or preserved to survive and those changes or their absence carry important narratives about the city and the business itself. "The buildings and storefronts incorporate the stories of many men and women, extending back in time and around the world" (Zukin et al. 2016, 207) and, as such, they constitute a complex and relevant source of information about cities, retailing and consumer habits.

This paper proposes an analysis of the city of Porto (Portugal) recent changes based on visual analysis of photo archives and recent photographs focusing on three case studies of local, historical and small retail shops.

Due to their visual appearance, historical shops are seducing visitors and becoming objects of interest for municipalities, which led to an exploration of visual resources to convey strategic messages but also to new readings of absence in the situations of store closure.

Comparing images of three shops from the beginning of the last century that resisted until our days, allowed the researchers to substantiate arguments of globalization, loss of identity, city-image and place-making, that are on the agenda of urban debates.

CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION CONTEXT

Brandscapes to Retailscapes: a conceptual framework

The urban “territorialization of brands” gave way to the concept of *brandscapes*, as Klingman pointed out in her homonymous book. As fabricated territories, *brandscapes* are planned based on “identity, culture and place”¹. This trilogy that represents the basis of the relationship between brands (or shops) and the city, which is being transformed in the recent years, also embody three important intangible assets of historical shops. Therefore, the researchers have based on Klingman’s approach to the action of brands in cities, for the reinterpretation concerning the historical retail context. For the purpose of this research we used this framework in order to propose new narratives from the micro reality of the shops to the macro reality of a city territory.

Retail and Cities in the Experience Economy

Since Milton Glaser designed the “I Love New York” brand in 1976, cities have started creating new graphic identities and acting as brands. Just like *branding* in its origins was related to mark with a burning iron, cities seek to produce memorable and powerful images for both visitors and investors. The Mayor of Porto commissioned a new city brand (“Porto.”) in 2014, asking for it to “mirror its soul” and to be a “graphic translation” of the city.²

With cities competing to attract visitors and new investors, retailing conquered a new space as “powerful catalysts to raise the value of a particular place”³. This ‘seductive power’ is clearly evident when half of the number of foreign tourists that came to Porto region in 2017, went to visit Lello centenary bookshop.⁴

The recent changes on urban landscapes with the closing and opening of businesses and the heated discussions about the loss of Porto identity on social media brings to light new agendas of heritage protection and preservation of local particularities. It is in that context that historical shops gained importance and have become subject of laws and planning. They evolved from suppliers of basic goods after the 19th century industrial revolution, to places that offer experiences and that are worth visiting instead of buying.

Porto: From Industrial to Touristic

Porto is a city known by its close and long relationship with commerce. Due to its geography, surrounded by river and sea with ports and markets associated, but also due to a great number of factories and small industries that emerged in the second half of the 18th century, Porto soon became almost an open-air shopping mall.

More recently, since 2012, Porto has been suffering an “accentuated process of urban transformation” characterized by the use of its Historical Center to strategically attract tourism, the de-control of rents and real estate speculation (Teixeira, 2017).⁵

With tourism double-digit growth in the country and with consecutively nominations to ‘best destinations’ rankings’, Porto “has long been regarded as the new in-spot for city-escape tourism”.⁶

METHODOLOGY AND INFORMATION RESOURCES

The starting point for this paper was a photographic record made by the researchers between 2013 and 2018. The objective was to testify the existence of historical shops in Porto, which led to monitoring their changes as some of those shops closed and were replaced by other businesses.

The research for this paper involved the choose of three case studies and interviews with current and previous shop owners. The interviews discussed two main topics: the business itself and the shop place.

During the interviews old documents and objects were also requested and photographed. These memorabilia are composed by what are now obsolete objects that typically were thrown away or by useful artefacts that were used in the business until the end of the stock such as business cards, packages or bags.

The selected photos of the facades were printed in small scale and compared side by side to have a clear overview of this figurative elements. Each photo was dated with the aid of the interviewed and/or by analysing some dated clues on the image.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Does the geographical insertion of these specific shops in the streets has implication on their visual appearance?

Does this visualities help to inform about the street and city history?

CASE STUDIES

Adaptation - Casa Januário



Figure 1, 2 and 3. (from left to right): Photographs of Casa Januário archive (c. 1950 and 1993) and a photograph taken by the researchers (2018)

Born in 1926, Casa Januário is a grocery store owned by the same family since its opening, currently managed by its third generation.

Starting by selling products from de Portuguese African and Oriental former colonies (coffee, chocolate and tea), along with others sold in bulk, the shop was a small and dark space with two doors and three windows.

The signage was painted on glass, promoting not only the brand but also its most representative products – “Coffee” and “Tea”. As the shop is situated in the intersection of two important streets, the owner

also ordered a vertical sign with an illustration referring to the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and to the coffee origins.

In 1933 the shop started roasting coffee, barley and peanuts and coffee sales increased, with the product becoming the brand's image which stands until current days.

With supermarkets emerging in the 1960s⁷, Januário had to change its position to compete with these new formats. In the decade after, the shop area increased to include new products and self-service to keep pace with the new customer. The windows became larger and the signs were turned into light boxes with the brand designation and the same main products.

The company starts working with local artisans and specializing in a new confectionary segment by selling handmade sugar figures to decorate cakes and pastry.

In 2010, the facade appearance changed again as the design became outdated. The new architectural project was an adaptation of the primitive appearance, based on old photographs and on old documents from the City Hall archives. The light signs were replaced by signs only referring the company name while the information about specific products disappeared.

Recently, with the client becoming more from the world than from the neighbourhood, Januário changed again. The storerooms and company offices in the upper floors, once occupied by the family house, were turned into touristic apartments, and it was created a new section in the shop for Portuguese wines, olive oils and canned fish to captivate foreign clients.



Figure 4. Photograph of printing brand materials taken by the shop owner, 2017

As company stayed in the same family, there is an archive with objects and documents for each phase of the business that give clues about the evolution of consumer habits and also on design and printing resources. The brand image had several implementations: visit cards, writing paper and envelopes, paper and plastic bags, stamps, merchandising, wrapping paper and packages.

The initial designs were composed by illustrations and a large amount of text that includes descriptions about main products, services and useful information. The design evolved with a reduction of graphic elements only referring the brand and its birthday, positioning Januário as an historical shop worth visiting.

Transformation - Casa Oriental



Figure 5, 6 and 7. Postcard sold on a souvenir type, a magazine clipping and a photograph belonging to Mr. Gama archive, not dated

Funded in 1910, Casa Oriental is a grocery situated near two of the most important heritage (and touristic) buildings of Porto and started, as the previous company, by selling products from former Portuguese colonies and other groceries in bulk.

We interviewed Mr. Gama, the previous owner, who bought the shop in the 1980s and who couldn't add much about the period before his management besides finding the space in poor conditions. The oldest available image from the 1980s corresponds to a postcard currently sold in souvenir shops (image 5). It shows a degraded façade, with an almost unreadable signboard with a colonial themed illustration. The shop owner told us that the sidewalks were narrower with a flowerbed in front of the shop, which leaves less passing space. The dried codfishes hanging in the facade became a brand image and its visual impact exceeded the painted signboard. Since the opening, the signboard was restored twice (image 6 and 7) and there were made some changes in the illustration, mainly in the skin colour of the native that became clearer.

With experience in selling codfish and drinks, Mr. Gama closed the store for cleaning and rearranging the stock and opened two days after assuming it, with dry codfishes hanging in the façade.

Two decades later, Casa Oriental started selling fruits and vegetables that were placed outside on the sidewalk. The use of public space increased and, in the 1990's it was difficult to find the entrance. Mr. Gama was pressured not to use the exterior space with fines from public authorities, which didn't discourage him to fill the façade and the sidewalks with products.

The clients were mostly locals, and with the recent tourism increase, tourists started buying vegetables and fruits in small quantities and soon the store became crowded. The lines of people waiting to pay have pushed out some residents and the business deteriorated.

At the end of 2015, Mr. Gama received an offer for the brand and entire building and sold it to a retail company from the tourism sector. The current owners preserved the most significant visual components, although a closer look shows significant changes. The signboard was recreated and while preserving the colonial scene, the illustrations were designed digitally and printed on canvas (and not on wood as originally). They also kept the codfishes in the facade, but they were instead made of plastic for decoration; the fruit boxes were replaced by a large rug and, on the second floor, a clothes-line drying was set up on the windows to simulate an inhabited building.

Today, the business has changed from a neighbourhood grocery shop to a single-product-shop. The new business proposes a “travel in time” as every canned fish has the same content but different packages with dates referring to events from global inventions to local football conquests.⁸

The several changes in ownership led to few existing artefacts. The left objects were mainly façade photographs and newspaper clippings. The single surviving evidence from the corporate identity was a business card that still carries the original name of the company and an illustration based on the signboard.



Figure 8. Casa Oriental Business Card

Vanishing - Cardoso Cabeleireiro



Figure 9 and 10. Photographs taken by the researchers to Cardoso Cabeleireiro, 2012 and 2017

Opened in 1906 by Mr. Jerónimo Cardoso, this shop combined manufacture of wigs, hairpieces and implants and with imported products for hair treatment and styling (MEDEIROS et al. 1993, 162-173). His customers were mainly theatre companies and church groups who bought here for shows and religious ceremonies.

Mr. Cardoso Jorge lived in the upper floors and after his death in the 1920s, the business was handover to his two nephews who run the firm until the end of the 1980s when was took over by two employees. Mr. Teixeira and Mr. Matos started working there with the ages of ten and eleven years old and learned the meticulous process from the raw material until the final product.

In 1990s Cardoso Cabeleireiro had built a considerable ‘hair library’ with almost three hundred wigs and hairpieces. With the decline of theatre companies, the shop started to rent wigs. There were the most varied styles of hairdos, from King Louis XV to Mary Magdalene. (MEDEIROS et al. 1993, 183-185). Mr. Matos kept the catalogues of hairdos from the 19th century and beginning of 20th that the founder used to buy in Paris.



Figure 11. Photograph taken by the researchers to Catalogues from the 19th Century

Until its closure in 2016, the shop kept almost the same appearance of the first day. The only change is a printed signboard that replicates the one that was painted directly in the wall. The replacement was only made due to the “lack of artists who were able to restore”, as Mr. Matos explained.

According to the owners they have constantly made small repairs including painting and wood treatment. They had an emotional connection with the shop appearance and liked its antique look, which captured attentions from locals and visitors. As the furniture and the exhibition mannikins, all the working tools date from the opening day. These constitute a living heritage with more than a hundred years that allowed the passage of this handicraft knowledge.

With the diminishing of clients from theatres and also from soldiers’ families, who bought wigs to fulfil promises during the war, another type of clients emerged: the cancer patients. Cardoso Cabeleireiro was even recommended by doctors and staff from the hospital, helping the business to survive.

In 2016 Mr. Matos, the current owner of the company, was forced to leave the shop; the building was bought to open a new hotel. Mr. Matos reopened the business on the other side of the street, but soon the rental price increased, and he had to move out. When he first moved, the City Hall asked him to remove the signboard but instead Mr. Matos covered it with paint due to the difficulty to remove it by himself.

Nowadays, the company is unique in the country and still continues its business in the neighbour city Vila Nova de Gaia.

The only elements related to the visual identity of the brand are the visit cards dating after 1999, which can be confirmed by its nine-digit phone number. The shop owners considered these corporate identity elements as useful objects that was not worth saving

When the researchers visited the new store in Gaia, which is situated in a commercial gallery from the 1980s, the mismatch between the tools and the space was evident. The integrity of the initial project relies on the coherence between space, working tools and product.

CONCLUSION

Retail, with its dual mission of market and sell, is closely related to its socio-economic context. The three case studies presented thus contribute to a first overview of the city; giving clues about the users of Porto's downtown and their needs, about the relationship of shopkeepers with the brand they represent and the relationship of the stores with the times of the city.

We started with the perception that the visual preservation of the historical store was closely related to a passive management, but we could see that the emotional connection between the shopkeeper and the brand is a bold factor that we have to consider.

To this emotional relationship, presented in the decisions to recover the original design of the façade or to change it drastically, in the personal archives that document the evolution of the store, we can add the influence of the change on the type of the user within the street.

The increase in tourism and foreign investment contributed to the closure of many shops like these, due, for example, to an increase in land value that led to an increase in rents, but also valued those that were kept untouched, leading to a statute of 'store-museum'. This 'store-museum' being the place of experience, not consumption; a place to escape, not of social interaction.

This way of experiencing these places as leisure sites has also been fed by the shopkeepers, in communicating and focusing more on the attributes of brand history than on those of the products they sell and also by the municipalities that use historical stores as a promotional asset that distinguishes the city-brand.

The "retailscapes" are, finally, a visual narrative that synthesizes different layers of information, capable of describing the identity of the place. The functional change of the retail from proximity to touristic, the monofunctionality of this same offer in the most popular axes and the closure of historic stores in favor of franchising of international chains or hotels, speaks of a city becoming more globalized and consecutively more undifferentiated.

More than just the glancing appearance of the façades, it is important to retain the importance of the shopkeeper's personality mirroring their vision of the city in the façades which, in the case of historic stores, represents a vision built over decades, of very different generations and scenarios that are inscribed in overlapping layers.

NOTES

¹ Anna Klingman, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy*. (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007), 83.

² See Porto City Hall document *Porto. Graphic Identity Manual* in City Hall Official Website

³ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴ Der Spiegel Staff. *Paradise Lost: How Tourists Are Destroying the Places They Love*. *Der Spiegel*, (2018), accessed August 24, 2018, url:<https://bit.ly/2Mv8f8y>.

⁵ Arménio Teixeira. *Confeitaria Restaurante Cunha*. *Revista Punkto*, (2017), accessed October 20, url: <https://bit.ly/2VXshbK>.

⁶ Der Spiegel Staff. *Paradise Lost: How Tourists Are Destroying the Places They Love*. *Der Spiegel*, (2018), accessed August 24, 2018, url:<https://bit.ly/2Mv8f8y>.

⁷ See <http://restosdecoleccion.blogspot.com/2016/10/primeiros-supermercados.html>, for more information related to the first Portuguese supermarkets

⁸ The new brand is the “Mundo Fantástico das Conservas Portuguesas”, <https://www.mundofantasticodasardinha.pt/en/>

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TOURIST IMAGERIES AND THE URBAN RENEWAL OF THE SANTA CRUZ QUARTER (SEVILLE, SPAIN)

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INTRODUCTION

This paper interrogates the origins of the tourist imageries of the Santa Cruz Quarter (Seville, Spain) and highlights the urban renewal that took place in this area at the beginning of the 20th century as starting point for the emergence of those¹. The renovation project of Santa Cruz was designed to be attractive for tourists and it became one of the first cases in Spain that aimed to adapt a historic district to a stereotyped image, according to the expectations derived from the travellers' taste. With the intention of providing the space with an 'authentic' character, in the sense of a connection with the past or tradition² the landscape of the district was transformed and made ready to be consumed by the 'tourist gaze', following the terminology of Urry and Larsen³. As a result, since the second decade of the 20th century, the quarter has had great success in attracting visitors and its image has been promoted as a worthy place for tourist visits.

Regarding the structure of this paper, after introducing some ideas about the theoretical framework, the following sections present the historical context and the main characteristics of the urban renewal of Santa Cruz, paying special attention to the importance of tourist expectation at that point. Finally, it will conclude with further reflections based on the case study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the academic literature on tourism, John Urry⁴ drew attention to the tourist consumption of places through the tourist gaze, understanding this as a cultural practice which determines what is worth seeing⁵. This gaze is influenced not only by personal experiences and memories, but also by the circulation of images about the potential destinations that orient the way in which tourists gaze and that condition their relationships with those places. Indeed, tourism always involves an anticipation, in the sense that, before traveling, tourists already know about the places they are going to visit⁶. Therefore, from this point of view, the tourist could be seen as a modern figure who comes out of his/her daily routine looking for the 'experiential authenticity'⁷ generated by the contact with those spaces or sights to which he/she is already familiar through their images⁸.

Because of that way of understanding 'authenticity' in tourism, Wang aligns Urry's view with the Poststructuralist perspective, which assimilates authenticity to a "existential state of Being" activated through tourist activities⁹. The concept of authenticity has been highly relevant in the classic literature on tourism since Dean MacCannell highlighted it as the main motivation of tourist travel and it is still

receiving attention from academic researchers¹⁰. MacCannell and many other authors understood ‘authenticity’ as an intrinsic characteristic of the toured objects or sights, or what is the same, as a feature that these might or may not have, such as the objective authenticity of the object exposed in museums. However, by the time academic research was going on, the assimilation of authenticity as something objective started to appear oversimplistic and constructivist authors, in their way, prefer to consider it as a result of social conventions that determine what is worth seeing¹¹. From this perspective, authors such as Cohen¹² and Hobswan and Ranger¹³ claim that authenticity is negotiable and susceptible to appearance and disappearance according to what people culturally produce about the sights or toured places.

In any case, regardless from which perspective the concept of authenticity is understood (objective, constructivist or experiential), the image of many places and urban landscapes usually strives to perform a certain ‘authentic character’ which is expected to attract visitors. As Urry said, “the widespread of tourist gaze has the effect of transforming environments, many of which are reconstructed for visual consumption”¹⁴.

To conclude with the theoretical framework, it is significant to mention that in this paper, imageries are conceptualized as the assemblages of meaning, collectively constructed and shared, that are used by people as “meaning-making and world-shaping devices”¹⁵. Specifically, tourist imageries are referred to tourist places and despite their intangible nature, they are manifested in discourses, representation and spatial practices¹⁶. As Amirou noticed, they serve to reduce the anxiety generated by the encounter with distant and unknown places, so they could be assimilated to a sort of bridge or a ‘transitional object’ which facilitate the apprehension of tourist spaces, mediating between those and people’s understanding and conditioning, therefore, tourists’ behaviours¹⁷.

THE SANTA CRUZ QUARTER AND ITS URBAN CONTEXT THROUGH 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The Santa Cruz Quarter (*Barrio de Santa Cruz* in Spanish) is one of the twelve districts comprising the historic center of Seville, placed very close to the monumental core formed by the Cathedral, the *Alcázar* and the Archive of the Indies. It occupies part of what was, in medieval times, the old Jewish quarter of the city and because of this, the area preserves a plane with an Islamic imprint, with the predominance of irregular, narrow and winding streets¹⁸.

These urban characteristics weren’t attractive for most of the travellers who visited the city during the 19th century, and because of this, the quarter remained unnoticed for romantic travellers, who did not include it in their itineraries though the Andalusian capital. Therefore, considering that this kind of plane wasn’t very appreciated by local population or visitors, during the second half of the 19th century some urban projects tried to improve the general state of the district by opening large streets which would allow a direct communication between the monumental center and the zone outside the walls. Although none of them came to materialize, the project of Manuel Fernández Peña of 1902 (finalized by the architect Manuel Martínez Ángel in 1903) is a clear example of that, which contemplated the disappearance of some parts of the quarter by opening wide and straight streets¹⁹.



Figure 1. Detail of the plane included in the project of Manuel Martínez Ángel (1903). Source: Plano de Sevilla. Manuel Martínez Ángel (1903), ubicado en el Proyecto de Ensanche del Barrio de Santa Cruz (Plaza del Cardenal Lluch). ICAS-SAHP, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, caja A-20.

THE NEW URBAN CONTEXT INFLUENCED BY THE EXPECTATIONS OF TOURISM

During the first years of 20th century, reflection about the ways of urban modernization of the city was influenced by the first institutional politics regarding tourism in Spain. That industry was growing fast thanks to the image of the country as a tourist destination that had been spread by Nineteenth Century romantic travellers and to the fact that communications and means of transport had substantially improved during the second half of previous century²⁰.

As a result, the economic and political elites of Barcelona and Seville proposed in the early years of the 20th century the celebration of two international exhibitions with which they expected to stimulate the local economy and to make both places more attractive to tourists. In Seville, it was also expected to receive funds from the National Government to cover the cost of the urban reforms that the city actually needed²¹. Thus, once the project of the Ibero-American exhibition was officially passed in 1910, a big urban renovation process started to change the image of the city before the celebration of the exhibition in 1929-1930²², to make it ready for visitor's arrival. This process included initiatives such as the improvement of water supply and streetlight, and the construction of many new buildings. The aesthetic

of Regionalism acquired then an important role, being employed to project a prototypical image of the space and to give to visitors exactly what they demanded to see²³.

THE URBAN RENOVATION PROCESS OF THE SANTA CRUZ QUARTER

With the great expectations placed on the arrival of tourists generated by the arrangement of the Ibero-American exhibition, the local authorities realized that it was an urgent necessity to improve the state of the Santa Cruz Quarter, also because it is placed very close to the monumental core of the Cathedral and the *Alcázar*. And so, after the rejection of the urban plans which were expected to improve the conditions of the quarter by opening big streets (such as the aforementioned project of Manuel Fernández Peña), the area was renovated in a less aggressive way between 1912 and 1929. On the one hand, the works tried to improve its health and hygiene conditions, and on the other, to beautify its appearance with the incorporation of lighting and ornamental elements such as flowers and shrubs. Both lines of work were focused, in turn, to satisfy the expectations of visitors.

The urban renovation process was coordinated by the *Comisaría Regia* of Tourism, which had been created in 1911 as the first public institution responsible for the management of all matters related to tourism in Spain at that time. The Marquis of la Vega Inclán was at the forefront of that institution until its disappearance in 1928. He had a major impact on the revitalization of the historical and cultural heritage of the country and to attract visitors of high cultural level²⁴. In Toledo, where he focused a big part of his efforts, he had founded in 1910 a museum dedicated to the painter El Greco, becoming one of the most noted sight of the city since then²⁵.

Among the main works coordinated by the *Comisaría Regia* and especially by the Marquis to renovate the Santa Cruz Quarter, the following could be highlighted: First, the cleaning and improvement of the outer part of the walls of the *Alcázar*, which used to be a very dirty place. The City Council acquired the houses attached to the wall and, after demolishing them, cleaned up this space completely²⁶. From the conclusion of the works emerged the current Street of Water ('calle Agua'), which it is one of the busiest places in the neighborhood today. A second line of action was focused on the urbanization of some open spaces as the walk of Catalina de Ribera, the gardens of Murillo, and both squares of Doña Elvira and Santa Cruz. They lasted from 1917 to the end of the next decade and their projects were mainly designed by the regionalist architect Juan Talavera y Heredia²⁷. The cost of the third line of action was defrayed by the Marquis' funds and was focused on the acquisition of some houses of the neighborhood to convert them into small hotels decorated in what was conceived as the "authentic Sevillian character"²⁸. In addition to these, the Marquis inaugurated in 1925 the Residence of America as a centre of attraction for American tourists. It used to have a big library and a tourist information office. Both, the hotels and the Residence were sold shortly after the Ibero-American exhibition and lost their original functions²⁹.

Together with the aforementioned works, the urban renewal which took place during the first decades of the 20th century included more general actions such as the alignment of façades, the incorporation of vegetation and the improvement of pavement and sewerage. Thus, avoiding drastic or aggressive operations, a very superficial treatment was carried out focusing on the regeneration of the place and to gain visitors' attention, which has been called a treatment 'of façade'³⁰.

The aesthetics of Regionalism and their recourse to local traditions was clearly promoted by the *Comisaría Regia* in the spaces resulting from alignments, in the buildings of new construction and in the urbanization of open spaces. With the intention of providing the district with the 'authentic urban character' of Seville, prototypical elements, such as white façades, balconies with many flowerpots, hallways with colorful tiled baseboards, elaborate gates and patios with columns, were introduced

everywhere. The combination of these and other elements characterized the new landscape resulting from the renovation process, which wanted to highlight a connection with the past in the sense of what Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger have called the ‘invention of tradition’³¹.



Figure 2. Current appearance of the Street Judería (quarter of Santa Cruz, Seville, Spain). Source: Author's own.

FINAL BALANCE AND CONCLUSIONS

After the urban refurbishment, the Santa Cruz Quarter became a local icon which has been very successful in attracting tourists. This is evidenced by the high number of guidebooks about Seville that, from the second decade of the 20th century, identify it as one of the indispensable sights in any visit to the city. In addition to this, Santa Cruz became, from the years 1920 onward, a prototypical landscape that have been used for the following promotion not only of the city, but also of the Andalusia region and the country as a whole. Its image, like other landscapes and elements of the Andalusian cultural heritage, have become a recurring icon in the projection of Spain abroad. As example of this, the public institutions responsible for the management and promotion of Spain as a tourist destination after the disappearance of the *Comisaría Regia* have used images of the district as inspiration for the design of some of their posters.



Figure 3. Poster for the promotion of Spain as a tourist destination: “Sevilla, Barrio de Santa Cruz: España” (1975). Source: Colección del Centro de Documentación Turística de España, Instituto de Turismo de España, www.tourspain.es

The importance of this case study is because the Santa Cruz Quarter is a clear example in which the urban space was consciously transformed at the beginning of the 20th century to adapt itself to the tourist gaze, according to the concept of John Urry. The urban renewal of Santa Cruz was focused on making it more attractive to visitors, by accommodating the space to an ‘authentic’ character in the sense of a connection with its past or tradition. Specifically, the quarter went from being a degraded place, reviled by local population and ignored by the visitors of the 19th century, to become one of the most visited places of the city after its renewal. The tourist imageries of the renovated Santa Cruz were marked with the idea of the ‘typically Sevillian’ and this was quickly accepted and assumed by local people and visitors since then. According to this, the last edition of the guide about Seville edited by Lonely Planet uses these words to introduce the quarter:

“Seville’s medieval judería (Jewish quarter), east of the cathedral and Alcázar, is today a tangle of atmospheric, winding streets and lovely plant-decked plazas perfumed with orange blossom. Among its most characteristic plazas is Plaza de Santa Cruz, which gives the barrio (district) its name. Nearby,

plaza de Doña Elvira is perhaps the most romantic small square in Andalucía, especially in the evenings.”³².

Finally, the case study presented in this paper show that this kind of strategy by which the urban space is accommodated to a prototypical image which aims to emphasize an ‘authentic character’ is especially relevant to heritage urban tourism because, in those cases, visitors’ expectations are especially willing to perceive the connection between the landscape and its past but, as van der Laarse assess, “the destination of heritage tourism does not show the past as it *really* was, but as we would like it to be remembered, as a cleansed, purified past free from dissonances.”³³

In this sense, Santa Cruz is a pioneer case in Spain where the application of the regionalist principles was used for tourist objectives and its urban refurbishment served as inspiration for similar works in Seville and other Spanish cities³⁴. As has been shown, Regionalist style was used as a strategy to satisfy the claim of authenticity, which, as many authors from MacCannell have highlighted, is one of the main motivations of ‘the modern tourist’. Being conscious of that, I could hold that ‘authenticity’ influences both the way in which people (including tourists and locals) experience the place and in which the place itself is constantly produced and reproduced by the practices of those³⁵.

NOTES

¹ This paper is based on an ongoing case study of the Santa Cruz Quarter conducted since 2016.

² Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing tradition,” in *The invention of tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-14.

³ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0. Theory, Culture & Society* (London: Sage Publications, 2011).

⁴ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995).

⁵ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0. Theory, Culture & Society* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 114.

⁶ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0. Theory, Culture & Society* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 51.

⁷ Ning Wang, *Tourism and Modernity* (Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2000), 48-50.

⁸ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995), 132-133.

⁹ Ning Wang, *Tourism and Modernity* (Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2000), 57-59.

¹⁰ Dean MacCannell, *El Turista. Una Nueva Teoría de la Clase Ociosa* (Barcelona: Melusina, 2003).

¹¹ Ning Wang, “Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 354-355. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00103-0.

¹² Erik Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 371-386. doi:10.1016/0160-7383(88)90028-X.

¹³ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995), 190.

¹⁵ Noel Salazar and Nelson Graburn, “Introduction. Toward an Anthropology of tourism imaginaries” in *Tourism Imaginaries. Anthropological Approaches*, edited by Nelson Graburn and Noel Salazar (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 1.

¹⁶ Daniel Hiernaux and Alicia Lindón, “Renovadas intersecciones: la espacialidad y los imaginarios” in *Geografías de lo Imaginario*, edited by Alicia Lindón and Daniel Hiernaux (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2012), 20.

¹⁷ Rachid Amirou, *L’imaginaire Touristique* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2012), 9, 124-125, 279.

¹⁸ R. Vioque Cubero, I. M. Vera Rodríguez and N. López López. *Apuntes sobre el Origen y Evolución Morfológica de las Plazas del Casco Histórico de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1987), 34.

¹⁹ Alberto Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del Regionalismo en Sevilla, 1900 – 1935* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 112.

²⁰ Ana Moreno Garrido, *Historia del Turismo en España en el Siglo XX* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2007), 101-112.

- ²¹ Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism. Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain (1890-1939)* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2010), 205-207, 197.
- ²² Francisco Calvo Serraller et. al., *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1869-1936* (Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1993), 220-221.
- ²³ Francisco Javier Rodríguez Barberán, "Sevilla Mirada y admirada. La Construcción de un Paisaje Histórico a través del Tiempo," in *Guía del Paisaje Histórico Urbano de Sevilla*, ed. Román Fernández-Baca et al. (Sevilla, 2015), 106. Cardoso Bueno, Diego A., *Sevilla. El Casco Antiguo. Historia, Arte y Urbanismo*. (Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 2006), 105.
- ²⁴ Ana Moreno Garrido, *Historia del Turismo en España en el Siglo XX* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2007), 74-80. Nicolás Ortega Cantero, "Paisaje, patrimonio e identidad en la conformación de la primera política turística española," *Ería: Revista cuatrimestral de geografía* 93 (2014): 27-42.
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- ²⁷ Francisco Calvo Serraller et. al., *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1869-1936* (Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1993), 222.
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READDRESSING THE PAST THROUGH TRADITIONAL COURTYARD HOUSES: FROM EXPRESSIONS OF THE PAST TO ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

A critical challenge faced by modern societies is the reconciliation of modern architectural needs with a sustainable preservation of our architectural heritage. The aim of this paper is to investigate ways in which our architectural heritage can be integrated with contemporary architectural production that is how we can preserve the architectural past while building for the present.

To achieve this, the paper explores the concept of the ‘courtyard house’, a typical Cypriot architectural model of inwards facing residencies, which apart from its many advantages (natural ventilation and lighting, as well as effective use of energy) also embodies a very important set of heritage values. Thus, following an analysis of these heritage values, the paper presents particular examples of how aging modernistic residential blocks of flats can obtain characteristics of the valuable vernacular past by incorporating elements of architectural heritage in their design.

TRADITIONAL COURTYARD HOUSES AS EMBODIMENTS OF HERITAGE VALUE

Any study on the preservation of our architectural heritage, or on the integration of architectural heritage with contemporary production, should first explore the cultural significance of the cases under investigation.

The concept of cultural significance encapsulates the multiple values ascribed to heritage assets, including architectural heritage. By heritage values we refer to particular ‘attributes given to sites’ or objects or particular ‘intellectual and emotional connections that make them important and define their significance for a person, group, or community’¹.

The concept of heritage value is of critical importance in heritage management and conservation since the 1970s². Several organisations have introduced typologies of values in an attempt to categorise the different value attributions embodied by our heritage³. The identification of specific values facilitates more informed decisions on the conservation and preservation of our heritage⁴. Thus, before exploring examples of how expressions of the past can sustainably inform architectural innovation, we should first explore the heritage values represented by traditional courtyard houses.

Traditional courtyard houses have a multifaceted cultural significance, encapsulating different values that can be attached to them, namely the historic, archaeological, architectural, environmental, aesthetic, social and identity value.

Historic value refers to the capacity of a site to embody a relation to the past⁵. Courtyards constitute a very important part of architectural heritage in many civilizations of the world and especially in East-Mediterranean countries. Early examples of such typologies were found in ancient Egypt and Minoan Crete. The existence of this typology as early as 2000 BC and its presence throughout the years until the 20th century signifies its importance in the history of architecture. This typology is also central to the history of residential and vernacular architecture of Cyprus⁶. Apart from the many examples found throughout antiquity, this typology constituted the most common form of vernacular architecture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁷.

The archaeological value of courtyard dwellings that is their ‘ability to be a source of information about the past through scientific investigation’⁸ is also extremely important. In Cyprus, examples of rooms built around courtyards can be found from the Early Bronze Age (2300-2100 BC) to the Late Bronze Age (1650 -1050 BC). The same architectural layout, which balances the built with the open air part of a house, also persists in later periods, with examples been excavated in archaeological sites in Cyprus from the Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods⁹.

Architectural value relates to innovation, development and achievement regarding concepts, structural and morphological aspects and aesthetic issues¹⁰. Courtyards constitute one of the most important architectural features of vernacular architecture. Especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, dwellings organised around courtyards became the stereotype in Greece and Cyprus (fig.1a). The designs that can be found in both rural and urban spaces had differences in their shape, volume and room arrangement, providing an added value to this typology: the ability to adapt to different contexts and landscapes. The courtyard house offered many designs on spatial arrangement. Courtyards provide the main access to the interior spaces and become an intermediary between the public and the private, the open and the enclosed. Low or high perimeter walls, square or rectangular courtyards, L or U room arrangement shapes, big or small volumes are parameters whose combination offers a variety of options¹¹.

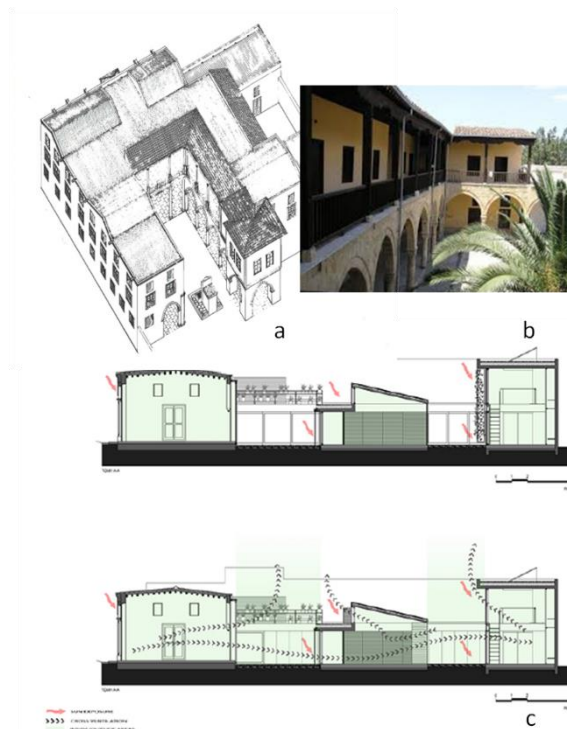


Figure 1. a. The Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios courtyard house, Nicosia, Cyprus, end of 18th c. (reconstruction), b. Iliakos in both floors of the Axiothea courtyard house, Nicosia, Cyprus, c. Sun exposure and cross ventilation diagram of a traditional courtyard house in Kaimakli, Nicosia.

One very significant architectural element of the Cypriot courtyard house is the *iliakos*, a covered arched veranda and/or balcony in front of the courtyard facing part of the rooms (fig.1b). Usually on ground level, but in some cases applied on first level too, offers a higher level of climatic protection appropriate for household activities throughout the year and an intermediate space between the house and the courtyard.

The penetration of the building block by a small scale central opening creates a passive thermal and cooling system permitting the air to ventilate and cool the interior spaces and the sun to reach more sides of the rooms. Thus, these courtyards constituted a source of natural light and ventilation for the interior spaces surrounding it, also providing the necessary shade for the hot summer months (fig.1c). Therefore, another equally important value of these courtyards is their environmental value.

Traditional courtyards also have an undisputable aesthetic value, an element related to forms and materiality. A variety of elements on the tiled floors and the wooden or stone structures, the forms, the textures, the light and shadow patterns add another dimension to the cultural significance of this typology (fig.2a,b,c,d,e). Moreover, local plants and flowers often decorate the interior open air spaces. This contact with nature provides psychological tranquillity and a relaxation means through this private world (fig.2f).



Figure 2. a,b,c,d,e. Variety of materiality and elements: tiled floors, wooden or stone structures, forms, textures, light and shadow patterns f. the significance of nature in an internal courtyard, in Kaimakli area, Nicosia.

A communal courtyard is often shared by two or more different houses. This was also very characteristic in Greece and especially in poor and very densely inhabited urban areas. The internal communal courtyard played a central role for accessibility, which was granted through internal staircases, and also for social interaction (fig.3a).

Social value relates to the fulfilment of a community function that may also shape some aspects of community behaviour. Residential courtyards denote a social life that distinguishes the common from the private, the personal family life from the public one. Privacy is a major aspect of the courtyard typology. Thus, traditional courtyard houses offered a private outdoor protected space, which was also used for many social activities, such as social gatherings and festivities, celebrations and weddings (fig.3b). This social and cultural dimension is enhanced even more in the case of communal courtyards, shared by many neighbours, which created a communal, sharing microcosm. Each of these courtyards constituted a point of reference for accessing complexes of houses, but also a special bond, which brought together many neighbours and created a very special sense of belonging and connecting to the other. Thus, this architectural feature was at the core of creating a community identity to its inhabitants. The function of this courtyard as a landmark, or a symbol of home enhancing a sense of belonging, adds a very special identity value to the cultural significance of these courtyards.

The social and symbolic value of this typology is also evident in Greek movies of the 1950s and 1960s with stories developing in the microcosm of low middle class society, where the communal courtyard was the field of a variety of social interaction that brought together, or sometimes divided the neighbours (fig.3c,d). This mode of social contact is an extremely valuable part of the intangible heritage of Cyprus, Greece, and many other Mediterranean cultures.



Figure 3. a. Communal courtyard, 19th century, Plaka area, Athens, Greece, b. Painting of the Cypriot folk painter Kasialos representing wedding preparations taking place in an internal courtyard, c, d. Stills from a Greek movie of 1965, filmed in a communal courtyard in Plaka area, Athens.

COURTYARDS AS ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY BUILDING REUSES

Despite the range of values associated with the residential typology of the courtyard house, it appears that their significance was underestimated in the second half of the twentieth century. The substitution of family houses by blocks of flats, especially in the city centres, signifies a change in the social developments related to residences. In most western cities, the urban centred societies increased the demands for the number of individual dwellings and consequently decreased the availability of usable space. Families in the second half of the twentieth century had less family members and were involved in limited activities taking place at home. The value of land and the radically increased urban population were important parameters for this urban transformation. Higher, denser and compact buildings characterize the contemporary Cypriot cities. The shift to modernity and the building regulations both under the British authorities and later on, under the young Republic of Cyprus brought about new typologies¹².

Contemporary issues that are raised internationally towards environmental care, less energy consumption and sustainability, a recently created return-to-nature tendency in the design for the urban built environment by proposing green planted roofs, vertical gardens, vertical ecosystems and urban farms and at the same time a need to contradict the distant and indirect social contact, gave reason to the reconsideration of the social role of design and architecture. A general trend that is apparent that much in Cyprus¹³ as in countries far from the Mediterranean Sea, like Iran¹⁴, celebrating the differentiated local identity in norms, forms and visual or non-visual characteristics, supported those facts. Additionally, the recent economic crisis in the south of Europe, that led people to restore, renovate and reuse existing buildings instead of building new ones, added another parameter in the synthesis of contemporary urban dwellings. As a result, a new framework towards a more social-friendly and environmental-friendly design tendency that readdresses the past and the local identities is witnessed especially among the participants in architecture and design education.

In the case studies of the present investigation, the lessons learned from vernacular architecture, but also from approaches of such modernist academics and practitioners as Ian McHarg¹⁵, influence building reuse introducing at the same time a reconsideration of the traditional social and cultural values

aiming to improve the quality of urban social life. The aim of the projects was to combine the main advantages of both housing typologies, that of the vernacular past and the international contemporary, in order to form a viable and challenging way of urban residence. A new architectural vocabulary is discussed as an outcome of a reconciliation and collaboration of the architectural heritage with the contemporary needs and production. The student projects presented here provide intangible, as well as tangible means for the reinterpretation of past values.

Two different existing building constructions, a complex of two buildings in Nicosia, Cyprus (fig.4a), and a conventional building block in the suburbs of Larnaca (fig.4b), both built in the 1980s were proposed to be transformed to multi dwelling units for young families and young professionals as part of the Interior design student's projects. The vernacular Cypriot courtyard aimed to be retreated in an innovative way in order to alternate the conventional urban apartment. Maintaining the structural frame of the buildings and most of the existing volumes, the students' proposed concept considered a vertical as well as horizontal subtraction of the building volume, thus separating the previously massive construction (fig.4c). The reinforced concrete structure based on a regular grid system permits the creation of openings in the horizontal concrete slabs. Planted small gardens of common or private use are introduced besides or around the openings on each floor. They can be accessed from the neighbouring flats or the main common circulation corridors of the building.

Their use could incorporate planting, social gatherings, safe areas for children to play, household activities, direct contact between residents of all floors. The massive volumes of the former building design, with outwards directing view and actions, are substituted by a fundamentally different inwards looking microcosm, partly private, partly public, shared between neighbouring users. It balances the levels of privacy of the individual private flats with that of the public communal urban space. An alternative form of semiprivate space of neighbourhood occurs with direct outcomes in terms of social issues. Contact is not only visual but social.

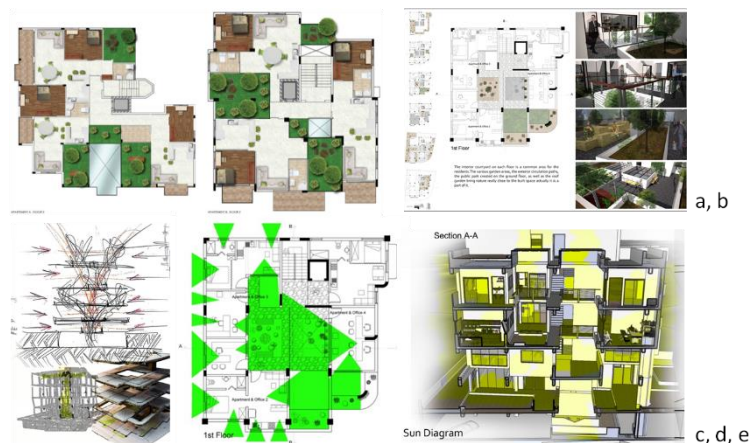


Figure 4. a. Two neighbouring multi-dwelling units redesigned according the vernacular courtyard typology, Nicosia, Cyprus. b. c, d, e. Building block to be reused as a multi-dwelling unit based on the vernacular courtyard typology, plan and views, concept experimentation and sun/view diagram, Larnaca, Cyprus.

Beyond this, inner courtyards and a disruption of the massiveness of the former inflexible structure permit nature to invade the sterile skin of the contemporary dwelling, and the almost forgotten modes of social contact to overcome the limits of social media communication and thus revive one of the most valuable intangible heritages of Mediterranean cultures.

The small scale developments have a lot to gain from the collaboration between the new structural frame and the old typology. The accessible open spaces call and facilitate open air activities, planting and gardening, resting and relaxing in private outdoor environment and definitely direct social contact. Boundaries between neighbouring inhabitants become less distinct and an intruding, indiscreet liveliness creates a communal, sharing microcosm.

The openings created in the existing concrete slabs allow the sunlight to reach directly the inner and lower parts of the building (fig.4d, e). The orientation is taken into consideration and light studies were executed to ensure that the least possible demolished parts will reassure the maximum of direct natural light. Specific advantages of ventilation, heating and cooling were achieved, equal to those of the vernacular courtyards, which traditionally were operating as microclimate regulators¹⁶.

The air and the sun that are directed through the volume of the building structure, result positively in the bioclimatic behaviour, and carry pigments of human interaction. A new interpretation of the architectural element of “iliakos” is explored on the partly enclosed interior verandas. Inner courtyards, disrupted volumes, penetrated outlines create advantages related to microclimatic improvement, sustainability, effective use of energy, natural ventilation and lighting.

In another case study an existing unused warehouse building in the Nicosia industrial area is designed to host low income people and create a “Co-housing Community”. The existing skin provided the grid for a free arrangement of boxed apartments arranged around a common, internal, but partly covered courtyard (fig.5). The limitations of the existing reinforced concrete structure permitted only small circular openings on the concrete slabs. One of the main objectives was the creation of small residences arranged around interior common spaces. The proposal supports and enhances the communication between users and introduces a small scale environment within a bigger shell. It considers a successful but not limiting coexistence between the old and the new, the open and the enclosed, the public and the private. The valuable environmental, social, functional properties of the communal courtyard are reinvented and creatively reintroduced.



Figure 5. “Co-housing Community” residential project. Plan of the free arrangement of boxed apartments around a common, internal, partly covered courtyard and views of the internal courtyards.

In a different project a deteriorating building structure of the 1950s in a low income residential area, is proposed to be transformed to an urban oasis that will provide leveled courtyards to the neighbouring blocks of flats. The concrete structure of the building is freed by most of its walls and its levels of slabs provide semi open air spaces to the surrounding residences (fig.6). Children, their parents, young professionals and elderly who live in the surrounding flats will be using and sharing it for a number of different activities, such as playing, cleaning, resting, gardening. The old building becomes a shared courtyard between high buildings where the subtracted volumes of the residential former use are substituted by a valuable “negative space”, a natural microcosm. The redesigned system connects social groups and breaks the massive volumes of the compact residential area. Through its penetrated form, sun and air circulate much more effectively improving the bioclimatic behavior in favour of the neighbouring building structures. The addition of green and nature controls the amount of sun and air input and satisfies the human need to be in contact with nature.



Figure 6. “Urban Nature”. Reuse of an existing building into a public urban garden/ courtyard.

EPILOGUE

The presented case studies constitute examples of ways in which elements of our heritage can be introduced to existing building structures for better and easily achievable results both in the environmental and sustainable impact of existing buildings and in the social and functional value of the urban dwelling.

This paper illustrates that inspiring contemporary architectural production can respect heritage without just visually imitating past forms, but by creating an inseparable bond to them through material and immaterial reconsiderations. Expressions of the past can sustainably inform architectural innovation, safeguarding at the same time the heritage values embodied in architectural heritage. Moreover, the presented examples explore ways in which architectural heritage can inspire the reinterpretation of intangible values connected to the creation of strong social bonds within communities.

Inflexible, rigid formal and social substances have to adjust in the ever changing social, technological and environmental context. Thus, adaptive reuse has to be explored in innovative and inspiring ways bridging the old and the new, the heritage with contemporary production, the tangible with the intangible values of a social framework.

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NOTES

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¹³ *ibid*,364.

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THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT IN THE CENTRE OF CHINESE CITIES

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INTRODUCTION

It is indeed difficult to imagine that China has only taken twenty years to realise the economic leap from 1.029 trillion to 11.199 trillion US dollars in GDP and become the second economy in the world since 2016.¹ The inevitable consequence is that most Chinese cities have had to change to meet the demands of the economic development, particularly horizontal and vertical urbanization. Obviously, China is a representative country of the rapid development in the economy and the city.

The aggressive economic and urban development in China has given rise to the challenges in heritage protection of historic urban areas. In particular, economic and urban development caused soaring land values,² especially in the central area of cities where most historic urban areas are located. In order to maximise the interests and speed up the development, the local government and developers have changed the physical attributes of the historic urban areas such as site layouts and functions, destroying urban context and features. In addition, the lack of routine maintenance and minor adjustments in historic urban areas have accelerated the movement of inhabitants from these areas, leading to the destruction of the spiritual attributes of historic urban areas such as the abruption of collective memories and loss of the community cohesion. In brief, China is facing a critical situation of needing to balance between development and conservation in historic urban areas in its city' centres.

Based on the Chinese real-life phenomenon, this paper discusses the main relationship models between urban development and heritage protection in historic urban areas by analysing the changes of physical and spiritual attributes of historic urban areas, because twofold attributes reflect significant values of heritage defined by China ICOMOS³ and detect qualities of historic urban areas through the human senses.⁴ In this paper, these changes mainly concentrate on the social networking of local communities, impacting on the spiritual attributes and urban morphology as well as land use in the physical attributes of historic urban areas. Then, this paper analyses in depth the causes of the four major models of the relationship between urban development and heritage protection, and introduces placemaking as a feasible concept of urban design to balance urban redevelopment and heritage protection in historic urban areas in Chinese city' centres.

SELECTION CRITERIA OF CASE STUDIES

In this study, four cases were chosen: FAW Factory in Changchun, Pingjiang Area in Suzhou, Xintiandi Block in Shanghai and Yihe Mansions in Nanjing respectively. The following criteria were used to select these four handpicked cases.

The primary criterion is that the four selected cases are located in the centre of cities ranked in the top three levels in the Chinese city tier system. A respected and credible organisation has reported that Shanghai, Nanjing and Changchun had retained their 2016 rankings in the 2017 Chinese city tier list, respectively ranked top-level, second and third level, while Suzhou underwent a jump from the third level in 2016 to the second level in 2017.⁵ Obviously, these four cities in which the selected cases are located show trends of stable and rapid development of urban development. Moreover, the selected cases have had profound significances in the fields of heritage protection or urban redevelopment both at home and abroad. Particularly, Pingjiang Area and Yihe Mansions were awarded the Honourable Mention of UNESCO Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage Conservation in 2005 and 2014 respectively. FAW Factory was entered into the first listing of Chinese industrial heritage in 2018, because it was the first large-scale automobile manufacturing factory cooperatively built by the Soviet Union and the PRC. Xintiandi Block created a new type of urban development called the "Xintiandi Model"⁶ which was the first time to that profitable preservation⁷ had been introduced into Chinese urban redevelopment practices.

The final criterion is that these real-life cases are representative models to reflect the four main relationships between urban redevelopment and heritage protection in Chinese city' centres. These four sites are central areas of metropolises that have undergone urban sprawl, causing these four sites to experience inevitable marked increases in land values. Meanwhile, each of these cases possesses precious heritage and historically significant elements, such as the buildings of "Old Shanghai" in Xintiandi Block and the 13th-century water-town pattern in Pingjiang Area. Therefore, these four cases represent sites in urgent need of models to balance the pressures of economic development with the values of heritage protection.

FOUR DIALOGUES BETWEEN HERITAGE PROTECTION AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT IN CHINESE CITY' CENTRES

The selected cases express four dialogues between heritage protection and urban redevelopment through the changes of physical and spiritual attributes of historic urban areas caused by individual redevelopment projects. Because the social networking of the local community greatly influences what may be termed the "spiritual" attributes of historic areas, and site layouts and functions can directly and visibly show the physical attributes, this study concentrates on the dialogues between these two aspects. According to the redevelopment projects, the selected cases were first divided into two categories: community retention and community replacement. This is conducive to an in-depth discussion of the changes in the spiritual attributes of these sites and reflection of these changes into physical attributes.

Community Retention

FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area represent the category of community retention, which means that the vast majority of inhabitants and their descendants were allowed to stay in the two sites after the implementation of the redevelopment projects. These two cases express the inheritance of social networking in spiritual attributes of historic urban areas, but the differences between these two relationship models are shown in the changes in the districts' physical attributes with redevelopment. For the social networking in the spiritual attributes of the two sites, these urban redevelopment projects emphasise enabling the existing inhabitants to save their decades-old community. Particularly, FAW

Factory is still an operating automobile production ensemble, consisting of the factory and residential areas. The majority of existing inhabitants are senior or even retired workers of this factory, because the young generation has tended to live in new modern apartments outside this area due to the establishment of other new branches and the rise of commercial properties. By contrast, most factories and facilities moved out of Pingjiang Area after the site redevelopment. Even if these two cases emphasise keeping the existing inhabitants on their sites, the FAW Factory project proposed to increase the population from 14,346 to around 20000⁸ while Pingjiang Area project aimed to keep the existing inhabitants in their homes rather than in the workplace. It can be seen that these two models have preserved the neighbourliness of the local community and maintained their daily life to some extent, which provides a fundament to maintain community cohesion and build up an oral history for the authenticity of the site's history.

Although these two relationship models of heritage protection and urban redevelopment have significant similarities in terms of their spiritual attributes, there is a difference between them according to the above. Specifically, the model of Pingjiang Area allows inhabitants to continue to live on this site, but some of them had to lose their jobs rather than retain their dual status as both residents and workers as was achieved in the case of the FAW Factory. This difference can be reflected by the changes of urban morphology and land use in the physical attributes.

The floor space of FAW Factory is larger than Pingjiang Area, but the model of FAW Factory mostly retained the existing historic urban morphology.⁹ Particularly, the project of Pingjiang Area has only preserved the original overall “double chessboard” pattern but there have been significant changes within this pattern. Urban densification by construction has been dense on one side of the main longitudinal road, and a large number of brownfields have been produced on the other side of this road because all the factories had moved out of this site.¹⁰ Furthermore, changes of the land use can respond to changes in urban morphology to some extent. In the FAW Factory, industrial and residential areas have maintained their existing historical status. In Pingjiang Area, not only have factories been removed from this site, also the commercial centre of this site has been transferred from the westernmost road of this area to the main longitudinal road. Additionally, many properties registered in the Heritage Listing have been reused as commercial and public buildings. For example, Li Geng Tang was transferred from a house for dignitaries to a business club.¹¹

Community Replacement

The other two cases represent the category of community replacement: Xintiandi Block in Shanghai and Yihe Mansions in Nanjing. It should be noted that both Xintiandi Block and Yihe Mansions are part of their redevelopment projects, because a block of the two projects reflects the relationship between development and protection.

For the changes of spiritual attributes caused by the urban redevelopment, there is no doubt that the two models led to community replacement. The redevelopment projects relocated their inhabitants, respectively over 20,000 households of the whole project in Xintiandi¹² Area and nearly 300 households of Yihe Mansions¹³. Most former inhabitants of Xintiandi Block had lived on this site for decades and had created the unique lifestyle of this community and defensible space because the district's distinctive 'Lilong' residential buildings lack private kitchens and bathrooms, resulting in frequent conversations in the alleys during their daily activities,¹⁴ which is seen as supporting community cohesion. In Yihe Mansions, the former inhabitants settled there since the establishment of the PRC to form its long-term stable and mature community. The urban redevelopment projects have resulted in the decentralisation

of inhabitants away from these two places where they had grown, which undermined the community cohesion and destroyed the collective memory of these sites to some extent.

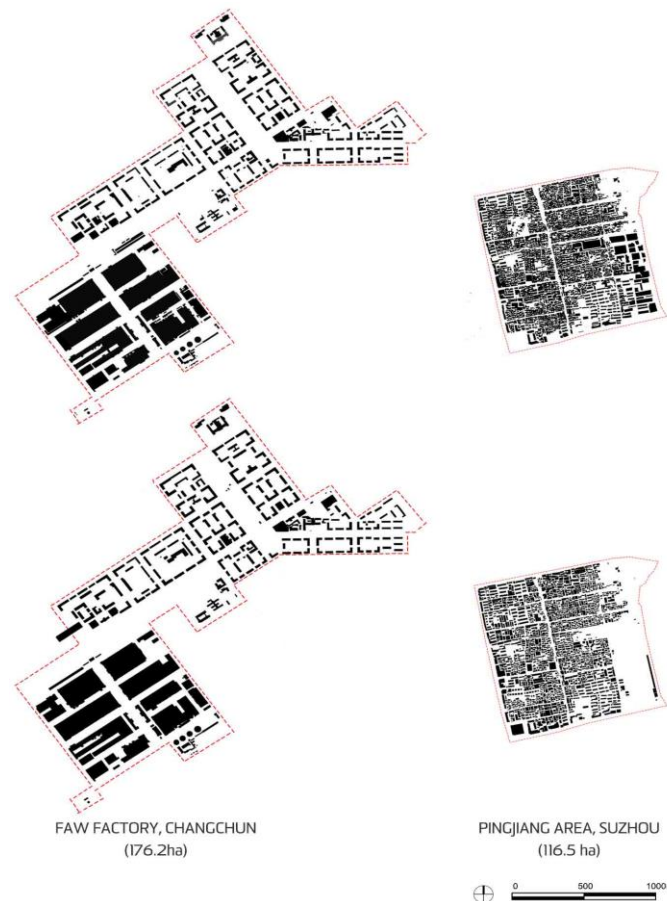


Figure 1. The urban morphology of FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area



Figure 2. LI GENG TANG before (left) and after (right) the redevelopment project in Pingjiang Area

The changes of spiritual attributes are also reflected in the physical attributes. The land use in both cases changed from residential to commercial: Xintiandi Block became a shopping centre and Yihe Mansions became a theme hotel. However, whereas the buildings of Yihe Mansions had been repaired or slightly changed to meet the needs of the hotel by the redevelopment project, so the original urban morphology was inherited,¹⁵ in Xintiandi Block, the redevelopment project only tended to preserve the façade of historic buildings in order to shape a traditional and unique streetscape, and simultaneously these buildings' structure underwent revolutionary adaptive reuse to meet the commercial requirements in the form of bars and restaurants, etc. So the urban morphology of Xintiandi Block was mostly changed by the redevelopment project,¹⁶ but its streetscape still maintains the traditional atmosphere of Old Shanghai since the redevelopment.¹⁷ Xintiandi Block presents a relationship model of heritage protection and urban redevelopment that urban renewal is the primary driver of site development and preserved façades of heritage buildings become a selling point to attract more visitors for consumption. These four cases reflect four relationship models between heritage protection and urban redevelopment, triggered by the changes in the spiritual and physical attributes of historic urban areas. The models of FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area inherit the spiritual attributes through the retention of community structures to some extent. Facing the challenges of seeking to balance heritage protection and urban redevelopment, the model of FAW Factory pays more attention to heritage protection with more restrained development, so this model preserves the existing urban morphology and land uses while only slightly changing the physical attributes of the historic urban area. Parallel to this, the model of Pingjiang Area emphasises site development and revives the urban vitality through the industrial relocation and the increasing commercial areas, which changes many more physical attributes of the historic urban area compared to FAW Factory. The models of Yihe Mansions and Xintiandi Block demonstrate earthshaking changes in the spiritual attributes of the areas due to community replacement. The model of Yihe Mansions preserves the prototype of the urban morphology even if it completely changes the land use for development. In Xintiandi Block, this model also involves drastic changes in the physical attributes, reflecting the new users, functions and lifestyles enclosed in the historical façades of heritage buildings.

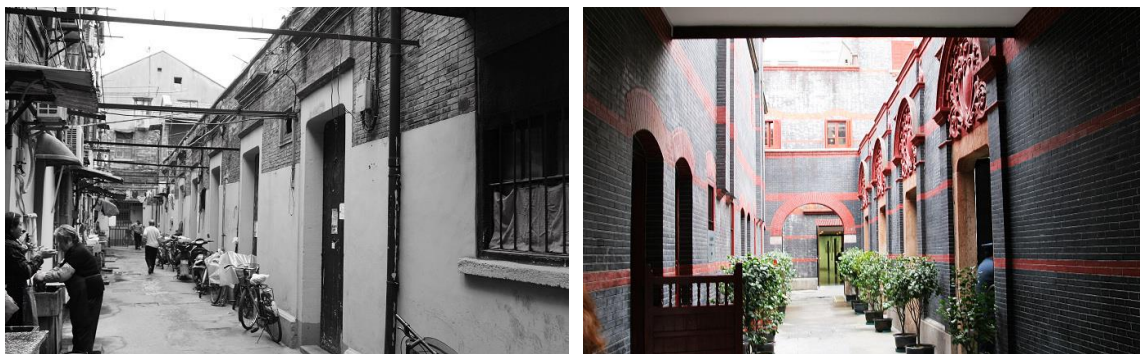


Figure 3. Streetscapes of Xintiandi Block before (left) and after(right) the redevelopment project

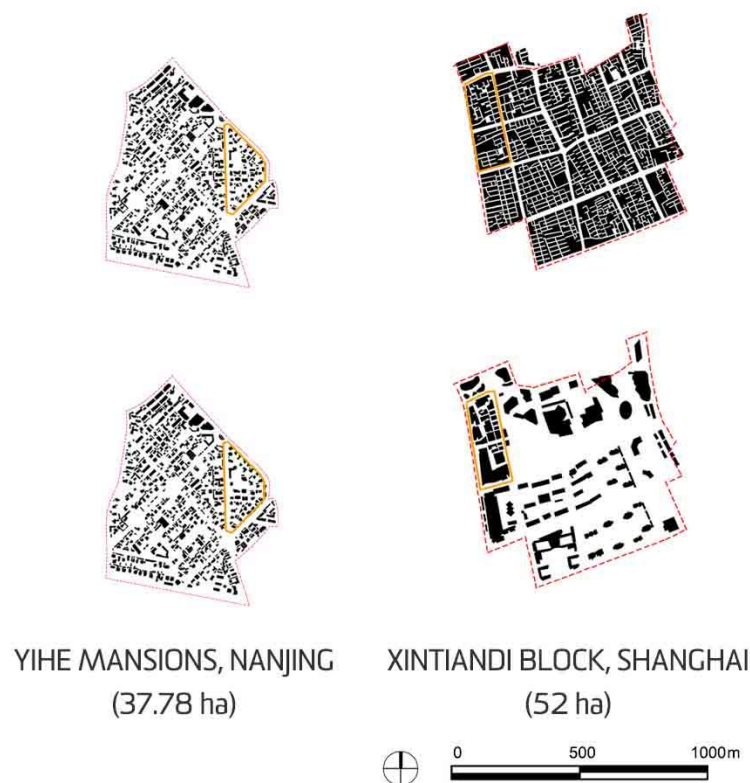


Figure 4. The urban morphology of Xintiandi Block and Yihe Mansions

DISCUSSION OF THE FOUR RELATIONSHIP MODELS

Analysis of the Four Relationship Models

The four dialogues between development and heritage protection represented by the cases discussed above show four different attitudes about the urban heritage protection in the expensive urban centres of contemporary Chinese cities.¹⁸ The models of FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area have retained the existing mature community, so that the collective memory and social values of sites can be inherited regarding the spiritual attributes. They also have emphasised the activation of site functions regarding the physical attributes, ultimately inheriting the urban context in the spiritual and physical attributes of the two sites. For the models of Xintiandi Block and Yihe Mansions, they show the clearance of the mature community to improve economic return, leading to the loss of collective memories and the formation of a genre: new things behind old façades. The application of these different models are driven by different factors.

The primary factor is that the decision-making, consultation and participation of the urban redevelopment project depends on the stakeholders¹⁹. The projects of FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area are government-controlled to employ a planning institution of the university or a government-affiliated department to design and plan the sites aiming at heritage protection, while the end users are mainly the local community. Although the project of Pingjiang Area reflects several intentions of the local community by the public participation in the design phase, the intention and tendency of the FAW Factory community had to be considered by the local government and designers because the local community has the dual role of managers and users. Yihe Mansions is a government-controlled project designed by a government-owned planning institution and used as a theme hotel, so its former

community was cleared out of this site and the heritage protection is mainly reflected in the physical attributes. Xintiandi Block is the only developer-led project among these four cases. Shui On Group, a Hong Kong real estate company, had invested 97% of the total project capital and employed Benjamin T. Wood, an American planner, to design and plan this site. The project is still managed by the developer. Therefore, this model mainly tends to maximise profits while its heritage protection aims at becoming a more attractive destination and city icon for tenants and tourists.

		FAW FACTORY, CHANGCHUN	PINGJIANG AREA, SUZHOU	YIHE MANSIONS, NANJING	XINTIANDI BLOCK, SHANGHAI
Spiritual Attributes	Inhabitants	Preserved	Preserved	Moved out	Moved out
	Workers	Preserved	Moved out	N/A	N/A
Physical Attributes	Urban Morphology	Preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preserved the basic pattern; • Produced the brownfields. 	Preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly changed; • Preserved the façade of historical buildings
	Land Use	Preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moved factories out of this site; • Transferred the site's centre. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changed from residential to a theme hotel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changed from residential to a commercial centre.

Table 1. Four modes in emotional attributes and physical attributes of historic urban areas

The second factor is the different aims of the four urban redevelopment projects, which not only directly impact the results of urban redevelopment and heritage protection but also is relevant to the stakeholders. Because the cases of FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area were invested by the local government and used by the local community, the aims of these two projects are that protection has priority over development resulting in the inheritance of spiritual and physical attributes to some extent. Even though the case of Yihe Mansions is also a government-led redevelopment project, financial capital invested in the project to obtain the final right of use, so this model aims to protect heritage and to drive development simultaneously. The case of Xintiandi Block is a developer's capital investment project. Thus its aim is that protection needs be conducive to development.

The final factor is the Human Development Index among these cases which influences the degree of public participation in the urban redevelopment projects. In the FAW Factory, the local community acts as both inhabitants and workers as well as managers of this site; thus, the urban redevelopment project gives priority to their intentions. Historically, many literati lived in Pingjiang Area, while currently the existing inhabitants include senior or even retired teachers and public officials who moved to this site after the establishment of the PRC. The high Human Development Index of Pingjiang Area resulted in the fact that the intentions of the elite group needed to be considered during the urban redevelopment. The former inhabitants living in Xintiandi Block and Yihe Mansions were middle and lower classes

reflecting a lower Human Development Index, so they were forced to accept the compensation for their relocations during the implementation of redevelopment projects.

	FAW FACTORY CHANGCHUN	PINGJIANG AREA SUZHOU	YIHE MANSIONS NANJING	XINTIANDI BLOCK SHANGHAI
INVESTMENT	The municipal government	The municipal government	The municipal government	Shui On Group (97%) Foxing Ltd
DESIGN & PLANNING	Urban planning academy of Changchun	National Research Centre of Historic Cities, Tongji University	Nanjing Academy of Urban Planning & Design Co., LTD	Benjamin T. Wood
CONSULTATION		Local Community		Nikken Sekkel Ltd Tongji University
IMPLEMENTATION	Implemented the planning proposal	Integrated suggestions from the planning proposal	Compensated former residents to move out of this area	Compensated former residents to move out of this area
USE & MANAGEMENT	Manager: FAW Factory User: Employment of FAW Factory	Manager: Local Govt. User: Residents & Retailers	Manager: Local Govt. User: A Theme Hotel	Shui On Group

LEGEND	Government & Government-owned Institute	University and University-owned Institute	Local Community
	Real Estate Enterprise	Planning & Design Company	

Figure 5. Stakeholders of the Four Models

Possibility of Placemaking

Placemaking refers to physical and spiritual perspectives, which is defined as the act of cultural incorporation by the formation of settlements.²⁰ The three following perspectives demonstrate that historic urban areas as unique places have the potential to apply 'placemaking' principles as a way to balance urban development and heritage protection. Firstly, placemaking is a bottom-up concept of urban design²¹ and emphasises the significance of government support and social capital,²² reflecting the involvement of local communities, authorities and society. According to these four models, most Chinese redevelopment projects of historic urban areas should be supported or approved by authorities and the participation of local communities is conducive to the inheritance of spiritual attributes. Therefore, placemaking as an effective approach should be used to realise multi-stakeholder collaboration in Chinese historic urban areas. Secondly, placemaking is a concept of urban design to balance multiparty values in a place. In the historic urban areas located in city' centres, placemaking can be used to balance values between heritage protection and urban redevelopment rather than to neglect one side like Xintiandi Block, seen as a 'theme park'. Finally, the goal of placemaking is to build up two types of relationships: between people and between people and their place.²³ In historic urban areas, the relationship between people is manifested in the neighbourliness and friendship of the community in the spiritual attributes, and the relationship between people and their place can be reflected by the personal perception when people experience the physical attributes of the place. Therefore, it is possible to promote the significance of both spiritual and physical attributes by the application of placemaking.

CONCLUSION

This paper illustrates four dialogues between heritage protection and urban development in Chinese metropolises' centres. It mainly explores the changes in spiritual and physical attributes of historic urban areas and analyses the reasons for the differences among the four identified models. Noteworthy, these four different relationship models reflect the different protection- and redevelopment-related needs of each case. The real-life cases need to consider the priority in protection or redevelopment to realise their own balance between the two factors, rather than concentrate only on protection or only on development. The application possibilities of placemaking mentioned at the end of this paper provide a reasonable concept and approach to explore the balance between heritage protection and urban development, ultimately realising dynamic heritage protection in the central areas of Chinese cities.

NOTES

- ¹ The GDP statistics are from the World Bank Open Data, Accessed August 15, 2018 https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=2016&locations=CN-US-JP-DEGB&start=1960&view=chart&year_high_desc=false.
- ² The soar of land values can be reflected in the average prices of commercial housing in cities, which data are from the National Bureau of Statistics of China. For example, the prices of Shanghai increased from 1300 USD/m² in 2007 to 3800 USD/m² in 2016.
- ³ In 2015, China ICOMOS issued the "Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China" to defined the heritage values, including historic, aesthetic, social, cultural and scientific values, which is similar to the cultural significances defined in the Burra Charter.
- ⁴ Zalina Samadi and Rodzyah Mohd Yunus, "Physical and spiritual attributes of urban heritage street's revitalization." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 36 (2012): 342-349, accessed May 15, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.03.038>.
- ⁵ Chinese city tier system issued by Yicai Global which is owned by the largest and renowned financial media group in China.
- ⁶ Tianshu Cai and Yuan Qifeng define the Xintiandi Model as a category of the urban renewal project relying on local scarce historical buildings for the improvement of commercial value. At present, the existing 'Xintiandi Mode' projects include Xintiandi Shanghai, Xihutiandi Hangzhou, Tiandi Chongqing, Tiandi Wuhan and Lingnantiandi Foshan. Tianshu Cai and Yuan Qifeng, "Historical and Cultural Heritage Protection with Local Cultural Identity as the Motivation: Empirical Study of Local Cultural Preservation Action in Guangdong," *Urban Planning International*, 32(2017),115, Accessed May 15, 2018, doi: 10.22217/upi. 2016.268.
- ⁷ Julie V. Iovine, "Our Man In Shanghai: Ben Wood Takes On History," *New York Times*, August 13, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/13/arts/design/13iovi.html>.
- ⁸ Changchun institute of Urban Planning and Design. "Conservation Planning of FAW Factory in 2013". Accessed August 15, 2018 <http://www.ccghj.gov.cn/download/yq620.pdf>.
- ⁹ See Fig. 1. The urban morphology of FAW Factory and Pingjiang Area.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ See Fig. 2. LI GENG TANG before (left) and after (right) the redevelopment project in Pingjiang Area.
- ¹² Xiaohua Zhong and Xiangming Chen, "Demolition, Rehabilitation, and Conservation: Heritage in Shanghai's Urban Regeneration, 1990–2015," *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 41 (2017): 82-91, accessed May 14, 2018, doi:<https://doi.org/10.3846/20297955.2017.1294120>.
- ¹³ Lifan Yu and Xiaohua Zheng, "Preservation of City Historical Memory with Conservation Plan for the Historical Scenery of the Villa Area on Yihe Road in Nanjing as a Case." *Modern Urban Research* 5 (2011): 55–58.
- ¹⁴ See Fig. 3. Streetscapes of Xintiandi Block before and after the redevelopment project, which are retrieved from http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4b1cc52a0100gtpu.html
- ¹⁵ See Fig. 4. The urban morphology of Xintiandi Block and Yihe Mansions.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ See Fig. 3. Streetscapes of Xintiandi Block before and after the redevelopment project, retrieved from http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4b1cc52a0100gtpu.html.
- ¹⁸ See Table 1 Four modes in emotional attributes and physical attributes of historic urban areas.
- ¹⁹ See Fig 5. The stakeholders of four models
- ²⁰ David Stea and Mete Turan, *Placemaking: Production of built environment in two cultures* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1993), 10-15.
- ²¹ "What Is Placemaking?" Project For Public Spaces, Accessed October 09, 2017, <https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking>.
- ²² Susan Silberberg, Katie Lorah, Rebecca Disbrow and Anna Muessig. *Places in the Making: How Placemaking Builds Places and Communities* (Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013), 60-62.
- ²³ Lynda H. Schneekloth and Robert G. Shibley, *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities* (New York: Wiley, 1995).

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IMPROVING PLANNING APPROACHES FOR SUSTAINABLE NEIGHBORHOODS BY INVESTIGATING CHINESE “URBAN VILLAGE” REDEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY IN KUNMING (FROM 2010-2017)

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INTRODUCTION

‘Urban village’ represents a kind of state that ‘urban’ and ‘village’ existed at the same time within the urban space. In the process of urban development, many villages that used to locate at the outskirts of the urban area have been surrounded by the newly built-up urban environment¹². Different from the UK “Urban Village”³ concept, ‘urban village’ in China is a special phenomenon during the rapid urban development within the urban area. Besides, there are numbers of factors that promoted ‘urban village’ become critical issues among academics. Rural land has been expropriated for more efficient use, which affected on all aspects of original villages, such as, the composition of local inhabitants, residential pattern, the composition of income, and living environment (Wang, 2011)⁴. Along with the rising land values, and business incentives, different kinds of contradictions, collision, and a growing number of social conflicts have emerged⁵. The most obvious problem, as we could see in and around the urban village is the contradictions and segregations existed in the process of urban development. For an ordinary villager, losing farmland means they must look for other ways to make a living in the city. By providing low-rent houses for migrant workers, collecting rent became their main source of income. On the limited homestead land, extra rooms have been constructed by villagers themselves to create more space to rent, and such crowded building groups created huge contrast with a newly-built urban environment⁶. Sacrificing a certain degree of living quality by spending less money on rent, is a bit of ‘welfare’ for migrant workers living in the city. Therefore, jumbly community, lower standard building quality, and open management system, and so on, brought different kinds of social problems in the city. Experts and academics from different fields studied ‘urban village’ in China from unusual perspectives. Wang, a photographer, who was spending years walking through the numbers of ‘urban villages’ in Guang Zhou, and recording the most realistic lifestyle of the inhabitants in ‘urban village’. Wang⁷ states that there is a strong sense of belonging among the original villagers in the ‘urban village’, even though the living quality is not comparable to the life of the cities. For migrant workers, they could play a role to stay where they could afford their daily needs in the city. However, due to the disordered residential pattern and form, numbers of social and security problems are unavoidable in the urban village. It

represents one of the main reasons that triggered urban village redevelopment implemented in different Chinese cities (Wang, 2011).

Huang (Huang, 2011)⁸, the urban planner who has studied ‘urban village’ in China for more than 16 years, shared ideas and experiences about the relations between ‘urban village’ renovation and contemporary urban planning. He states that ‘urban villages’ are usually demolished instead of regenerated or improved according to the actual situation in the real ‘urban village’ renovation project. Huang discussed that the inherent value of ‘urban village’ which could be a reference to analyze the development of contemporary urban planning. His study emphasized the inherent value of ‘urban village’ and provided possibilities to think and redevelop the ‘urban village’ with a bottom-up approach. To discover and define the inner value of “urban village” to the study field of urban planning, urban design, and neighborhoods design, some discussions arisen, which explored the reasons why “urban village” became “some people’s preferences in the city” (Sun, 2018)⁹. “Urban village” has been considered as “an urban heritage from future” (Zhang, 2016)¹⁰. There are features observed and summarized from existing Chinese “urban villages” which could explain why it could be considered as “heritage” (Zhang, 2016): “each ‘urban village’ has its uniqueness, non-replicability, and non-reproduction”; and “‘urban village’ is the urban phenomenon in the context of contemporary history”. “Urban village” redevelopment projects have been carried out in different Chinese cities. Strategies and redevelopment patterns have been made and implemented in the cities. The “urban village” which has been firstly transformed has provided planning and design references for other cities. However, not only the general framework of “urban village” redevelopment need to be well understood, but also the features of “uniqueness, non-replicability, and non-reproduction” in “urban village” need to be concerned in the future redevelopment project that the cultural and social issues are the critical aspects of sustainable development.

Therefore, a comparative study has been carried out at Tai He “urban village” in Kunming to collect information that relevant to the planning and design approaches, and living conditions and experiences among relocating villagers after they moved back. Furthermore, an interview has been taken with a key person, who oversees the communication process among stakeholders (government, original villagers, urban planners and designers, developers), to help with determining the general problems in “urban village” redevelopment project. By understanding the problems and living experience of residents in the new residential compound, suggestions could be summarized to provide ideas for improving sustainable neighborhood design in the future “urban village” redevelopment project.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN VILLAGE REDEVELOPMENT IN KUNMING: BEFORE AND AFTER OF REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT (FROM 2010-2017)

Since 2008, with the tightening policies of new area's development, urban construction and urban renewal development in the central area of Kunming are getting tenser. ‘Urban village’ renovation as the main development target was getting more concerns, and three-years development goals were raised that “336 ‘urban village’ within the urban built-up area need to be confronted with redevelopment processes.” The case study - Tai He village, has been incorporated into the redevelopment plan, and the project has started in the year of 2010. After seven years of being implemented and redeveloped, all the original villagers relevant to this project have moved back to their original place, and most of the commercial houses are ready for the new tenants. As the modern residential community has gradually formed, problems emerged, which need to be well discussed and analyzed. Changes in the redevelopment process in Tai He “urban village” have been recorded and compared with the following

charts. Conclusions will be made to show the possibilities to be more sustainable in future redevelopment projects.

The entire project has been through massive demolition and new construction. As Fig. 01 shows, from 2008 to 2017, original village, neighboring small factory buildings, and farmland around the village, is all demolished; and according to the planning condition, the urban configuration has been changed to meet new development plans. Furthermore, the neighboring site has allied the development plan as well since 2010, a new complex and residential district has been constructed by 2017. Compared with the development and changes in different development stages, numbers of problem and question have been found and need to be discussed during the redevelopment project:

Original “urban village” has partially sustained those features of natural villages. Villagers’ lifestyle is different from life in the city. After visiting the residential compound for relocate-villagers, problems have gradually appeared that villagers must find ways to “modify” their life by themselves after moved back. There is the discrepancy between design intention and the way they use.

The whole construction has been distributed into numbers of phases because of the large size of the project. Gated residential compounds and centralized public facilities provided the conditions of the phased construction plan. However, as the primary stakeholder in the “urban village” redevelopment project, relocate-villagers will firstly move back to new residential compound while other parts of the project are under constructing. During this specified period, they must accept the inconveniences of daily life because there are no plans for public facilities in this gated residential compound, such as a small market, shops, and restaurant. Compared to life before redevelopment, the convenience degree of daily life has great differences. This is the reason that relocate-villagers must find their way to reduce such discrepancies.

Neighboring area of Tai He “urban village” is experiencing rapid development, and the newly built-up area contained more prosperous commercial activities and lifestyle. The rising cost of living will put more pressure on relocate-villagers who are used to make a living usually in farming and collecting rent.

2008	2010	2012	2015
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Clear configuration in original village; · Original village developed along with a small river; · Public spaces for sharing daily life among villagers are along with the river; · Small but flexible path connected all village families; · Small business on street; · Fishing tradition; · Farming provide source of income and basic daily needs; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “Urban village” redevelopment project started; · Demolition and construction started in and around Tai He area; · “Compensation residential district” for relocate villagers is the priority to construct; · Farmland has been transformed to construction land; · The whole project has been divided into numbers of stages, daily living facilities are not planned for the first group of residents; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “Compensation housing district” was completed in two years, and relocate villagers have gradually moved back and settled down in new residential district; · Public facilities started to construct; · Original configuration in Tai He “urban village” has disappeared; · Neighboring new district was under constructed, a clear configuration in new residential district has gradually formed; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Tai He ‘urban village’ renovation has been basically completed; · New configuration in Tai He area is getting clear; · Developers’ capital chain was broken that has caught stagnation of overall construction; · A growing contrast emerged between Tai He project and neighboring development; · “Missing” daily facilities were created by relocate villagers, such as street market, shops, convenience store, and so on;

Table 1. Comparison of Development Process in Tai He “Urban Village” from 2008 to 2015



Figure 1. “Urban village” Renovation Project Development from 2008 to 2015 (Google Earth Map)

Compared with the planning and design documents for Tai He ‘urban village’ renovation project, six significant changes have been recorded and summarized during the investigation. Concerning the first tenant group (relocate villagers) who have already settled down in the new residential district, villagers’ lifestyle will be greatly changed due to the changes in their living environment. Six significant changes in the new residential district are listed and concluded as follows:

(1) Urban configuration on site: (Table 2)

Features of original ‘urban village’ in 2010	New residential district after ‘urban village’ redevelopment in 2015
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Natural village configuration; · No proper planning, developed along the main street and river which are crossed through the village; · Blood lineage (Relatives of villagers live in the same village or nearby); · Houses and private farmed plots framed the basic road network of original village; · Houses built by villager themselves and are usually 2 or 3 floors; · Small paths linked houses to farmland; · Narrow street scale which is suitable for walking; · Over-crowded building groups; · Decentralized open space within the residential area; · Lack of consideration of ventilation, daylight, and safety evacuation system; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Planning scheme usually limited by building regulation and local standard (controlled by city government and urban planning bureau, such as plot ratio, requirements of daylighting, building distance and fire protection, etc.); · Less identification of new residential configuration; · There is less clear connection between planning scheme and natural village configuration; · Widened road for cars and clear access to urban main road; · Street which is not suitable for walking within the residential district; · High-rise apartment; · Evenly arranged open space (which decentralized the cohesion of open space);

Table 2. Changes in Urban Configuration on Site (2010-2015)

After the comparative study between “original urban village” and “redevelopment village area”, the number of inherent values can be found in “original urban village”. There is identification in the original ‘urban village’, and the configuration on the site has strong links among villagers who are living there. Although there is no proper systematic planning implementation in ‘urban village’, the order of villagers’ everyday life is good and convenient due to the long-term development. Furthermore, the pedestrian system has also been formed naturally between villagers’ self-built houses. Easy accessing methods could be provided to link different part of the “urban village” like the walking paths are linked to the villagers’ private farmland, small business area, and each villagers’ house. Moreover, this comfortable accessing way creates more chances among villagers to talk to each other, to meet different people and share things with them. The cohesion of the community has been enhanced in the singular “urban village”.

After the renovation project has been implemented, the numbers of previous problems have been resolved. Urban facilities have been introduced to the new residential district, old and over-crowded village houses are replaced by the new apartment with unified management and constructions, a relatively better living environment is ready now for relocating villagers and potential tenants. Most of the potential safety problems have been solved, and the modern residential district could resist disasters to some extent.

However, some inherent nature of original ‘urban village’ has lost in the new residential district, and this caused more problems after the relocation villagers moved back. For instance, some meaningless space has been created by the building layout without giving more considerations for how to use and participate. During the on-site investigation, this situation is prevalent.

(2) Changes in housing type: (Table 3)

Original housing type in urban village in 2008: ∞	Housing types in new residential district in 2017: ∞
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Houses built by villager themselves are usually 2 or 3 floors ; ∞ · Extensions of each house has been made to provide more rooms to rent; ∞ · Ground floor is normally open for shops and public; ∞ · Housing type is diverse, and the construction methods and quality of houses are based on the income level of the family; ∞ · The facade of house is diverse and depends on villagers' own choice and prefer; ∞ · The layout of internal space of house is diverse and depends on demands of each family; ∞ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Uniformly designed and constructed by developers; ∞ · The layout of internal space of apartment is unified, and is limited to do extensions and re-arrangement; ∞ · According to the rules of demolition and compensation, villagers could get new apartments, usually they can get 3-5 apartments with same internal layout; ∞ · Small business has been arranged separately, there is no more shops designed on ground floor within the 'gated community'; ∞

Table 3. Changes in Housing Type (2010-2017)

Speaking of city image, the original 'urban village' as a distinct area contains lots of diverse presentations which are developed from villagers' choices and preferences. Mixed-use of the residential building in "urban village" provides a convenient everyday life for villagers, and meanwhile, a vivid street life has gradually framed. Furthermore, the flexible use of each house could be achieved due to the firm intention and autonomy in 'urban village'.

However, some worrying problems remained. Uncontrolled room extensions contained safety issues due to the informal management system and constructions; and constantly building floors intensified the loss of the indoor comfort, such as lack of consideration of natural daylight, ventilation, and security issues. These are the problems that need to be intended to solve.

Newly-built apartment building groups provide a tidy and well-ordered living environment for relocating villagers. Main problems which are worrying a lot by villagers, such as natural daylight, ventilation, security issues have been well considered and solved after renovation.

Through the in-depth investigation and observation on site, the numbers of problems kept coming up due to the lack of care of the villagers' lifestyle and demands. Vivid street life is no longer in the modern residential district. Instead, small parks and landscape have been introduced in the community. Through the investigation, inefficient use by villagers and tenants on designed parks and landscape is not the designers' expectations when they think and create the design plans.

(3) Accessibility: (Table 4)



Figure 4. Accessibility in “Urban Village”, 2008, Tai He village, Kunming (Wen Jiang, 2008)



Figure 5. Accessibility in new residential district, 2017, Tai He village, Kunming (Wen Jiang, 2017)

Daily status on the street in ‘urban village’ in 2008: ∘	Daily status on the street in new residential district in 2017: ∘
<div>· Easy and flexible accessing to all parts in ‘urban village’; ∘</div> <div>· Several purpose during one trip on the street makes villagers are willing to participate in public spaces; ∘</div> <div>· Suitable street scale for walking ∘</div> <div>· Pedestrian system which formed naturally by village configuration; ∘</div> <div>· Bicycle and scooter are the most popular and efficient vehicles; ∘</div> <div>· The road in the village is suitable for car, but not depended on cars; ∘</div> <div>∘</div>	<div>· Car dependent residential district which encouraged private car use; ∘</div> <div>· Linear and long-distance pedestrian system for residents, and with less purposes through walking trip; ∘</div> <div>· Coexistence of people and vehicles, and without measures to slow down the vehicle speed; ∘</div> <div>· Usually takes 20 minutes by walking to get the public transport system which is at the outside of residential district; ∘</div> <div>· Relocate villagers and new tenants need time to adapt long-distance accessing facilities due to the single functioning zone and divided constructing period; ∘</div>

Table 4. Changes in Accessibility (2010-2017)

Due to the long-term developed mixed-use ‘urban village’, which spontaneously framed by resident’s daily needs, easy and flexible accessing way to all facilities could be achieved in ‘urban village’. A relatively safe and slow pedestrian system has been formed with a suitable scale of road and speed-limited, although it is not the original purpose in planning ‘urban village’ configuration.

To get a good connection to urban development with the neighboring area, road connection, urban facilities, living environment, need to be upgraded through a renovation development. A systematic strategy which is for generating different facilities, accessing way to these facilities and integrating recreational open space, is needed to build connections between ‘urban village’ and the neighboring area.

After renovation development, some problems have been solved. There is a more accessible connection between the original ‘urban village’ and the neighboring area. The boundary has gradually disappeared. Urban facilities have been re-arranged and introduced in the new residential district to provide service and convenience to residents.

However, due to the lack of investigation on the spatial scale in the original “urban village”, the more conversant scale has disappeared in the new residential district. This may restrain the purpose of residents (especially for those relocate villagers) from going outside by walking, even participation activities in any of the recreational space.

(4) Public space: (Fig 02, Fig 03, Table 5)



Figure 6. Public space in ‘urban village’, 2010, Tai He village, Kunming (Wen Jiang, 2010)



Figure 7. Public space in new residential district, 2017, Tai He village, Kunming (Wen Jiang, 2017)

Status of everyday life in ‘urban village’ in 2010: ∅	Status of everyday life in new residential district in 2017: ∅
<ul style="list-style-type: none">· Flourishing small market in urban villages serviced for all groups of tenants here; ∅· Lack of proper green space, but has farmland in sounding area; ∅· Sense of belongings for all groups of tenants; ∅· Convenient daily life; ∅· Decentralized and random recreational space for residents here; ∅· Mixed-use for all types of buildings that create purposes for residents to go outside; ∅	<ul style="list-style-type: none">· Gated community, which separated different groups of residents in residential district; ∅· Enough green space (designed and controlled by planning conditions in SPUVRP) with modern landscape design; ∅· Exquisite landscape design but is not developed by local aesthetic; ∅· Lack of sense of belongings for all groups of tenants; ∅· Lack of chances for social interaction and activities recreations; ∅· Lack of cohesion in public space; ∅

Table 5. Changes in Public Space (2010-2017)

In the “urban village”, there is no specific open space for daily activities. Streets, a small open space, even a small path between buildings could be a place for daily activities. Retailers, shops on the ground floor of each building, independent stores are situated in the street and gathered nearly all groups of tenants together. Chances have been made for residents to know each other.

However, there is not enough consciousness for these mobile retailers to keep tidy of the street environment, and there is no one willing to take the responsibilities to clean the street afterward. This may cause various negative characteristics within ‘urban village’ if there is no proper management system for planning and maintaining the daily status.

In the new residential district, all streets and public spaces are tidy and clean. A proper team will take responsibilities on public sanitation. Public spaces have been planned for daily activities with well-finished landscape design. A new and well-protected living environment has been created for all groups of tenants here.

However, improving the living environment is not the only way to rebuild the inter-relationship between tenants and the new residential district. Besides, vast changes in the living environment may reduce the level of perception and recognition of the modern residential district among relocating villagers. They may need more time to adopt a new lifestyle in the new residential community. Therefore, an in-depth

investigation and data collection are necessary to provide the design basis for solving and reducing these passive issues.

(5) Building form and massing: (Table 6)

Images of ‘urban village’ in 2008: ∴	Images of new residential district in 2017: ∴
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Strong identification for each building; ∴ · Village construction is in a condition of spontaneity; ∴ · Random construction form which depends on income level of villagers; ∴ · Multi-story buildings; ∴ · Diverse building massing developed by different demands of villagers; ∴ · Small distance between buildings which is the main reason for serious building safe and building disaster prevention concerns; ∴ · Lack of professional guidance for construction; ∴ · Lack of professional guidance for layout design for internal space and reasonable functional arrangement; ∴ · Lack of consideration of indoor comfort, such as natural daylight, ventilation, security protection issues between each building; ∴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Unified construction and building form; ∴ · Similar building facade; ∴ · Lack of environmental identity; ∴ · Unified high-rise apartment with same internal layout; ∴ · The prescribed building spacing (according to local building regulation) and orientation; ∴

Table 6. Changes in Building Form and Massing (2010-2017)

Building groups in ‘urban village’ have strong identification that each building came out with a different layout and facade. Villagers are very familiar with the environment because they are involved in every procedure of design and constructions.

However, due to the development of the neighboring area, villagers’ spontaneous design and construction have been encouraged to meet their increasing demands to live in the city. This “free” design and construction are bound to affect their quality of living, such as the lack of consideration of indoor comfort, daylight, ventilation, security protection between each building group.

In the new residential district, most of the problems have been improved. Villagers get enough living space according to the compensation policy, and each apartment has been well designed by considering the duration of daylight, ventilation, security protections.

However, there are still problems coming out, such as villagers must spend more time to adopt this well-planned new living environment. The identification level of the residential district for tenants is decreasing due to the most economic planning layout and configuration.

(6) Neighborhoods: (Fig 04, Fig 05, Table 7)



Figure 8. Daily life in ‘urban village’, 2008, Kunming (Wen Jiang, 2008)



Figure 9. Daily life in new residential district of ‘urban village’ renovation project, 2015, Kunming (Wen Jiang, 2017)

Daily interactions with others in ‘urban village’ in 2008: ∞	Daily interactions with others in new residential district in 2017: ∞
<div>· Close neighborhoods relations; ∞</div> <div>· Sufficient interaction among villagers; ∞</div> <div>· Appropriate place and purposes for daily activities; ∞</div> <div>· Mixed -uses of buildings; ∞</div> <div>· Human-scale street space; ∞</div> <div>· Quick and flexible street network; ∞</div> <div>· Lack of close connections with neighboring urban area; ∞</div> <div>· Segregation between ‘urban village’ and urban area becomes the gradual formation phenomena; ∞</div>	<div>· Modern urban ‘living environment’ has been designed and constructed for villagers to try to make more connections between ‘urban village’ and ‘the city’; ∞</div> <div>· Segregation has been formed among each residential district; ∞</div> <div>· Gated community; ∞</div> <div>· Car-dependent scale street space; ∞</div> <div>· Lack of suitable place to encourage social interaction and activities recreation; ∞</div> <div>· Lack of cohesion in new residential district; ∞</div> <div>· Street network mainly for car use; ∞</div>

Table 7. Changes in Neighborhoods (2010-2017)

A traditional neighborhoods relation has sustained in “urban village” that there is a close relationship among villagers. Even those mobile workers as the new tenants here have become new neighbors in the “urban village”. Besides, there are relations between traditional neighborhoods and special scale in “urban village”. Mixed-use buildings create the purpose for tenants to go outside, human-scale street space provides a relatively safe and stable place to stay, traditional neighborhoods will be encouraged and sustained due to this semi-private, closed spatial layout.

However, due to the unbalanced development between “urban village” and the neighboring urban area, segregation has gradually formed between these two areas. Two groups of tenants, who lived in “urban village” and the neighboring urban area, will keep their lifestyle and daily routine even with fewer connection between two areas. Such status of stability will enhance the segregation between “urban village” and the neighboring urban area.

In the new residential district, new groups of tenants will move in and settled down; they will spend the time to get to know each other and gradually related to neighborhoods. Upgraded urban facilities provide the qualified living environment to all tenants, but due to the lack of understanding to previous living status in “urban village” of relocating villagers, chances are needed for them to guide and organized their new life in the new residential district.

However, planning and design problems are existed and even more deficient without enough design basis that collected from previous “urban village”. The “gated community” enhanced the residential segregation between renovated “urban village” and the neighboring area. Lifestyle, the daily status of original villagers sustained in the new residential district, and there are no influences and changes in their living status even they have moved back with a new living environment. Purpose of planning and design of “urban village” renovation have been delivered and caused misunderstanding, and unordered behavior among relocate villagers and new tenants.

DISCUSSIONS AND SUGGESTION

By investigating and summarizing the situations after relocating villagers who moved back to the redeveloped “urban village”, the number of suggestions could be found and concluded to provide references for other similar projects which will be implemented in the future. The problems have been found in redeveloped “urban village” brings inspirations to improve the planning and design approaches of sustainable neighborhoods:

- The process of finding problems in the redeveloped “urban village” shows the importance of promoting post-occupancy among relocating villagers and relevant tenants. This direct and indirect feedback will have the chance to help planners and designers determining problems in the process of forming planning and design strategies;
- General frameworks for “urban village” redevelopment project could point out common problems which need to be concerned during the decision-making process, but the uniqueness of each “urban village” contains possibilities to improve the overall results of redevelopment;
- Social and cultural issues as the most critical part of sustainable development also represent the indispensable role in the “urban village” redevelopment project. Original communities have been reorganized and planned with the redevelopment project. Thereby, improving the way of participation of relocating villagers and paying more attention to their expectations in planning and design strategies are the priorities in the redevelopment process.

NOTES

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- ² Li, Tian. "An Analysis of the Rural Phenomenon in City -- on the Contradiction and Harmonious Development of the Rural-Urban Transition Period." *Urban Problems* (1998): 43-46.
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CINEMA AND CITY: NEW HERITAGE TYPOLOGIES, NEW TOURIST MOTIVATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Artistic creation was always a transmitter of places and landscapes, turning them into objects of desire of its spectators. This phenomenon, which historically has had a large development from literature, has also been generated in other disciplines such as painting, architecture or photography. However, at present, the audiovisual media (film and television), are the largest providers of images of landscapes and places and, therefore, the biggest provocateurs of the desire to discover what has been filmed.

As a system of mass communication, the cinema has played, since its creation, a fundamental role in the criticism, dissemination and reception of architecture, the city, the landscape and cultural phenomena.

Addressing the study of any discipline from the perspective of cinema production that deals with it or is used for its development, constitutes an increasingly productive field of study and research and in which we can find enriching links and new ways of approaching knowledge.

Film productions, throughout their history, have offered an image of what happens in other places, other landscapes or other customs. On many occasions, as a perspective background, as a backdrop on which the main story takes place; in others, as protagonists of the argument, as a story thread. As an audiovisual tool, the cinema has become the means of diffusing places and landscapes unknown to the viewer, a powerful instrument to condition interests, habits or create trends about travel destinations.

The relations between cinema and tourism, in this sense, have not gone unnoticed and since the beginning of both disciplines, practically contemporary, they have interacted recurrently, serving as a tool and a vehicle for mutual transmission and propaganda. More or less intentionally, the tourism industry uses the film tool to value both places destination for travellers as those who may be susceptible to becoming it. The promotion and communication that the film industry allows is a tool of enormous capacity to characterize, describe and make fashionable any country, city or landscape.

At the beginning of this process, there is a series of cinematographic documents, which are interesting as an advanced approach to the later development that we would attend. These are the first views recorded by the Lumière brothers, with exotic images of travelling people, different cultures and new customs that transported viewers to different worlds, of which they had no first-hand experience.

From these first manifestations, through the subsequent productions of documentaries and fiction films, cinema as a visual language has become, especially since the middle of the 20th century, the perfect transmission medium to promote any tourist phenomenon.

TOURISM INDUCED BY CINEMA

The increasing demand for tourism in recent years has a considerable impact on the growing competition in the sector; so an exponential diversity of offers, typologies, models and products are developed, thanks to the action of the mass media, responsible for the representation of the image or identity of a country, a city or a territory. A means capable of enhancing places as goods of consumption and sorting them according to the dynamics of tourist supply and demand, creating a kind of "brand image" that mobilizes the collective imagination and installs itself in the memory of the people ¹.

Thus, the complexity of the motivations of tourists is beginning to take into account other types related to various areas or sectors not considered so far, such as gastronomy, ethnology or film, among others. Indeed, one of these typologies is "film-induced tourism" ², generated by the appearance of certain cities, landscapes, locations or environments in film or television productions, which forms a seductive imaginary in the viewer and has a decisive impact on the choice of his tourist destination³, something that must be taken into account in the exploitation strategies of local financing resources.

Many examples of cinematographic or television productions have had a decisive repercussion in the increase of tourist visits to the places where they have been filmed. In this sense, cinema becomes not only a product of mass consumption but also a potential tool to position and differentiate qualitatively a tourist destination⁴.

The film productions act as virtual tourist brochures, with a very significant impact on the choice of a holiday destination. The publicity that a film offers to a city or territory that served as a stage is equivalent to an advertisement seen by 72 million viewers -media of a movie's worldwide audience.⁵ No advertising campaign is capable of lasting over time what a film, not only considering the time it is exposed in movie theatres but by the countless subsequent reproductions on digital platforms from anywhere in the world.⁶

Numerous cinematographic works have been able to define authentic territorial imaginaries⁷, which has made them objects of research about the clear consequences, both in the short and medium term, that their production has generated in the places where they have been shot. To cite some significant example, the film "Thelma and Louise" (1991) caused a 19% increase in visitors to Arches National Park (more than 400 kilometers from Denver and almost 500 kilometers from Salt Lake City) in the summer of that year, without no other motive than appearing in the movie credits⁸.

In recent times, advertising has become, except in some cases, in an aggressive, vulgar and recurrent format against which consumers become, in a certain way, immune, thus becoming an almost inoperative resource⁹. Contrary to advertising, the cinematographic document does not have as its main objective to question the spectator in terms of consumption, but rather it addresses him by generating an unconscious desire to know the location where that story, which is thrilling or touching him, is taking place. The cinema is able to attract the attention of the viewer indirectly without the need to leave the comfort of the home, with little cognitive effort and fostering a need for active exploration of the destinations⁶.

But, what are the "pull factors" capable of generating an expectation or motivation in the viewer to visit a place he has seen in a movie or a television series?

Reijnders frames this motivation for the spectator to visit the places he has experienced in a film or television series, in four main patterns. In the first place, the trip can respond to the curiosity of putting

oneself in the character's skin, understanding what he has felt or lived in that filmed place. The second pattern has to do with the interest of experiencing the shooting process, trying to understand what the director and his team had to work to shoot the film. The third pattern is simply related to a kind of desire for play, funny recreation of the action of a film in a specific place. Finally, the last pattern responds to the desire to visit a place because of the underlying values in the story itself and in the place where it is framed¹⁰. In the latter would be those places like Tuscany or the Greek Islands, which attracted an audience in love with its culture, its landscapes and its people.

CITY AS CONSUMER GOOD

The motivations of a producer or film director to choose a specific location are very diverse. Sometimes certain places are chosen for aesthetic or conceptual reasons, as in the case of Wim Wenders, who chooses certain filming locations based on their fragility, places he considers to be in danger of extinction¹¹. However, in many other cases, due to the economic implications of these decisions, the search for filming locations becomes a very complex fact.

The inclusion of a place, landscape or city in a film or television series as a product, has meant that these are compared with the traditional “product placement” of the films and series¹². The fact of converting a place into a consumer good, makes certain destinations are advertised within movies and television series, as advertising brands have done for a long time. The sales and marketing sector has known for a long time the advantages obtained from introducing a certain product or brand in a film. Paradigmatic examples are found in the film “Return to the future” (1985) with Pepsi, or in “Cast Away” (2000) with the FedEx courier company, which becomes practically the saviour of the protagonist, and even providing him an imaginary partner -Wilson- a volleyball.

The tourism industry has gathered the experience of the brands, turning some films into real products of local promotion. Some authors call it “city placement”, by analogy with the “product placement” of the brands in the films.

The development of the exact concept of “location of cities” or “places in the cinema”, is introduced in scientific research since the 1990s. In particular, some of its promoters are Roger W. Riley and Carlton S. Van Doren, who could contrast in their studies the tourist increase in certain places after the success of some films such as “Close Encounters of the Third Kind” (1977), which caused an increase of 74% of visitors to the National Monument of the Devil's Tower, an isolated place in Wyoming which needs a planned and intentional trip, away from any conventional tourist circuit⁶.

NEW HERITAGE TYPOLOGY

This ability of cinema to condition the wishes of the viewer is a widely studied aspect in recent years and led, in the case of Europe, to promote the development of the film industry and value it as a fundamental tool in the defense and promotion of European cultural identity, especially from the decade of the eighties³. To canalize the promoter side of the cities and regions in the capture of filming, the “film commissions” were created, in charge of offering the more attractive or singular spaces, settings or scenarios in their city or region and attract production companies to locate their films. A kind of codification of their places -of their heritage, in short- that they offer to the cinematographic world as a stage.

This operation supposes a double benefit: on the one hand, the promotion and development of the local cinematographic industry; on the other, the generation of a new heritage typology and, therefore, a new tourist motivation.

In addition to the real environment that the human being shares collectively with the rest of his peers, there is an imaginary world that is an indissoluble part of our life, and that also finds its place in a collective space, even if it is imaginary or spiritual¹³. Traditionally, this imaginary collective space was linked to the shared consciousness of a group that cohabited in the same geographical region. However, the irruption of the mass media has dynamited any frontier in a radical way, generating universal collective imaginaries in groups that share some common interest -for example, a film or a television series-, even if thousands of kilometres separate them.

The audiovisual document thus becomes the collective repository of this whole universe of fantasies and daydreams, as defined by André Malraux, in his "imaginary museum"¹⁴. This universe is materialized and situated in specific places and locations, which become so in one more character, a fundamental element that sustains the narrative.

The landscapes and selected places can be associated with positive values (freedom, adventure, love, friendship, happiness ...), creating a kind of emotional attraction for a place - beaches, forests, deserts, etc. -. On the other hand, the stories can be framed in certain places full of pejorative meanings, landscapes or spaces that the collective culture identifies with fear or horror, -a ruin, an abandoned town, a dark alley, etc.-

In short, each viewer has his own imagination, a utopian construction of the universe that surrounds us, generated largely by audiovisual media. The stories told in the cinema or television associate the imagined landscape with emotional meanings, generating the desire to travel and visit those places that are admired or despised ¹⁰.

CONCLUSION. A BRAND NEW RESEARCHING LINE IN MÁLAGA (SPAIN)

The places, the landscapes, the cities are spaces that are constantly transformed and composed of a superposition of paths and tracks. In them, the human being makes space an extension of his thought and registers in it certain discoveries of the environment and its possibility of malleability¹⁵.

Locations of films, places that set them, buildings, looks, etc. The human creations in the city come to life as soon as they are filmed, making them a possibility to rediscover through the cinematographic proposal. The tourist's own journey is the starting point of frenzy discovery to know everywhere he visits and all the things that are in it.

In the words of Marc Augé, it is not surprising that it is among travellers on impulse or for unexpected reasons -the tourists-, and not among professional travellers or scientists, where we are most likely to find heritage evocation of spaces in which neither identity nor relations, nor history really makes any sense according to the parameters used so far for its valuation¹⁶.

Filming a place, a city or a territory supposes offering unprecedented looks to spaces, buildings, environments and scenarios, which become new identity objects, in many cases banal, but that being codified through the camera makes it possible to go through them and recognize them with a contemporary heritage vision. Through this cinematographic imaginary, it is possible to glimpse the possibility of a tourist future that endows the city with new meanings and new identity values, which transcend the traditional parameters used in the field of heritage.

The cinema allows the meeting between the subject and a fragment of a space significantly altered by the development of the cinematographic activity itself, evoking a series of processes and changes that finally seem to generate new perspectives of landscape, city and identity. It is possible, therefore, to read the city in an innovative way and recompose it through the different layers that make up its cinematographic imaginary.

With this starting hypothesis, from the research project "Malaka_net: bases for the sustainable rehabilitation of the Historical Heritage of Málaga" (University of Malaga) an interesting researching line is opened, which intends to approach the case of the city of Málaga (Spain) and the assessment of the impact that film production has generated in its urban environment.

This research, not yet carried out in the city of Malaga, will be able to generate a contemporary heritage that goes from the own productions to the “movie routes” that the films can generate, as well as the added value over the "territory brand", which can serve as a tourist promotion that transcends the current –and typical- offer of "sun and beach".

NOTES

- ¹ Joan Costa, *La Imagen de Marca* (Barcelona: Paidós, 2004).
- ² Sue Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2005).
- ³ Antonia del Rey-Reguillo (ed.), "Introducción". In *Cine, Imaginario y Turismo. Estrategias de seducción*. (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, 2007), 9-32.
- ⁴ We can find many examples in articles like *Motion picture impacts on destination images*, Film tourism - Evolution, progress and prospects and in books like *Film-Induced Tourism* by Sue Beeton and *Territorios de cine. Desarrollo local, tipologías turísticas y promoción* edited by Universidad de Alicante.
- ⁵ Carlos Rosado Cobián, *Cine y Turismo: una nueva estrategia de promoción* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Turismo, Comercio y Deporte, 2006).
- ⁶ Roger Riley and Carlton Van Doren, "Movies as tourism promotion. A 'pull' factor in a 'push' location". *Tourism Management*, 13(3) (1992): 267–274.
- ⁷ Agustín Gamir, and Carlos Manuel Valdés, "Cine y geografía: espacio geográfico, paisaje y territorio en las producciones cinematográficas". *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 45(2007): 157-190.
- ⁸ Roger Riley, Dwayne Baker and Carlton Van Doren. "Movie induced tourism". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25 (4) (1998): 919-935
- ⁹ Konstantin Stanishovski, "La comunicación de los destinos turísticos". In *Cine, Imaginario y Turismo. Estrategias de seducción*, edited by Del Rey-Reguillo, Antonia (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, 2007), 243-266.
- ¹⁰ Stijn Reijnders. "Stories that move: Fiction, imagination, tourism". *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(6) (2016): 672-689.
- ¹¹ María José Márquez-Ballesteros, Javier Boned-Purkiss, and Alberto. E. García-Moreno, "Mapping wings of Desire. Berlin and the city of the forgotten places". *Atalante*, 22(2016): 155-166.
- ¹² Marysol Castillo and Vladimir Castaño, "La promoción turística a través de técnicas tradicionales y nuevas. Una revisión de 2009 a 2014". *Estudio y Perspectivas en Turismo*, 24(3) (2015): 737-757. Accessed January 15, 2018, <https://doi.org/0327-5841>.
- ¹³ John Caughey, *Imaginary Social Worlds: A Cultural Approach* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
- ¹⁴ Malraux, André, *Le musée imaginaire* (Génova: Skira, 1947).
- ¹⁵ Alberto E. García-Moreno, *Cine, Ciudad y Patrimonio en Torremolinos (1959-1979)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2017).
- ¹⁶ Marc Augé, *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. Translated by John Howe. London and New York: Verso, 2008.

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SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF A HISTORIC TOWN: PRESERVING THE PAST TO SUSTAIN THE FUTURE

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INTRODUCTION

The historic town of Badami with its many temples has been in existence for over 15 centuries. Badami or Vatapi as it was historically known as the capital city of the Eastern Chalukyas also known as the Chalukyas of Badami. The Chalukyas of Badami who were an offshoot of the Kadambas of Banavasi chose this place for strategic reasons. The sandstone cliffs acted as natural barriers and the first line of defense against any attack by land, secondly, the cliffs also created the Agastya tank which stored rain water runoff to feed the town. But what distinguishes Badami from other such fort towns across the subcontinent is the fact that these very same sandstone cliffs also lend themselves to carving. This resulted in a profusion of carving strewn around the hillside. Rock cut cave temples, as well as free standing structural temples, came up in, on and around these sandstone cliffs under the patronage of the Chalukyan Kings. The old town of Badami thus grew around the western edge of the Agastya tank, dotted with temples of different idioms including Nagara, Dravida and the unique Badami idiom culminating in the exquisite Bhoothnatha temple. Over the centuries Badami was a part of many Kingdoms that ruled the Deccan, who left their impressions behind through varied built forms that include temples, palaces, forts tombs and so on. While this ancient town has continued its evolution with minimal changes over the centuries, it is currently under threat due to various factors that are inevitable in any development process. This paper looks at how development efforts in historic towns need to take into consideration the fact that intangible aspects of heritage are linked to tangible built forms and preserving one without the other would be a hollow exercise that will result in a town that will become a mere caricature of itself to pander to the tourist circuit.

TOWN PROFILE

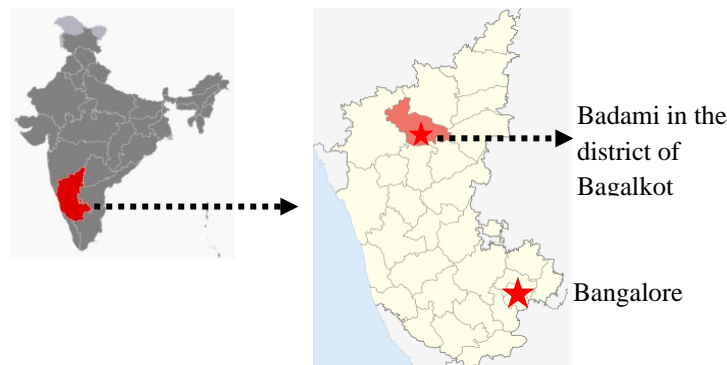


Figure 26. Location of Badami in Karnataka, India

Badami is a Town Municipality and the Taluk headquarters of Badami Taluk in the district of Bagalkot in North Karnataka with a population of 30,943 (Source: 2011 census) and an area of 10.3 Sq Km. Established by Pulakeshi -I in the 6th century AD, the settlement of Badami prospered for two centuries under the Chalukyan patronage. Badami ceased to be the capital once the Rashtrakoota's came to power. The town then came under different rulers including the Bijapur Sultanate that gave the town its Islamic layer. The Maratha rule in the 17th century saw the Banashankari temple come up to the South of Badami which was followed by a very brief rule by Hyder Ali and then the British rule. The census data of Badami since 1951 shows a steady growth in population. However, since 1991, the growth rate is steadily declining to show only 19.72% growth rate as compared to the previous two decades. This change in trend indicates migration of population away from Badami.

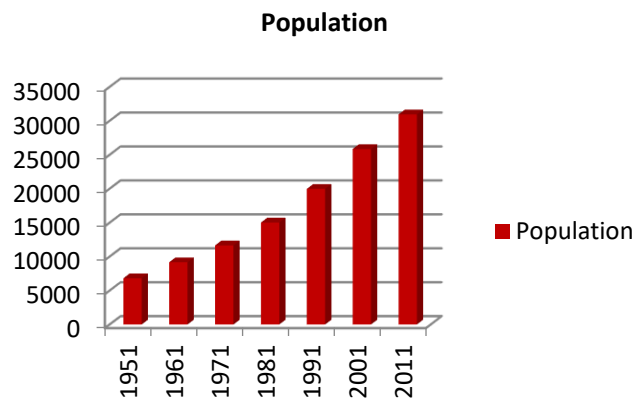


Figure 27. Population Graph of Badami since 1951
(Source: District Census Book 2011)

UNIQUE FEATURES

The historical town of Badami has unique geographical as well as architectural features. The red sandstone outcrops in an otherwise flat terrain are startling in their appearance. The Agastya tank formed from the water runoff of these cliffs makes a breathtaking setting for the Bhoothanatha temple complex. Badami also has the unique distinction of having both Rock-cut and free-standing temples of

the same period at the same site, side by side, built in contrasting Dravida and Nagara styles. In addition to this a local style which is unique to Badami, an intermingling of the two idioms (Dravida and Nagara) is also present at the same site. The rock cut caves have both Hindu, Jain as well as Shivite and Vaishnavite temples. The sandstone cliffs in addition to lending themselves beautifully to carving also form a challenge to rock climbing enthusiasts from around the world. Badami is rated very high in terms of difficulty with some routes graded 8b(the expertise level as per the French Numerical grading system).

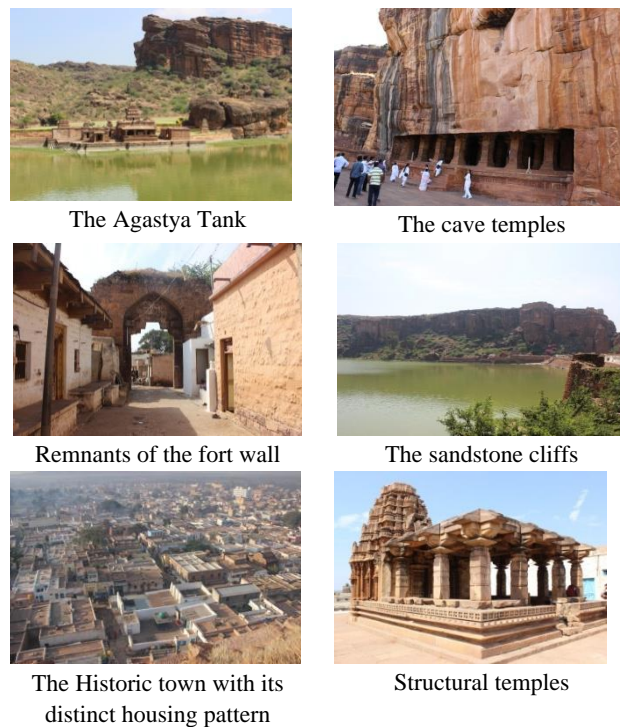


Figure 28. Unique Features of Badami

TOWN PLANNING

The old town of Badami shows an intent in its planning, although it does not fall under any particular Vedic town planning¹ classification. The two main roads running along the East -West and North-South axis intersect in the town center where the Jambulinga and the Virupaksha temples are situated, the guardian Anjaneya temple is situated just outside the town. Caste and occupation seem to have been a deciding factor in the settlement pattern of the town. The Brahmin settlement is concentrated on the North Eastern part around the Ram Temple, the merchants are concentrated along the arterial roads towards the town center where trade is conducted. The farmers towards the East and West for closer access to their fields, and the weavers and the Dalits towards the south. The planning is done in a way that the place of stay, work and recreation are all seamlessly integrated. The streetscapes with their interactive edges lend themselves to an everyday space, which binds the private residences and the public streets.

The Archeological Survey of India(ASI)² has identified the heritage monuments in the old town and

has done a commendable job in the conservation and preservation of these monuments. But as with all the historic towns of India, Badami is a living heritage site, so along with the heritage structures, the town of Badami itself with its unique built fabric is as much in need of conservation and preservation efforts as the monuments themselves. Distinct typologies of residences which are unique to the caste and occupation can be found in the town with some of the residences dating back to more than 200 years. The scale of the streets and the clustering of the houses along with the materials and indigenous methods of the construction are all responses to climate, the livelihood and cultural practices prevailing in the town for centuries now. The old town of Badami is grappling with many challenges which threaten the unique fabric of the settlement. The most potent of those being the rule concerning the protection of Heritage monuments which requires a protected area of 200 meter radius around the monument. While this is a good policy for the protection of the monuments themselves, in case of living heritage sites like Badami, this leads to displacement of the population and consequently abandonment of old houses. The second challenge is the proposed master plan of Badami 2021³ which proposes the widening and commercialization of the Hanuman temple Road or the road along the East- West axis of the old town. This suggests a lack of sensitivity in planning which will lead to slow erosion of the old and unique town structure. Already lack of guidelines and policies to protect the old town area is leading to a transformation of the built form which is completely out of character with the existing context. If left unchecked this could result in an irreparable loss.

THE HERITAGE SITES

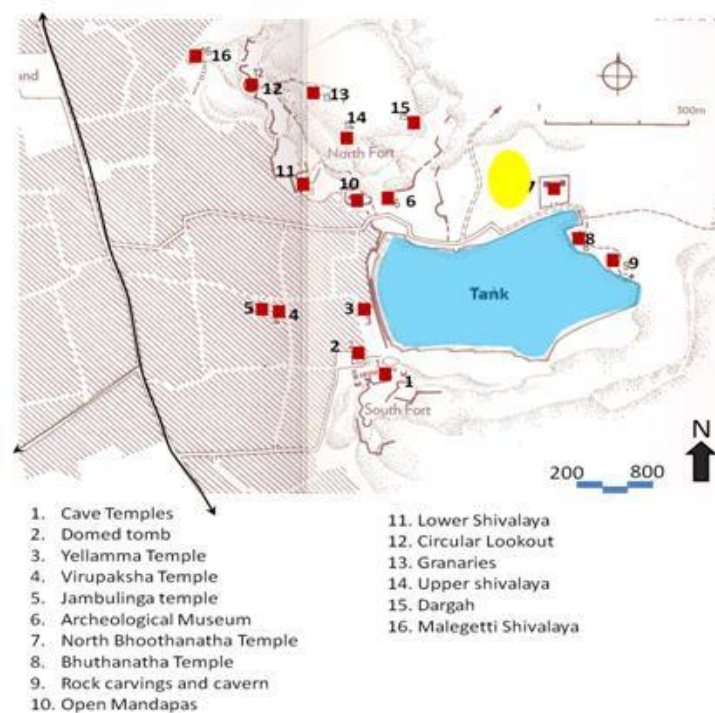


Figure 29. Heritage map of Badami

Prehistoric sites are present in around the sandstone cliffs of Badami. Rock shelters with prehistoric paintings as well as stone tools belonging to different periods of Stone Age have been discovered near the Sidalphadhi and Sabarapadhi caves. The heritage sites of the town include the famous rock-cut

temples of Badami which date back to the 6th century. The four cave temples, devoted to Shiva, Vishnu, and reliefs of Jain Tirthankaras. The earliest free standing temples are from the first half of the 7th century, the Malegetti Shivalaya along with the upper and lower Shivalayas, are fine examples from this period. The Boothanatha temple complex, the various other temples in and around the town, the fort, the Agastya tank and the Mahakoota temple complex, as well as the Banashankari temple complex, form a part of the larger historic precinct of Badami. The tombs from the Adil Shahi period are amongst the few Islamic monuments in the town.

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

Agriculture is the main economic activity in Badami. Major Agriculture Crops are Millets like Jowar, Maize, Bajra. Pulses like wheat, red gram, bengal gram. Oil seeds like groundnuts, soybean and cash crops like sugarcane, cotton as well as grapes and pomegranate. It is the largest employment generator with about 13% of the population employed in agriculture and agro-based industries. But there has been a steady decline in cultivators percentage from 15.5% since 1981 to 3.63% in 2011 (*Source: District Census Book 2011*). Table 1 indicates Oil mills and Wood industries are the other major employment generators.

Sl No	Name	Number
1	Oil mill	9
2	Small scale industry	32
3	Saw mill	9
4	Bakeries	9
5	Welding works	25
6	Printing Press	5
7	Chili Powder unit	13
8	Big Industry	1
9	Paper industry (local paper)	5
10	Poultry farm	1

TABLE 1.
Industries in Badami
(*Source: Industries in Badami District Census Book*)

But out of the 9 oil mills, 4 are shut as they are dependent on the crops and Badami falls under highly drought prone areas of Karnataka. Frequent droughts lead to crop failure which in turn is affecting the oil industries. Badami Sugar Limited started in 2005-2006 has led to a spurt in growth of sugar cane farming. Manufacturing process in household industries (which includes woodwork industries and weaving) has gone down from 4.19 in 1981 to 2.67 in 2011. The weaving of both cotton and silk (Ilkal Saree) is present in around Badami town. Wood carving and detailing especially of doors and door frames is a specialty of Badami. Fig 5 shows the percentage of the population involved in household industries.

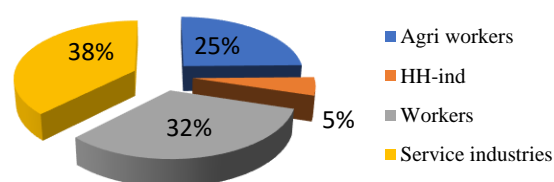


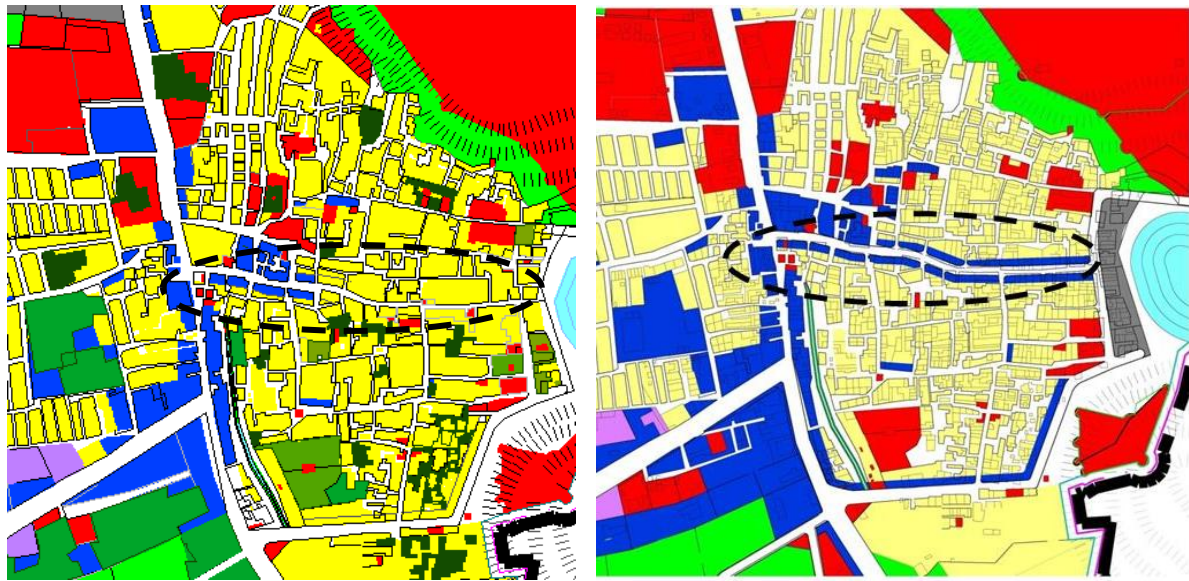
Figure 30. Chart showing percentage of the population involved in household activities

THE PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALS OF THE HERITAGE TOWN

The town planning of the old town with its unique fabric and built heritage consisting of both the residences and the monuments, the ancient and indigenous technology of construction, use of materials and the streetscapes are its strong potentials. Protection of the monuments at the cost of the living heritage is an issue that needs to be addressed. Lack of guidelines and laws to protect the historic district are leading to transformations which will change the fabric of the district, in the long run, resulting in loss of both the tangible and intangible heritage.

The traditional economy of Badami is agriculture based and the crops grown were well suited to the soil and climate of the region. These include crops that produce oil seeds that in turn feed the oil mills. But currently, only four of the nine oil mills function in Badami. Sugarcane, a cash crop that requires much larger quantities of water than the traditional crops is replacing the traditional crops like millets and threatening the water equation of the region. Such unsustainable practices cannot benefit the town in the long run. Changing crops would mean changing produce which in turn would mean the traditional staple diet of millets and pulses would be replaced by unsustainable diets. Thus gradually over a period of time, the food habits of the region which are part of its intangible heritage are lost. The traditional weaving constitutes the Ilkal sari and its blouse material which are woven in silk, cotton and a mix of silk and cotton. It takes about 7 days for a weaver to weave a cloth of 21 meters, which is about 5 sari lengths. This time consumed is resulting in the younger generation moving away from the family occupation to the more lucrative professions. Woodwork which includes the intricate and exquisite carving of wooden doors and frames is another traditional craft which is seeing a reduction in the number of families engaged in it.

The proposed master plan shown in Fig 6 for Badami 2021 identifies the Hanuman temple road that forms the East-West axis of the town for road widening and change of land use from the present yellow to blue without any guidelines or policies in place to protect the historic structures that are not monuments. This will lead to a complete transformation of the entire historic district over a period of time.



Existing Land use map

Proposed Master Plan 2021

Figure 31. Existing and proposed Land use map of the Historic District

POTENTIALS

The tourism industry is the fastest growing industry in Badami. Although exact data on the number of people employed in the industry is unavailable, a significant percentage of people employed are part of the tourism industry. This constitutes the hospitality industry which is mainly confined to the two Arterial roads that pass through the town, the services include, taxi services, guide and security services. Tourists in Badami can be classified into four categories

1. Pilgrim
2. Sightseeing Tourist
3. Adventure Tourist
4. Religious Fair Visitor

In all these categories of tourism, there is a lot more potential to translate the same into an economically sustainable model for Badami. This can happen when a comprehensive plan for the town that recognizes the tourist potential of the historic district along with its intangible heritage, and not just the monuments is drawn and implemented.

SUSTAINABLE PLANNING FOR A HISTORIC TOWN

The strategies that need be adopted to ensure sustainable development of a town with a historic district have to encompass the built heritage, the lifestyle, and culture while at the same time making it financially viable for all the stakeholders. Unless the primary stakeholders are convinced of the financial benefits of conservation and preservation of the heritage fabric, the whole redevelopment process will be an exercise in futility. The strategies would be at different scales namely the precinct, town and the historic district.

At the Precinct level

- Identify the larger precinct of Badami including the Mahakoota and Banashankari temple areas as a heritage precinct and protected zone. Create a Special purpose vehicle like the Heritage Management Authority of Badami.
- Identify all the stakeholders including private landowners, local governments, temple trusts, ASI, Hospitality industry and citizens and draw a comprehensive development plan for the precinct.

At the Town level

- Identify the protected zones, that include the historic district, the sandstone cliffs and the Agastya Tank.
- Identify buffer zones and restricted building zones

For the Historic District

- Identify and map the historic district and rate the buildings, other than the monuments based on predefined parameters, that need to come under the protective umbrella.
- Once the mapping and grading have been done, the next step would be to classify the structures according to era, style, construction techniques, the material used and so on.
- Next would be to determine the condition of the structure and its heritage value.
- Come up with guidelines for the historic district.
- Identify areas that have a higher percentage of transformations and come up with incentives to follow guidelines.
- Incentivise the conservation process by ensuring the process is financially viable for the individual owners of the heritage property. This could be done in the form of tax incentives, TDR or tradable FSI, public- private partnership and adaptive reuse. These schemes have been implemented with varied success rates in Jaipur⁴ and Ahmedabad⁵ in India
- Involve the local community in the process through heritage walks, heritage festivals.
- Educate the local community about the benefits of preserving the historic fabric.
- Engaging the community in the maintenance and care of the Agastya tank
- Improving the tourist infrastructure by providing maps, descriptive signage about these heritage structures, display information at the prominent places like bus stand and railway station.

ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

Revive the indigenous industries that include the oil mills, the woodcraft industries, and the weaving industries.

Sustainable agricultural practices are very important as only these kind of practices will help the local economy. According to Agropedia⁶ intercropping of groundnut with chili, pigeon-pea and sunflower is very good sustainable practice. Educating the farmers of these practices and incentivizing good practices will help in improving crop production, retaining the soil fertility and reduce the adverse effects of drought. Furthermore with the higher output of oilseeds the defunct oil mills can be revived which will in turn further help stop the migration of the population as well as strengthen the economy. For the weaving community as well as the woodwork community incentives like tax breaks, community centers, workshops to facilitate learning, retail outlets and other opportunities to promote and sell their wares will help revive the community. Currently, informal shops come up selling these traditional crafts during the Jatres or religious festivals. Year round outlets that are managed by the community for the

tourists as well as seasonal workshops and tour of facilities for the tourists could further help in promoting the crafts.

Affordable housing for the families engaged in these traditional crafts along with other facilities like day care and health clinics as well as schools and training outlets as well as the promotion of the crafts by the government is required.

CONCLUSION

As cities grow and advance the older districts undergo transformations that may be detrimental to the original settlement. Since the lifestyle and built form are inexorably linked any change in either will result in loss of heritage, both tangible and intangible. While it is unrealistic to expect the towns to continue living in a time warp and continue with the same lifestyles, sustainable practices from the past which are beneficial for the current age should definitely be continued. It is towards this end that any re-planning efforts should focus. As per the concept of Everyday Urbanism proposed by Margaret Crawford, John Chase and John Kaliski (1999)⁷ the planning of the old town of Badami allows for a meaningful interaction in everyday life. This is what binds the tangible built form to the intangible aspects of culture and lifestyle into a cohesive whole that is greater than its parts. Regrettably the focus on the monuments, their conservation and preservation create a situation where the culture and the context that led to their creation are neglected. Care should be taken to ensure that these towns do not become caricatures of themselves in order to cater to the tourists. Which is why an all-round effective economic regeneration plan is a must so that tourism does not become the only source of economy in the region. Thus sensitive planning is key when dealing with such re-planning or redevelopment issues. Unless all the stakeholders involved are not convinced of the economic benefits of regeneration, it would be an exercise in futility.

NOTES

¹ various vastu shastra texts like Artha Sastra of Kautilya and Sukra Nitisara. According to these texts ancient towns are categorized on the basis of size, shape and purpose. According to size

Rajdhani - The capital of the king.

Sakhanagra – All other categories of town besides Pura.

Karvata -Smaller Town

Nigma -Smaller than Karvata

Grama -Smaller than Nigma

Special Town Pattana – The Second residence of Town.

Putabhedana - It is similar to Pattana, in addition to being a commercial center

According to Shape and Purpose Ancient towns are divided into eight types.

Dandaka, Nandyavarta, Sarvatobhadra, Swastika, Prastara, Padmaka, Karmukha, Chaturmukha

² Archeological Survey of India

³Covering all aspects of Badami a master plan was developed in the year 2004 to put a check on the development in old areas of the town. The master Plan document is prepared for the horizon year of 20121 by the department of Town Planning Badami. Comprising if 12 villages the master plan focuses on the infrastructure development for the overall town.

⁴ The Heritage Management Plan of Jaipur was prepared to guide the growth of historic core and heritage area in the city with a clear vision to sustain its heritage. It is based on an exhaustive listing of 1096 heritage structures and is currently a part of the Jaipur Master Plan 2025. The first initiative started in 1971 with the master plan proposal specifying heritage development works. Since then there has been many initiatives by the municipal body in collaboration with other agencies, NGO's etc to restore and revitalize the historic walled city of Jaipur. Although all the initiatives were not successfully implemented and many were just proposals on paper the fact that conservation is a necessary part of development was recognized can be seen in present state of the walled city. Conservation as a tool to draw in tourism thus uplifting the economy is a lesson that can be learned from Jaipur.

⁵ Ahmedabad recognized the need to engage the common public in the process of conservation and also realized that conservation can only work when it is economically viable. Thus adaptive reuse and TDR play an important role in the process of rejuvenation as well as conservation. From heritage walks conducted at night to reviving Traditional technology to converting heritage structures to usable apartments ahmedabad has come up with many initiatives to ensure conservation is also sustainable

⁶<http://agropedia.iitk.ac.in/content/groundnut-production-practices-new-intercropping-and-mixed-cropping-practices>

⁷Everyday Urbanism proposed by Margaret Crawford, John Chase and John Kaliski (1999) Crawford argues that "Everyday Urbanism emphasises the primacy of human experience as the fundamental aspect of any definition

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THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF PROLIFERATION AND ADAPTATION: ARCHITECTURE, MULTICULTURE AND THAI IDENTITY IN LONDON

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INTRODUCTION

Immigration in Britain dates back to the Palaeolithic era; London was an ethnically diverse city from its very beginnings, in which Londonium was found to be the home of 60,000 inhabitants from across the Roman Empire¹. In recent years, London's immigration population has rapidly become more and more global in its makeup and number. A study on the official census shows a significant shift in the city's demographic, with more than half of the population being foreign-born residents². London's experience of an explosion of heterogeneity is shared by many cities across the world and has been central in recent discussions, especially among European countries as Rosi Braidotti points out in her *The Becoming Minoritarian of Europe* from Deleuze and the Contemporary World³, which highlights the proliferation of anxieties over the current flow of people that characterises the city's demographic today.

The UK is home to the largest Thai expatriate community in the world outside of Asia, Australia, and North America⁴. However, the Thai community is dispersed and – as a community – comparatively invisible. They are statistically more likely to be scattered across the country with their partners, as the majority of Thai migrants who became naturalised as UK citizens arrived through marriages⁵. Thai Londoners, in this sense, represent one of the smallest ethnic groups with a distinctive characteristic that does not follow the conventional settlement patterns associated with other cities' mainstream expatriate communities. Therefore, this study focuses on Thai migrants currently living in London, with a view to understand the spatial and social practice involved in the creation of cosmopolitan space contributed to greater awareness of the strategies of allegiance, participation, and belonging that allow environments like London to flourish.



Figure 1. Photomontage of London urban culture

The historical patterns of migration have always carried dislocating effects that run counter to the assimilationist orthodox and fall much under a multicultural conception. While a study of the physical manifestation of a wide variety of immigrants and understanding the way it represents and accommodates people with different cultures has dominated recent discussions, the sheer weight of numbers that define the proliferating and expanding of the city⁶, coupled with the need for further articulation of how the loosely defined “multiculturalism” is framed by dominant political figures and the media⁷, have given rise to the need for further examination of how intercultural interaction in cities should be addressed in the current situation. Here, the aim is to stress out the ideas of adaptability beyond “primary relation between architecture and migrant”⁸ with a sense of proliferation over the current flow of the city’s demographic. Inspired by Charles Darwin’s “natural selection”⁹, which forms the basis of this argument. This sense of proliferation and demand for adaptation of the technique of cosmopolitan, of urban behaviours and of ways of coping in cities stimulate different points of view from various scholars such as Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre, and Pierre Bourdieu, which help aid the discussion of this paper regarding alternative dialogue between people and the built environment that allows for “utilitarian”¹⁰, “repetition”¹¹, and “dialectic”¹² within a migratory setting.

PROLIFERATION AND ADAPTATION

The process of evolution involves a series of natural changes that cause species to arise, adapt to their environment, and become extinct. The mechanism that best explains evolution is a phenomenon known as “natural selection”, the process by which certain inherited traits are favoured within a population. For Charles Darwin, a population must have a wide variety of individuals with different traits; individuals best adapted to their environments are more likely to survive and reproduce¹³ in order for “natural selection” to occur. The term “Darwinism”¹⁴ remains a touchstone for many scholars and his theory is accepted for discussion with regard to all unifying evolutionary theories that come after. It shed light on key ideas for the recognition of the everyday city-living skills that anchored the topic of discussion of this paper.

Simmel’s concept of metropolitan life may offer the ways in which one assumes a metropolitan role in order to survive, though his “protective”¹⁵ notion demand calculability of gain or loss and choice between the head and the heart. By contrast, *The Practice of Everyday Life* of Michel de Certeau outlines an important critical distinction between “strategies” and “tactic”¹⁶. His utilitarianism approach to the urban landscape gives rise to the problem of misinterpretation, which allows abundance of opportunities for the citizen to subvert repressive aspects of modern society that are imposed upon them. In addition, for urbanites living in “Liquid Modernity”, Zygmunt Bauman recognition of the negative globalisation toward metropolitan life raises demands over how one maintains life pursuits and the kind of skills required for individuals to survive and maintain their lives in cities¹⁷. Where the impact of present-day

moral panic around the migration crisis gives rise to hostile reaction to “strangers”¹⁸, diminishing glorious day of enlightenment traditions and Kantian cosmopolitanism in the past. Hence, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty* offers a valuable glimpse into the complexity of the issue at stake and *Strangers at our door* might serve as a prism for what is yet to come. Although, more contemporary inquiries into the particular life skills and city-living awareness of proliferation and adaptation are required, the common practices of individuals for enduring and upholding cosmopolitan life is yet to discovered.

Building on the premise of the British Pavilion at the 2018 Venice Biennale, ‘island’ was provided as a metaphor for engaging with current political themes through art and architectural practices. According to curators Adam Caruso, Peter St John, and Marcus Taylor, “There are many ways to interpret the experience of visiting Island and the state of the building suggests many themes; including abandonment, reconstruction, sanctuary, Brexit, isolation, colonialism and climate change. It is intended as a platform, in this case also literally, for a new and optimistic beginning. It is forward looking whilst acknowledging the past, whether good or bad.”¹⁹ For many observers, the relationship between an island and what surround it is two-fold: it may be seen as reinforcement of a sense of isolation but at the same time, it provides security by cordoning off what is outside the island. This common way of understanding the circle model may shed light on what we regard as a concentric circle of cosmopolitan and the task to “draw circles somehow towards the centre”²⁰ is set as a challenge for new and optimistic beginnings, as recently suggested.

READING THAI COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITY AND SPATIALITY

The conceptualisation of cosmopolitan cities as we know them today is ethnically diverse and racially tolerant²¹. Their demographic as well as topographic shifts transcend such forms of infrastructure from ‘ethnopolis’²² into “super-diverse” places where different groups of people attune to the ways of living together peacefully. However, to be committed to moral cosmopolitanism within the framework of political world views is paradoxical²³ and mostly underachieved when it comes to how interactions play out on the ground²⁴. Given the distinctive pattern of Thai settlement into the mainstream ethnic communities of London, the Thai community is not just another ethnic culture auxiliary to the multiculturalism of London civic, but signifies assorted cosmopolitan thinking through their practice of everyday living experiences, from hospitality²⁵ via the service of restaurant businesses to a sense of responsibility²⁶ through the strategy of allegiance within a boundary of home and neighbourhood. The character of lived experience that contributes to practices of making is examined through semi-structured interview and observation. The transcripts of the interviews that were prepared from the data collection of the 15 participants were coded and interpreted using the IPA method, allowing several themes to emerge. These were analysed for their socio-cultural and spatial relevance. The selected participants represent the Thai migrant lifestyle in general as well as in a very distinctive way due to the selected theme (see Table 1). The two protagonists, Aor and Pan, demonstrate people at the core of the concentric circles of London’s multiculturalism; their living experiences portray two of the main characteristics of Thai settlement in London. The two case studies (Home and Restaurant) not only provide a response to the particular mode of Thai settlement but also to this paper’s questions and the need for a strategy in order to validate the findings. Within these two distinctive spatial categories – in which the interactivity of social and cultural sharing of time and space between the Thai migrant and the urban culture of London are framed. In the final stage of analysis, the participants’ narrative was studied to comprehend the modes of place involvement experienced in London urban spaces that are related to the construction of their Thai cosmopolitan identity.

Theme	Sub-theme and coding instruction	Sample of coded text
Lifestyle	Changed	<i>“I am now a complete housewife and my house is now my office. I am starting to learn how to cook properly as well as the housekeeping.” (Aom)</i>
	Unchanged	<i>“I have a pretty peaceful life back in my hometown. My private, working and social life are embedded in my entire day-to-day job.” (Pan)</i> <i>“I Like spending time at the restaurant. It gives me a lot of quality time with people I like... I could say that this place is more than just my workplace.” (Pan)</i>
Location	Feeling of community	<i>“I live with my husband in South West London while most of my friends are living in West London; although, it is not far, but it does take time to get there.” (Tada)</i>
	Security	<i>“I chose a location where most Asian people are living in the area because it does not make me feel strange when I am walking around the neighbourhood.” (Moe)</i>
	Prospects	<i>“I consider the house as a good prospect to have invested in – not just for living in.” (Fah)</i>
	Infrastructure	<i>“I opted to move into this particular area because of the good facilities, in particular good schooling for my child.” (Jom)</i>
Functional	Religious needs	<i>“I am a Buddhist; although, I don’t normally practice, but I would love to have a Buddha statue in my house. The picture of Buddha on the wall is partly decoration and partly my religious belief.” (Moe)</i>
	Practicality	<i>“Yes, not just Thai identity, our kitchen is where we exchange culture, language, and other interests such as movies, music and indeed cooking skill.” (Nid)</i>

	Fulfilment	<p><i>“One of the main reasons why we decided to move into this flat is because it has a gas hob that suits my way of cooking Thai food more than an induction hob.” (Pan)</i></p> <p><i>“I like the layout of this flat and its split level makes it different to the way I experience it, as I move along from one room to another.” (Nid)</i></p>
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Table 1. Themes and sub-themes with samples of coded text

Concerning the Home case study, back in Thailand, when she was in her early 30s, Aor really enjoyed her life as a professional middle-class woman; she was urbanised and socially bonded. However, since moving to London to be with her English husband, her opportunities in life became limited and she opted to become a full-time housewife in order to be fully committed to the role – her house became her office. This life change does not matter to her as such and she sees it as an opportunity to revert her character to one that suits her at a particular time and in a particular place. She notes, “I cannot imagine myself raising my two kids in Thailand. London gives the best educational opportunities for my children and the infrastructure and the public transport are far better than Bangkok.” She admits that “the limitation of my social life out there means that I can dedicate my time to them”. In the early days, the family’s favourite activity was tennis and they spent most of their quality time together at the nearby sports club. This is the place where Aor trains her sons to have particular Thai characteristics and to contribute to the community. The sports club, which is a stone’s throw away from their home, serves the majority of the elderly people in the neighbourhood. This particular place, which is run by locals and is for locals, offers the perfect platform for her child to practice specific social skills with the elderly at the club. She said with a big smile on her face, “In this neighbourhood, my sons were well known as the charming Thai kids – something that I really proud of.” In recent years, her husband suffered a severe stroke and become paralysed. This caused a major change to the way she uses the house, in that they have turned the living room into a carer room for her husband; and ever since, the room has been a space for everyone to look after and share valuable time with him.

Spatial triad	Lived space/spatial practice	Tennis club	Sporting activities are a way to spend time together.
	Representation of space		The tennis club is a place for gathering and entertaining.
	Representational space		The tennis club is used as a place for her children to develop their ‘charming’ skills.
Habitus	Economic capital		N/A
	Social capital		<i>“We have a tennis club just right next to our backyard... and our children are sweet enough to get along with the elderly people at the club.”</i>
	Cultural capital		<i>“I tried to input some Thai charm to my children, ... so the community sports club is a good place for my kids to develop this kind of skill.”</i>

Table 2. Socio-spatial production and capital relevance of the home category

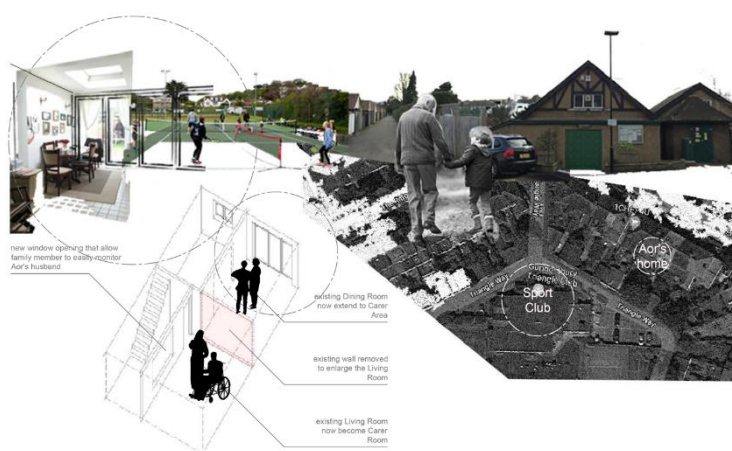


Figure 2. Photomontage illustration of Aor's living experience in her home and neighbourhood in London

Concerning the Restaurant case study, Pan describes herself as a working-class woman who was employed at the farm owned by her family, which is in the northeast of Thailand. She works and socialises throughout the day with her colleagues, who are family, friends, and neighbours from the same village. She defines it as “a typical Thai village” where everyone knows each other and works together as well as lives together. London is a big contrast to her life in Thailand; she has gone from being a villager to living a metropolitan life in a big city, from a place where everyone knows each other to one where she hardly knows anyone. Pan, just like her fellow immigrants, faced challenges when trying to adapt to this different way of living. However, she has found a similarity between the two ways of living. Pan’s feelings toward the restaurant where she works are akin to her farm in Thailand,

with her colleagues gradually becoming her friends and family. In her mind, this restaurant is not only where she earns money but also a safe space where she feels as a second home. She explains, “At the restaurant, everyone is like a family member and we take good care of each other. It is good to have somewhere and someone to go to or talk to when needed.” In addition, apart from providing services to customers, inside the restaurant is where she exchanges knowledge about Thailand and other personal interests with customers. Further, outside the shop space is where she associates with other proprietors along the high street such as in the butcher shop where fresh meat can be bought and the grocery store next door that has dairy products. Both inside and outside her restaurant, a space is provided for Pan to build relationships with other local residents and she has become known as “that sweet girl from the Thai restaurant”.

Spatial triad	Lived space/spatial practice	Thai restaurant	It is both a workplace and where Pan socialises with colleagues and customers.
	Representation of space		Working at a Thai restaurant reminds Pan of when she worked and socialised on the family farm back home.
	Representational space		This is the place where Pan developed her relationships with others.
Habitus	Economic capital		<i>“This is where I earn a salary and have status as a restaurant manager.”</i>
	Social capital		<i>“Both inside and outside the restaurant provide a space for me to build a relationship with another local residents.”</i>
	Cultural capital		<i>“This is where I exchange knowledge about Thailand and my personal interests with customers and it sometimes cure me when I feel homesick.”</i>

Table 3. Socio-spatial production and capital relevance of the restaurant category

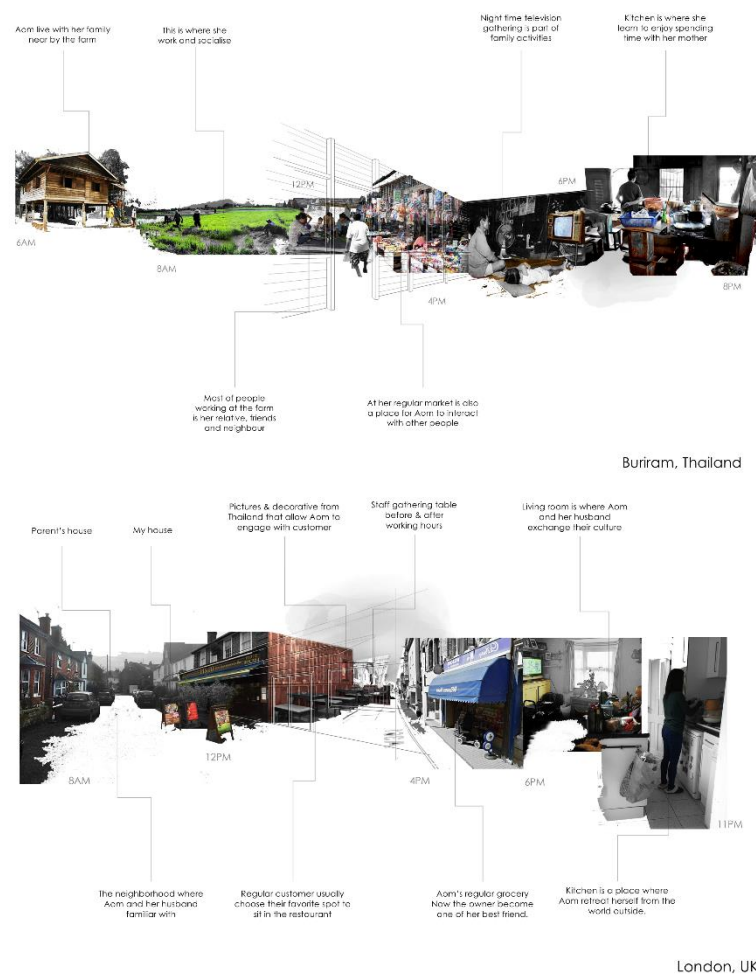


Figure 3. Photomontage illustrating the comparison of Pan's living experiences between Thailand and London

In this section, the two case studies demonstrate the peculiar trait of places evoked in individual narratives of their built environments. The interpretative data analysis through table and analytical photographic collage offer an understanding between people-place-identity contributes to multicultural urban landscape of London.

MEANING AND MAKING OF THAI COSMOPOLITAN SPACE

During the classical era of European imperialism (from the late 18th to mid-19th century), unlike its neighbours Burma and Vietnam – as a result of their military campaigns – Thailand was completely overcome by Western colonisation. The Thai king and his successors opted to reverse the previous policy of isolationism and opened up the country to extensive Western influence in order to avoid being overturned by the Western powers. The Thai monarchy and ruling elite dealt with the West through cultural and diplomatic means. They decided that in order to stay independent, the Thai kingdom needed to prevent Western people from thinking that Thailand was uncivilised or needed to be colonised to reach a state of civility. To achieve this goal, Thailand had to prove to the Western powers that it understood – and had – what it took to be civilised, so that it could thus be regarded as equal to Europe²⁷. Adopting the European model via a path of modernisation has been necessary ever since for national survival and Thailand provides the backdrop to the study of Thai Londoners to develop a critical

understanding of the social and spatial practices involved in the creation of identity through Bourdieu's structural theory of capital and power and Lefebvre's criticism of traditional dualism in spatial triad, supporting the idea of the biographies and histories approach initially posed by this paper.

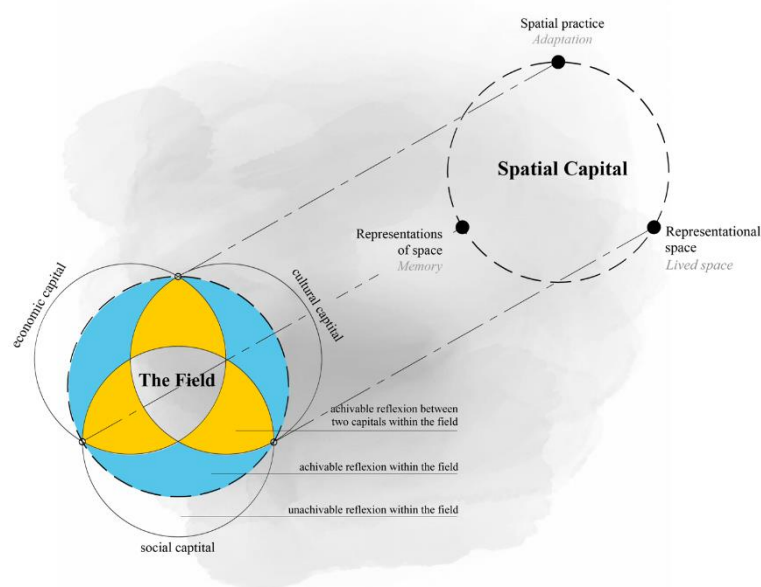


Figure 4. The theoretical approach toward the field and spatial triad adopted from Andrew J Molly and Bo Gronlund (drawn by Mahittichai Supatira)

The originality of this study is its anticipated ability to develop an innovatively conceptualised, critical understanding of the spatial and social practices involved in the creation of identity within a migratory setting in a manner somewhat removed from the conventional understandings of migrant settlement in the form of ethnic enclaves and beyond the disciplinary constraints of Diaspora studies. The outcome consists of the furthering of critical approaches to architecture in the context of today's patterns of migration and an interdisciplinary methodological framework contributing to the knowledge and understanding of the process of making meaning in cosmopolitan urban contexts. In keeping with today's proliferation of multiple identities, this research argues that the techniques of cosmopolitanism require further examination regarding the question of how intercultural interaction in cities should be addressed due to the lack of innovative frameworks within which architects can reinterpret these revelations for an architectural understanding. For the study to emphasise the peculiar traits of places evoked by the individual narratives of their built environments, mixed methods have been employed as a way to explore people's life histories and everyday behaviour and an ethnographic technique has been adopted, from semi-structured interviews to observation, together with architectural presentation methods as a means of recording and exhibiting the data collected. The study of the two protagonists' living experiences provides the platform for an analytical framework that can contribute to methodological and theoretical knowledge regarding understanding the complexity of the construction/negotiation identity of the Thai cosmopolitan in the contemporary urban context. The first protagonist, Aor, represents a Thai wife immigrant who negotiates her everyday practice with family members and acquaintances in a way that allows her true identity to amalgamate with the community in her vicinity under the Home category. The second character, Pan, falls into the Restaurant category and her life experience reveals an altered perspective towards the activities associated with the Thai

restaurant where she works and how its successful business contributes to the globalised urban context of London. The socio-spatial relevance of Aor and Pan's living experiences are portrayed through the interpretative analysis in Table 2 follow by Figure 2 and Table 3 follow Figure 3 respectively. It also reflects the idea of the spatial triad²⁸, which consists of lived space, representation of space and representational space, as well as contributing to the spatial dimension concerning Bourdieu's *Habitus*²⁹.

The presence of these urban adaptations represents an ongoing daily process of negotiation regarding symbolism, culture, ethnic identity, and spatial practice that will soon become increasingly complicated for future generations to continue to process all together. The importance of the analytical interpretative tool established by this study lies in how one recognises themselves in the context of the fragmentation that characterises today's urban topography and a positive atmosphere between individuals and their environment is discovered. The study suggests opportunities for creative and constructive input following exemplification from the legacy of the Thai cosmopolitan identity from both eras (the classical and contemporary metropolitan life) into the diversity of London's civic and cultural character.

NOTES

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- ² Cinzia, Rienzo, and Carlos Vargas-Silva. "Migrants in the UK: An Overview." (Migration Observatory briefing, COMPAS, University of Oxford, February 21, 2017).
- ³ Rosi, Braidotti. "The Becoming Minoritarian of Europe." In *Deleuze and the Contemporary World*, edited by Ian Buchanan and Adrian Parr, 79-94. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.
- ⁴ "Country-of-birth database." Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Accessed May 12, 2018. url: <https://web.archive.org/web/20050511105416/http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/18/23/34792376.xls>.
- ⁵ Jessica, Mai Sims. "Empowering Individuals & Creating Community – Thai Perspectives on Life in Britain." London: Runnymede Trust, 2008.
- ⁶ Matthew, Barac. "Changing Place: Navigating Urbanity in the Global South." In *Phenomenologies of the City: Studies in the History and Philosophy of Architecture*, edited by Henritte Steiner and Mazimilian Sternberg, 257-270. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- ⁷ Suzanne, Hall. *City, Street and Citizen: The Measure of the Ordinary*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- ⁸ Stephen, Cairns. *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- ⁹ Charles, Darwin. *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, 1st ed. London: John Murray, 1859, 5.
- ¹⁰ Michel, de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by Steven Rendall. London: University of California Press, 2011.
- ¹¹ Henri, Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.
- ¹² Pierre, Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- ¹³ Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, 5.
- ¹⁴ James, Lennox. "Darwinism." *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (Spring 2017 Edition)*, edited by Edward N. Zalta. url: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/darwinism/#DarDar>.
- ¹⁵ George, Simmel. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." In *Blackwell City Reader*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 103-10. Oxford: John Wiley & Son, 2010.
- ¹⁶ Andrew, Blauvelt. *Strangely Familiar: Design and Everyday Life*. Minnesota: Walker Art Centre, 2003.
- ¹⁷ Zygmunt, Bauman. *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*. London: Polity Press, 2007.
- ¹⁸ Zygmunt, Bauman. *Stranger at Our Door*. London, Polity Press, 2016.
- ¹⁹ "British Pavilion: ISLAND." British Council. Accessed August 14, 2018. url: <https://venicebiennale.britishcouncil.org/2018-exhibition>.
- ²⁰ Martha, C. Nussbaum, "Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism." In *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 5, no. 1: 1-25.
- ²¹ Richard, Florida. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- ²² Michel, S. Laguerre. *The Global Ethnopolis: Chinatown, Japantown and Manilatown in American Society*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.
- ²³ Carol, A. Breckenridge, Sheldon, Pollock, Homi, K. Bhabha and Dipesh, Chakrabaty. *Cosmopolitanism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- ²⁴ Jane, Clossick. *The Depth Structure of a London High Street: A Study in Urban Order*. London: London Metropolitan University, 2016, 303.
- ²⁵ Jacques, Derrida. *Of hospitality: Cultural Memory in the Present*, translated by Rachel Bowlby. California: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- ²⁶ Ulrich, Beck. *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006, 45.
- ²⁷ Koompong, Noobanjong. *Power, identity, and the Rise of Modern Architecture: From Siam to Thailand*. New York: Universal Publishers, 2003, 186.
- ²⁸ Edward, W. Soja. *Thirdspace Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996.
- ²⁹ Emma, Rooksby. *Habitus: A Sense of Place*. London: Routledge, 2005.

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CONCEPT OF URBAN DESIGN OF TAPOLOGO ESTATE, GABORONE- COMPARISONS AND ANALYSIS

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ARS STUDIO, GABORONE, BOTSWANA

INTRODUCTION

In the twentieth century we had several cities that were built in the empty space - Chandigarh in India, Brazil in Brazil, Astana in Kazakhstan, Islamabad in Pakistan, Gaborone in Botswana.

Chandigarh¹, Brasilia², Canberra³, Islamabad⁴, Astana⁵ are remembered by famous architects who designed them. In the case of Gaborone, the story is a bit different⁶.

In the early 1960s, as the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland was approaching gaining independence, in 1963 it was decided that the headquarters of the government for the new state⁷ would be in Gaborone⁸. At that time Gaborone (The Small Village of Gaborones⁹)¹⁰ had 3855 people. It was decided (1963) that a Master plan to be made for a 20-year planning period. The first master plan¹¹ was done according to the example of Garden City¹² „as a provision of pedestrian walkways and neighborhood units“¹³.

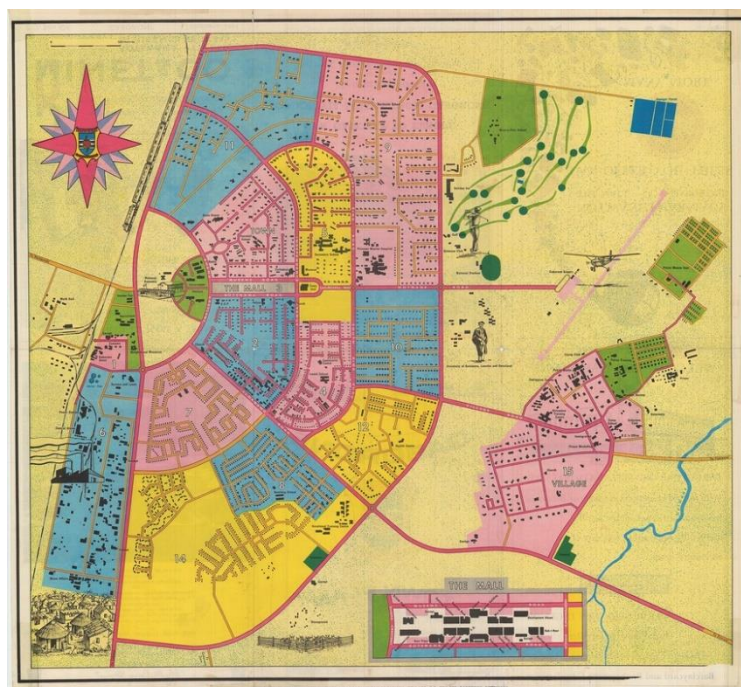


Figure 32. Plan of Gaborone 1963¹⁴

The first plan was made for 20,000 inhabitants¹⁵ (mostly government officials) with three zones for housing - low density (north), medium density (in the middle) and high density (south). The housing was polarized - rich and poor, with high and medium high incomes and low incomes, which will later be criticized by the first President S. Khama¹⁶.

The plan did not consider the possibility of expanding the new city, but if the number of inhabitants exceeded the planned figure, the plan was to build satellite settlements around Gaborone, which was well-connected to each other. The construction of the city began in mid-1964¹⁷. The first houses were ready to move in 1966. The workers who took part in the construction of the city were settling on the southern part of the town called Old Naledi, where they themselves organized a new settlement.

The rapid urbanization of the country and the arrival of the rural population into a new city have made the number of inhabitants increasing to 17718 already in 1971. The need for new housing zones has led to the creation of a new plan in 1971¹⁸ that will include the zones in the north of the existing city - Broadhurst III¹⁹. The next phase of growth will include the development of an informal settlement Old Naledi (1978). Further continuation of the rapid urbanization of the country brought the new expansion of the capital and the development of individual and collective housing in urban form²⁰ and the development of new plans for new territories. The aerial photos²¹ very clearly show the changes and development²² of the city.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR TAPOLOGO

By the plan from 1971 was planned extension the city to the north. The Government transforms the state land into building land. The map (Fig.2) shows an existing city, an extension to the north and the location of Tapologo and Tapologo Estate, located in Broadhurst III / Tsholofelo.

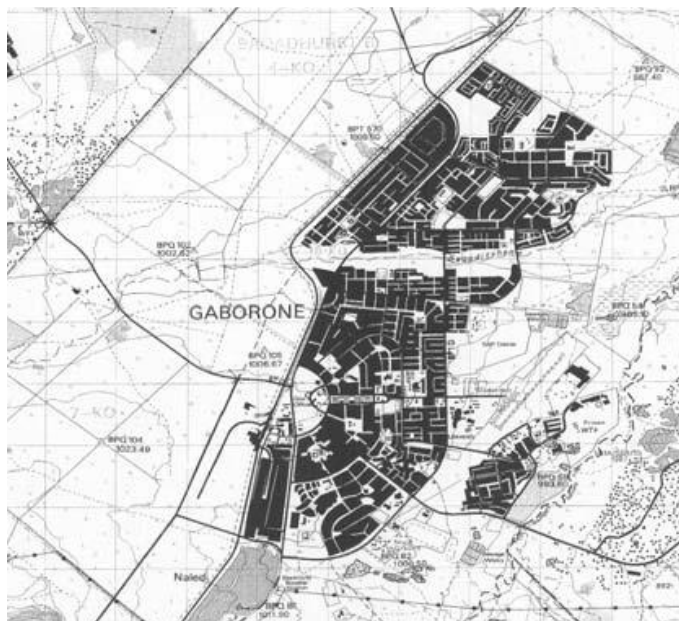


Figure 33. Gaborone in 1979/1980

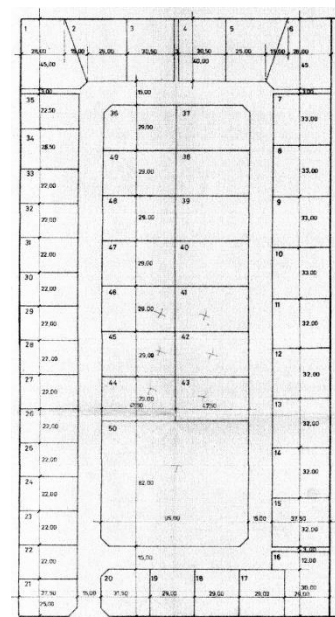


Figure 34. Plan of subdivision of Lot

10470

In the document “Tsholofelo (Broadhurst III) Residential development block - General Conditions”²³ the conditions of sale of land has been prescribed²⁴. The urbanization of this area began immediately in the early 1980s²⁵. Lot 10470 (Extension 40) became the property of Botswana Insurance company²⁶. The Plan for “subdivision of lot 10470 into 30 High Cost plots, 19 Medium Cost plots and 1 multi-residential plot (now known as Lot 13093) which was accommodate 18 duplex units”²⁷ was created in 1980. The project of subdivision had the name: Tsholofelo Development; Client was Botswana Insurance Company; the designer was Sego Projects. Plan is approved "In Terms of T. and C.P. Board" on 19.08.1980. This plan permits the construction of townhouses on one large plot (Figure 3). In the period from 1980 to 1983 most of Extension 40 was developed according to the approved plan, but plots 13085-13088 and 13093, in the middle of the location, remained empty. The next plan and design²⁸ for townhouses were made in April 1983 with 30 units²⁹. The project was named: Proposed townhouses; Client was Botswana Insurance Company; the designer was Sego Projects (Fig.4,5).

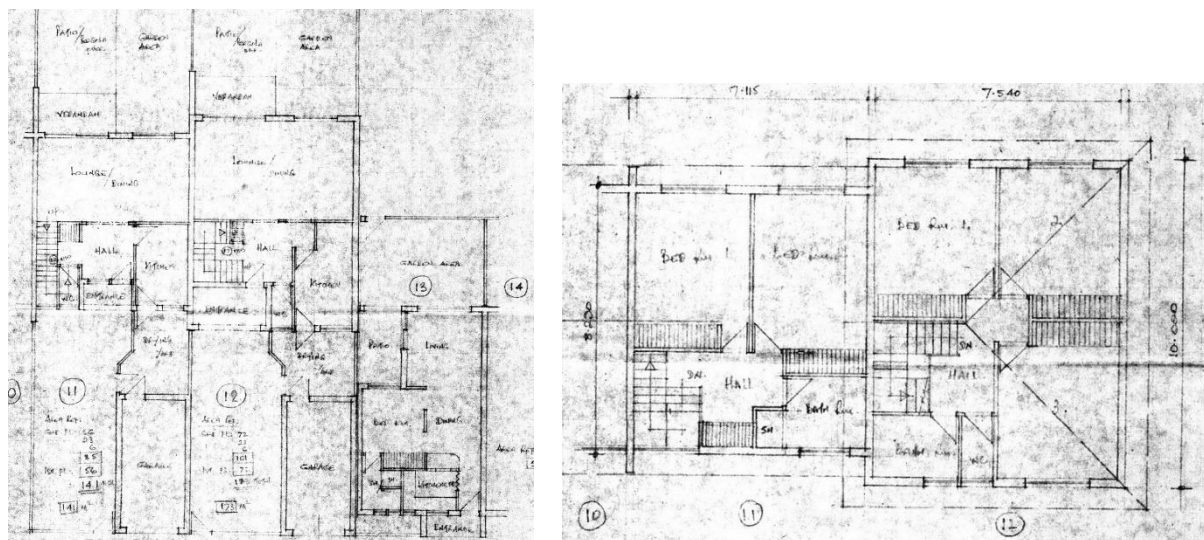


Figure 35. Plan for ground and first level, two and three bedroom townhouses

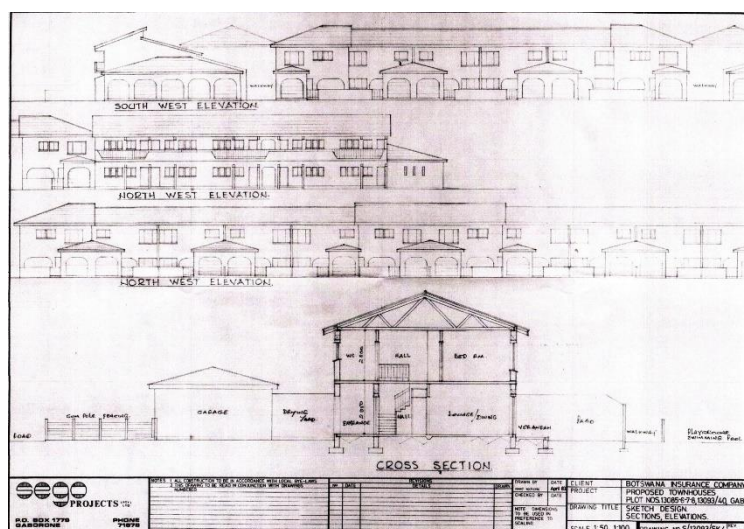


Figure 36. Facades and section

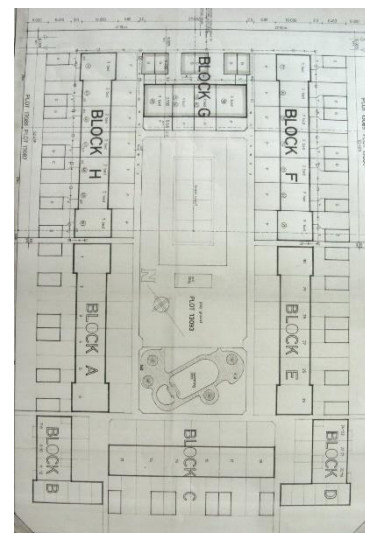


Figure 37. Plan with blocks

The plan was not approved at a meeting of the Town and Country Planning Board on May 25, 1983: „The present application be refused since only plot 13093 was designated for multi-residential use“³⁰. In November 4, 1983, the design bureau Sego Project submitted the project for Phase A, B, C, D and E to Gaborone Town Council for approval³¹. Construction of these blocks began in 1984³². In a letter dated April 11, 1984, Investor states: „Lots 13085-13088 and 13095 together comprise 1, 27 hectares and are situated in Extension 40. They form part of a block of land, some 7,7 ha in extent and formerly known as Lot 10470, originally sold by Government to Botswana Insurance Company as part of the Tsholofelo private developers block scheme. In the Condition of sale it was stipulated that 20% of the developable area could be used for Multi-Residential units (e.g. flats) with the remainder of the area being developed for individual High Cost plots“³³. The investor explains the reasons for his plan to build units on 4 locations along with the existing (previously approved) large plot: current market demands for small units and small gardens that are much more suitable in the current water crisis, units will be cheaper to maintain, the rents will be lower³⁴. The request shall include the following reasons:

„Additional multi-residential use would not set a precedent, would fit in well with surrounding single-family houses, and would not overload services (such as water and sewerage) in the area“³⁵. In letters dated August 22³⁶ and 27³⁷, 1985, BIC again explains the need to continue building on the next four locations where new townhouses “will be in harmony with entire development”³⁸. In November 1985, the design bureau Sego Project submitted the project for Phase F, G and H to Gaborone Town Council for approval³⁹ (Fig.6,7). January 16, 1987, Gaborone Town Council issued permission to use buildings.

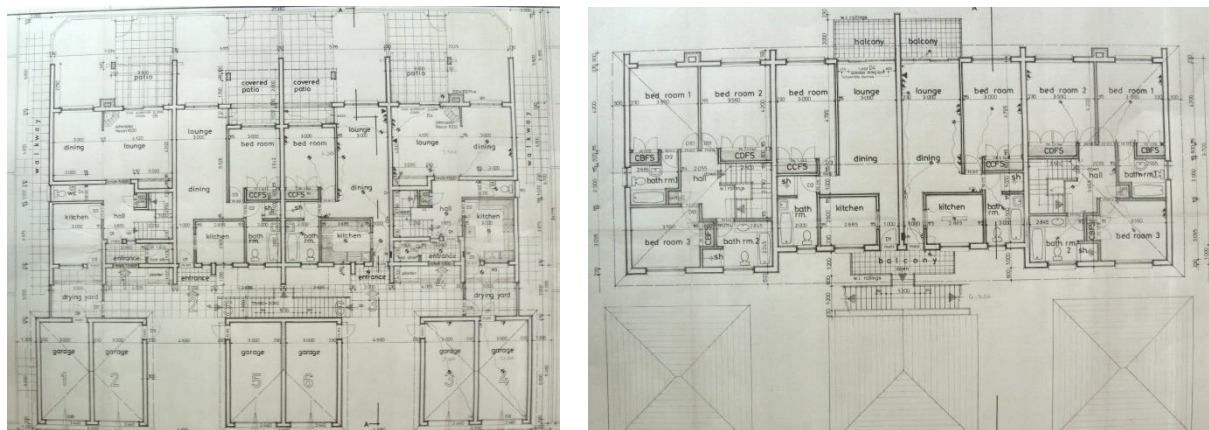


Figure 38. Block G, Ground and first floor

The client's correspondence with The Minister of Local Government and Lands shows first time the interest⁴⁰ in building two-level units⁴¹, to protect space and to increase the company's assets by building more units in a smaller space⁴².

Botswana Insurance Company (previously known as Botswana Life Insurance)⁴³ on 21.02.2006 has sold a complex. New owner becomes Turn Star Holdings Limited⁴⁴.

Urban concept of tapologo estate

Tapologo estate is the first built settlement of collective housing.



Figure 39. Tapologo (Extension 40) with Tapologo estate in the middle

In a circular street (called Masuathaga) private houses were built on the outer edge of the street, Tapologo estate in the central part and in the extension of the central part 5 private houses on both sides. A circular street with one entrance made this complex an intimate place of residence. Free spaces on both sides of the street and the width of the street, provide a sense of space; there is no peripheral wall that prevents the view. The picture of the place that inhabitant of this settlement has and which the visitor will bring, is an image that has elements of comfort⁴⁵. The edge or end of the settlement does not make a high peripheral wall, the view continues on the wall of the neighboring house and over it on the yards and roofs of the houses.

On the central part of the 13315m² areas⁴⁶, a closed complex of Tapologo estate was built. The complex consists of 8 double-storeys blocks. Each of the units has a garage and parking space. These blocks form a closed inner mutual courtyard with swimming pool, tennis court, green areas and areas for socializing. Two blocks (Block B and D; Figure 6) are consisting from 12 apartments with one bedroom. The ground floor apartments on the back have a private yard and the apartments on the first floor have balconies. A mixed block (G, Figure 6) in the middle of the last street, contains two townhouses and four apartments (two apartments on the ground floor and two apartments on the first floor), the same organization as the blocks B and D. Six blocks (A, C, E, F, H) comprise townhouses with 32 residential units with two and three bedrooms. Each of these units consists of bedrooms, living room, dining room, bathroom, guest toilet and kitchen. The kitchen has an exit to a small economic yard, connected with a garage. The bedrooms on the first floor have a nice view of the inner courtyard. Each townhouse has front and back yard.



Figure 40. Street, front yards with entrances



Figure 41. Private backyard and common yard by enclosed townhouses

The low fence and gates (Fig.9) separates the front private courtyard from public content - the parking lot and the street. The space between the street and the wall of the front yard (parking) is long around 9 m and 7 m wide. The private backyard (Fig.10) is an intimate yard with a high wall and a gate, and each yard is connected with a common inner courtyard. The same is closed and only residents of this settlement are allowed to use; this space is very actively used: swimming pool, tennis court, barbecue, children's playground ... There are two side service entrances to the inner yard serving to maintain the cleanliness. Decorative trees and shrubs create a very pleasant micro climate so that the houses are colder in summer for a few degrees. A similar urban concept is recognizable in the city matrix⁴⁷. The Urban Concept of Tapologo estate has no a perimeter wall along the edge of the street, which opens the perspectives and releases the space. Private courtyards and free space towards the street provide more enjoyable life and show that the residents' needs were taken into account⁴⁸.

Social life and security of the inhabitants

Overlapping content in a private and shared yard and in a closed street allows socialization of residents and very friendly relationships between the neighborhoods. The closed street provides a sense of security to the residents, so the space is very actively used for walks, children's play, socializing, and picnics. All of Tapologo's inhabitants participate in these activities⁴⁹.

The security of the inhabitants is a very important factor. The Tapologo Estate looks like a free open-type settlement, and it should be a safe neighborhood with two security rings - a security team at the entrance to the street and private houses on the outer edge of the street. Private houses (medium and high cost) have a high walled fence, electric fence and high gate. Houses are most often equipped with alarm devices, and often have private security.

The extent to which the concept of low fences and gates is comfortable for social life; there are so much safety issues in recent times. The street is open to all passers-by as it is public road, so the robberies have lately been more frequent than in other parts of the city. Given that the street is public, the City authorities do not allow the installation of a gate or ramp, which would give rise to a greater degree of security. The inhabitants self-organized themselves, followed suspicious cars, suspicious people who came in and reported on the common network about all unusual things.

Possibilities for a sustainable

During the construction of the houses solar water heaters are installed on roofs that are not in function for years. The owner of the complex has no desire to repair them. Electricity is expensive and imported. The buildings are wall-mounted with concrete bricks 230 mm thick, plastered on both sides, without thermal insulation; 5 cm thick thermal insulation layer is sometimes placed above the ceiling, sometimes not. The windows are made of metal, glazed with single glass. Since there is no thermal insulation and other structural elements are simplified, the thermal losses are very high; the comfort of housing is a big problem⁵⁰. Inadequate wall thickness, lack of thermal insulation and windows quality are major problems across the country. Energy is scattered on an expensive winter heating in winter and cooling in very hot summer months. Unfortunately, the awareness of the need for energy sustainability is poorly awake⁵¹. The use of solar energy for heating water, heating and cooling apartments and street lighting would help the sustainability of the settlement⁵². The concept of sustainability is not developed. Unfortunately, even smart technology is not presented in the settlement. Tenants have made online communication through smart phones so everyone is informed at all times about all the important things in the settlement and in the city.

Analysis and comparison with other settlements

Analyzing collective housing, there are two groups - collective housing financed by the government for their employees, professors and teachers, medical workers, police and army (mostly similar to the level of cost) and private companies that have built a collective housing of different levels of cost. Earlier buildings were built with a lower cost of construction, but as the need for a more comfortable life increased the level of quality of housing increased. Newly-built complexes of collective housing have a defined space enclosed by fences, a gate and a strict entrance control.

Three settlements were analyzed and compared.



Figure 42. Village, Ext. 15

Figure 11 shows a residential complex in Extension 15, Village. This is an example of the desire of the owner to extract as much economic gain from a narrow location as the result of townhouses with small rooms, a narrow street, and a high wall that encircles the settlement. The narrow street around the houses and the high wall near the apartments reduce the view, restricting the activities of the inhabitants. The inner courtyard is a space with paths leading up to the entrance, with several benches for socializing. The complete space and homes seem to have the only role to satisfy the basic need for housing (as a dwelling and shelter) without the desire to create a pleasant or recognizable characteristic. The poor owner's concern about the property has resulted in an image of current neglect. Listed elements of the urban solution lack of space and the necessary distance to ensure a more comfortable living of tenants.



Figure 43. Teemane Court, Ext. 27

Example Teemane Court, Extension 27 (Fig.12) is an example of a higher level of housing. The perimeter street is surrounded by a high wall with an electric fence. A spacious common courtyard with a swimming pool provides an advantage to tenants. Entrances are grouped for several houses and there is a very responsible entrance control service. The houses are well-built, with decorative elements on the facades and a combination of roofs from the front⁵³. On the west side are buildings with flats. This is an example of the good care of the owner of the property: a landscaped courtyard, quality masonry houses, and good maintenance of complete ownership, which brings benefits to the inhabitants. The observation of the urban concept would be small space left between the perimeter wall and houses, especially from the south-west side.

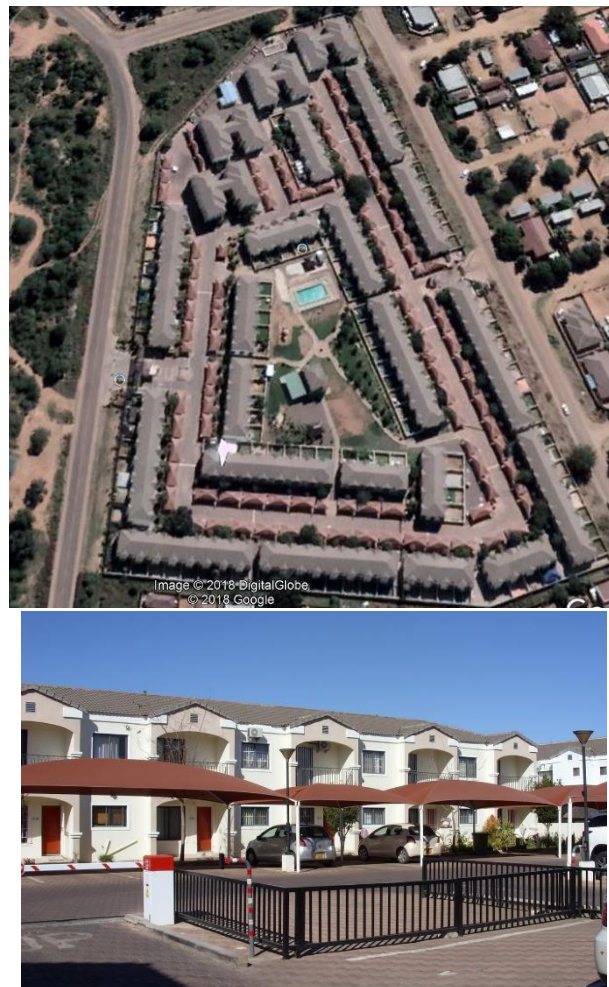


Figure 44. Louie Ville, Extension 37

The Louie Ville residential complex was built in Extension 37, block 8 (Fig.13). This is a newer residential complex built in two rings around the common yard. On the north side are buildings with apartments. Townhouses have private gardens on the back side, and on the street there are parking lots with carports for vehicles. A perimeter walls with an electric fence and a very responsible security service, provide residents with safety. Given that the recently built settlement, there is no the greenery which would provide the comfort of housing. The spaces for the socialization of the inhabitants are not defined; the private open spaces are narrow.

CONCLUSION

The first idea of building upstairs houses and townhouses has resulted with correspondence between the client and the Government⁵⁴. The concept of a settlement without a perimeter wall at the edge of the street opens the view of the environment, does not create the impression of the anxieties. The settlement provides intimacy, it is built to the extent of man, has enough space for family activities and for social gatherings⁵⁵. Greenery planted throughout the entire area creates a more favourable climate in the summer in times of great heat, and cleverly selected species provide a beautiful color during the year around. The width of the street space of 15 m (the distance between the perimeter walls of the plots) allows a nice view of the space and creates a pleasant feeling of spaciousness. The proportion of public and private space is in good extent.

The concept of an open settlement is a good form for collective housing and can be taken as a recommendation for future complexes. A low fence separates residents from public content, allows entry control and at the same time allows staying in the public space⁵⁶.

At the time of the construction of the Tapologo estate, it was probably not considered the safety of the inhabitants in the future⁵⁷. The involvement of city authorities in solving the security of the inhabitants would be helpful. If the gates were to be installed at the entrance to the settlement and the security team to control the entrance, this settlement could retain authenticity and the current look towards the street.

Given that this is the first settlement of collective housing with floor flats, that in the Tapologo estate this process started, this is a well-built example of collective housing, it is recommended to think about the valorisation of this space as a urban heritage.

NOTES

- ¹ Chandigarh, was made to a design by Le Corbusier, (it would be completed in 1966)
- ² Brasilia, the new capital of Brazil, was completed to a design by the architect Oscar Niemeyer
- ³ American architects Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin was selected and construction commenced in 1913
- ⁴ Islamabad was built during the 1960s. The city's master-plan, designed by Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis
- ⁵ The master plan of Astana was designed by Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa)
- ⁶ "as far as I know from old UK friends at the former Department of Surveys and Lands (S&L), UK planners from Harare and Pretoria made up a team at Public Works in Mafiking in 1962", Jan Wareus. *The planning history of Gaborone*. <http://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?aid=47719&dir=2014/november/28>
- ⁷ Botswana became an independent state on September 30, 1966
- ⁸ The former capital of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, Mafiking, has remained in the South African Republic
- ⁹ The city of Gaborone is named after Chief Gaborone of the Tlokwa tribe, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaborone>
- ¹⁰ The city's name was changed to 'Gaborone' from 'Gaborones' in 1969, and it was declared a city on the 1st July 1986
- ¹¹ „By 1963, a Master Plan had been prepared by the Public Works Department in Mafikeng“, Mosha, 1996
- ¹² „The design Concept of Gaborone was based on the Welwyn Garden City in the United Kingdom“, The Development Timeline of Gaborone, 2018
- ¹³ Gaborone Growth Study, February 1978
- ¹⁴ https://www.pahor.de/media/catalog/product/cache/1/pahor_original/9df78eab33525d08d6e5fb8d27136e95/6/5/65496.jpg
- ¹⁵ The limitation referred to the only source of water that was the dam at the time
- ¹⁶ „President Sir Seretse Khama had objected to the type of economic segregation used in the „garden city“ model of the first plan. This was found to be politically unacceptable, and he instructed the physical planners to come up with some more egalitarian proposals for the new areas to be planned in Broadhurst“, Mosha 1996
- ¹⁷ „Under the „Capital Project“, construction of the new town began in 1964, and the first Government buildings and housing were ready for occupation by February 1966.“ Gaborone Growth Study, DTRP Gaborone
- ¹⁸ Government commissioned consultant to prepare plans for the further expansion of the town. This report „Gaborone Planning Proposal“, by Wilson and Womersley predicted population of 40 000 by 1980 and 72 000 by 1990 and recommended that development take place north of the existing town (Broadhurst I) – Gaborone Growth Study, 1978
- ¹⁹ Later named Tsholofelo
- ²⁰ The expansion of the city has made condition to produce new plans and studies for the development of the city: developing a long term urban plan for the expansion of Gaborone to the year 2000 - Department of Town and Regional Planning (DTRP) in conjunction with John Burrow and Partners Consulting Engineers, 1978; new expansion area of Gaborone West and also establish its spatial relationship with the existing parts of Gaborone - the company of Sir Alexander Gibbs and Partners in 1979; review of the 1979 Structure plans in 1997 and in 2006
- ²¹ Department of Surveys and Mapping, Gaborone, Botswana
- ²² On aerial photo from 1966 a built-up center of the city was depicted; aerial photo from 1969 shows the built city on most plots according to the original plan; the aerial photo of 1975, the beginning of the expansion of the city towards the north is visible - the streets are marked on the north side of today's Nyerere Drive; and the aerial photo of 1976 shows the already built houses on that side. Ibid
- ²³ Conditions of sale – Tsholofelo (Broadhurst III) Residential development block, General conditions; DTRP
- ²⁴ Plots are sold through tenders and the lowest price for sale of plots is: "multi - residence dwellings – not less than P 150,000/ha, single family residences – not less than P 20,000 on the high cost plots". Ibid
- ²⁵ Sego Project – submitted plan of Subdivision of plots on lot 10492- Tsholofelo, Minutes of Town Planning Committee meeting, 03.12.1981, DTRP 7/23. Botswana National Archives and Records Services, Gaborone
- ²⁶ „In 1980 Botswana Insurance company submitted an application for the subdivision of lot 10470 into 30 High Cost plots, 19 Medium Cost plots and 1 multi-residential plot (now known as plot 13093(which was to accommodate 18 duplex units)“. BRIFING NOTE, 1984, page 2, DTRP, Gaborone
- January 14, 1981, Botswana Life Insurance Ltd has become land owner on the plots: 13093 (7765m²), plots 13085-13088 (2755m²) –Deeds Registry, Ministry of Lands and Housing, Gaborone, Botswana
- ²⁷ BRIFING NOTE, 1984, page 2

²⁸ sketch design

²⁹ Sketches taken with permission of DTRP, Gaborone, Botswana

³⁰ BRIFING NOTE, 1984, page 3

³¹ The design was approved 10.01.1984 from Gaborone Town Council

³² December 12, 1985, Gaborone Town Council gave permission to use buildings

³³ BRIFING NOTE, 1984, page 2

³⁴ If earlier planners were more concerned about preserving space and protecting it, this would bring great savings in space and fewer problems today, especially in traffic

³⁵ BRIFING NOTE 1984, page 3

³⁶ Letter from BIC to The Town Clerk, Gaborone Town Council

³⁷ Letter from BIC to Department of Town and Regional Planning, Gaborone

³⁸ Sego project, in letter dated August 28, 1985 to The Gaborone Town Council "Should you visit the site you will appreciate the aesthetic appeal the additional townhouses will add to the township as well as increasing the security and enhancing the community living in the existing townhouses"

³⁹ The design was approved 16.01.1986 from Gaborone Town Council

⁴⁰ „I would further recommend that the Honourable Minister consider advising the appellant to discuss further with Gaborone Town Council and Department of Town and Regional Planning a revised scheme which satisfied the requirement that Lots 13085-13088 be developed for single-family residences and Lot 13093 for an appropriate number of multi-residential units“, BRIFING NOTE 1984, page 5. DTRP, Gaborone

⁴¹ „This approach was subsequently supported by Recommendation 7.17 of the report of the Presidential Commission on Economic Opportunities adopted by Government in Government paper No. 2 Of 1982.“ BRIFING NOTE 1984, page 4. DTRP

⁴² The fact that the local population was not accustomed to living in multi-storey houses has conditioned the horizontal city. The city will retain the appearance of a horizontal city that is being broken by skyscrapers in business zones (CBD and Fairground).

⁴³ Deeds Registry, Ministry of Lands and Housing, Gaborone, Botswana

⁴⁴ The current owner of Turn Star Holdings Limited has been in the process of selling complexes to new owners these months

⁴⁵ Creating an image and elements of an image taken by a viewer will make this space pleasant or not and recognizable; Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*. 1960

⁴⁶ <http://turnstar.co.bw/portfolio/>

⁴⁷ a) a wall around property, a street around townhouses, townhouses and an inner common yard, or b) a wall around property, townhouses, street and / or no an inner courtyard

⁴⁸ The economic interest of the investor did not prevent the designer from making better quality living spaces

⁴⁹ Due to the constant presence of children on the street, the agreement is to drive in the street very slowly

⁵⁰ Like everywhere, most people want to spend as little money as possible and move as fast as possible to their homes.

⁵¹ The legislation did not solve the problem of energy efficiency of houses.

⁵² All listed should be the solution that will be offered by the owner of the complex (unfortunately there is no interest).

⁵³ Decorative elements on facades and interesting roofs are a favourite architectural element of most of the population.

⁵⁴ The later development of thoughts on urbanism has led to the idea of protecting space for other values and needs.

⁵⁵ a problem is the lack of children's playgrounds - children are now playing on the street

⁵⁶ The problem is created if someone wants what is yours

⁵⁷ Or it was believed that as a society we would progress in the wealth of thoughts and personal work.

SOURCES OF FIGURES

Figure 2 - Department of Surveys and Mapping, Gaborone, Botswana

Figure 3, 4, 5 - Department of Town and Regional Planning, Gaborone, Botswana

Figure 6, 7 – Gaborone City Council

Figure 8, 12 left – Google Earth, taken February, 2019

Figure 9, 10, 11 right, 12 right, 13 right – Author's images, taken August, 2018

Figure 11 left, 13 left – Google maps, taken August, 2018

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THE ASPECT OF HERITAGE IN THE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE POLICY DOCUMENTS. LESSONS FOR ESTONIA

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INTRODUCTION

”’Heritage’ is a frightening word for architects”, Tony Fretton said in his keynote speech at the conference *Tangible – intangible heritage(s)* in June 2018.¹ Quite usually architects consider heritage with its rules and restrictions as an obstacle for their creative work. Tony Fretton showed that heritage could be a source for inspiration, but also he was quoting to the ongoing opposition between architects and conservators. Conservators, from their side, are often depressed by too extravagant new architecture in valuable historical milieus.

There have always been immanent opposition between those who are creating new and those protecting the old. The last few decades have brought a fundamental ideological shift away from traditional concepts of heritage, introducing the new concept of intangible heritage, adopting an anthropological and landscape approach, recognising the cultural diversity. Heritage professionals have adopted the imperatives of sustainability and public participation.

Based on the ideas on European Landscape Convention (2000), UNESCO Vienna Memorandum *World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture: managing the Historic Urban Landscapes* (2005) most clearly stated the need for cooperation of all involved sectors: “The future of our historic urban landscape calls for mutual understanding between policy makers, urban planners, city developers, architects, conservationists, property owners, investors and concerned citizens, working together to preserve the urban heritage while considering the modernization and development of society in a culturally and historic sensitive manner, strengthening identity and social cohesion.”²

ICOMOS Quebec *Declaration on the preservation of the spirit of the place* (2008) identified the spirit of place and called for safeguarding of local people’s memory, vitality, continuity and spirituality,³ which assumed the sensitivity of architects working in historical places. It also pointed to the need for participatory practices. 2011 UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscapes* broadened the heritage concept with the landscape approach. UNESCO document *Managing Cultural World Heritage* from 2013 connected the sustainability with the aspect of participatory planning, stating that the spread of participatory planning reflects the growing perception of heritage as a shared property of communities and a factor in ensuring sustainability in those communities.⁴

The concept of sustainability has been addressed to all sectors, including architects and conservators. Preserving and adopting existing buildings for new use and smart re-use of existing architecture and stopping wasteful demolitions have been assigned in several European Union documents which have formed a solid base for a common platform for conservators and architects.

The widening concept of heritage caused the changes in the 1990s heritage policies in many European countries where object-centred approach and strict rules of heritage preservation were replaced with much open concepts of living heritage, historic urban landscapes and landscape-based approach. In England the need for heritage integration within the planning framework was emphasized. In France, heritage was connected more closely to tourism policy and regional development. In Germany the discussions arose about how to make heritage policy more dynamic and decentralised, and how to include local public and private stakeholders (*Denkmalpflegediskussion*).⁵

The Netherlands adopted Belvedere memorandum in 1999, which has been characterised as “a programme in which the national government defined the outline for a reform of the relationship between heritage and spatial planning. It was a response to the prevailing fragmented and defensive heritage management practice in the Netherlands. Prompted partly by Belvedere, a new form of heritage management developed in the Netherlands, focusing on issues of reuse.”⁶

At the same time the state architecture policies’ documents were adopted in most European countries. How the aspect of heritage was reflected in those documents, can we trace changes regarding the heritage while comparing earlier architecture policy documents to those of 2010s, and what state architecture policies can be models for Estonia – these are the main questions of this article.

EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE POLICY DOCUMENTS

French *Law on Architecture* 1977 is considered to be a first contemporary architectural policy document, the other countries followed in the 1990s: Netherlands (1991), Denmark (1996), Finland (1997), Sweden (1998), etc. Among newly joined EU countries, Estonia was the first to adopt Architecture Policy document (2002), Lithuania followed in 2005, Latvia in 2009. Most recent new state architecture policies were adopted by Portugal (2015), Czech Republic (2015), Hungary (2015) and Slovenia (2017).⁷

There are different types of architectural policy documents: legislation (France, Sweden), comprehensive policy (in majority of European countries) or sectoral policy. The initiative in developing state architecture policies came on behalf of architects. Their main aim was to ensure the quality of the new built environment. Depending of the administrative structure of the country, architects’ partners in developing the document were Ministries of Culture, Ministers of the Environment, and other administrative bodies.

For promoting architecture and architectural policies in Europe The European Forum for Architectural Policies (EFAP) was initiated in 1997. EFAP is an international network which aims to disseminate knowledge and best practice on architectural policies.

In many countries architecture policy documents have been regularly upgraded. The Netherlands has been in the forefront reviewing Dutch architectural policy regularly. The first was the document *Space for Architecture* in 1991, the last – *Working together on the Strength of Design. Action Agenda for Spatial Design 2017–2020* was adopted in 2017.

Also in France, United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and other countries the architectural policy has been reviewed several times. The changes in titles express the development from neutral to more pronounced focuses: *Building our Legacy: Statement on Scotland’s Architecture Policy* (2007), *Better Public Buildings: A proud legacy for the Future* (UK, 2000), *A Nation of*

Architecture (Denmark, 2007) and *Putting People first* (Denmark, 2014). Architecture policies of Sweden expressed the focus on design: *Forms for the Future* (1998) and *The designed environment: a new policy for architecture and design* (2015). Germany and Austria has focused on the concept of building culture (*Baukultur*).

THE ASPECT OF HERITAGE IN EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE POLICY DOCUMENTS

In 2012 EFAP published a Survey on Architectural Policies in Europe which covered 37 administrative structures from 33 European countries. The Survey brought up three main transversal policy dimensions: 1) promoting knowledge and awareness, 2) improving public building policies, and 3) encouraging sustainable development. Heritage was mentioned as the sub-context of the first objective: “Promoting education in architecture and heritage, and in the living environment, in particular through artistic and cultural education; helping to develop the economic growth and employment potential of architecture, as a creative, cultural industry.”⁸

Netherlands has been the leading country in developing state-level architecture policies. There has been a remarkable change in focuses. The first Dutch architecture policy document *Space for Architecture* (1991) addressed commissioning practices and improving the architectural climate, the second *Architecture of Space* (1996) broadened the policy to include urban development, landscape and infrastructure. The third, *Shaping the Netherlands (Architecture policy 2001–2004)* focused on the spatial quality on every scale.⁹ The changes in heritage management were brought together into the document called *Belvedere Policy Document* (2000–2009). Under the motto ‘conservation through development’, the Belvedere policy fostered a development-oriented approach that increased the prospects for maintaining the cultural heritage while enabling spatial planning to benefit from it. Important decision was to bring the Belvedere and the Architecture Policy documents together, in order to strengthen the influence of cultural history and heritage on spatial planning. It was done in 2005 under the title *Action Programme on Spatial Planning and Culture Architecture and Belvedere Policy 2005–2008*.¹⁰ Dutch architecture policies could be called exemplary in gradual integrating heritage into the contemporary architecture policy. The Dutch State architect (Rijksbouwmeester) is responsible for both, the development of contemporary architecture and planning, and the heritage preservation.

The heritage aspect has been depended of the administrative structure preparing the document. In some countries it was done in the heritage departments: France (General Direction of Heritage), Germany (Protection of the Architectural Urban Heritage, unit *Baukultur*) and Ireland (DoAHG: Built Heritage and Architectural Policy section in the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht), Sweden (Division for Cultural Heritage).¹¹ In those countries heritage is more integrated into architectural policy as it is especially exemplary in Ireland’s *Government Policy on Architecture 2009–2015*. Heritage is mentioned in the all three key objectives: 1) To provide a policy, legislative and administrative framework to protect architectural heritage as a national resource; 2) to promote increased public awareness and appreciation of architecture and our national built heritage, 3) to ensure the sustainable management of our built heritage resources.¹² Also in Scotland the heritage has widely brought into architecture policy document, despite of the fact that heritage management is regulated by special laws. In Denmark, the first architecture policy document *Dansk Arkitekturpolitik* (1994) concentrated on the architectural quality and architecture profession of the time. There was not much about heritage. In the last revised Danish architecture policy *Putting people first* (2014) cultural heritage has become important. Document states that more than half of all construction projects in Denmark consist of renovation and rebuilding projects. Heritage is seen as a springboard for new qualities and sustainable solutions. Heritage is brought into the state concern because of its importance for Danish people.¹³

Finnish Architecture policy document (1997) stated: “The core of national and local culture is the built environment, where buildings of different ages complement each other and are adapted to the natural surroundings. Thus is the cultural landscape born and thus develops a good built environment remaining good also in the future.[...] At its best, architecture is a combination of existing achievements and an on-going creative process”.¹⁴ There are special subdivision for heritage and program for its management. Along with Dutch model, Finnish architecture policy served as the main model for Estonian architectural policy document which was published in 2002, but the aspect of heritage in both was overlooked.

ESTONIA: HERITAGE LAW AND ARCHITECTURE POLICY DOCUMENT REVISED

Estonia is rich for its tangible and intangible heritage. Estonian Heritage List includes 25 000 protected monuments, more than 5 000 of them are architectural monuments. Tallinn medieval Old Town is included into UNESCO World Heritage List. Intangible heritage played an important role in the way to liberation in the late 1980s early 1990s. Estonian ‘Singing revolution’ was based on the tradition of Song Festivals which are included into UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Consolidated the nation during the independence movement heritage became an important part in Estonian state memory policy in the 1990s. At the same time the pressure of commercial architecture caused the upsurge of confrontation between architects and conservators. Demolitions and façadisms (retaining only the façade of historic building) challenged the historical architecture in Tallinn in the 1990s. Estonian Heritage Society reacted with awarding ‘Wrong Acton medals’ to new inappropriate buildings in the medieval Old town.

In 2002 new Heritage law was adopted in Estonia. In 2019 it has been replaced with the new one. It is extensively re-conceptualised taking into account of European Landscape convention principles and other documents.

Estonian Architecture Policy was dated with the same year as Heritage Law – 2002. It was compiled by the Estonian Architects’ Association and promoted architectural quality as the main priority. Heritage was briefly mentioned in the introduction and in one of the subdivisions. In general new architecture was clearly dominated.

Seeking the example of Dutch *Rijksbouwmeester* the establishment of the post of the State Architect has been discussed in Estonia more than ten years now. As mentioned above, Dutch *Rijksbouwmeester* is also in charge of heritage conservation, but in Estonian heritage is excluded from the duties of the State architect.¹⁵

Keeping contemporary architecture and heritage in clearly separated campuses hardly can benefit to the growth of synergy and cooperation between architects and conservators. The mentality of architects of “being better” than heritage protection authorities is causing continuous misunderstandings and conflicts. “Planners look to the future, citing historical stories mainly as an introduction to plans. Rather than making a clear case for continuity between past and future, in many cases this is merely suggested. Physical traces of the past also receive little attention”¹⁶ – this description can be used for describing the situation also in Estonia.

The need for efforts from both sides is also advisable: “Few scholars have identified what planners and preservationists (and those who do both) can learn from one another [...]. Planning scholarship can benefit from understanding how preservation has changed in tandem and in relation to planning. Preservationists can gain much from incorporating contemporary planning theory.”¹⁷

It is clear that policy documents cannot automatically change the situation. But seeing common goals and formulating the mutually beneficial strategies in the documents would surely contribute to the

improvement of cooperation. It is topical to remind it again and again for there is a new document of Estonian architectural policy under preparation with more wide focus of Estonian spatial development. By no doubt, the spatial development cannot exclude heritage.

CONCLUSION

In 2017 the EFAP conference on European architecture policies took place in Estonia. Leo Van Broeck, The Flemish Government Architect, suddenly made a joke: “What is the difference between heritage consultant and terrorist? With the terrorist you can still consult.”¹⁸

The joke called a laugh in the audience. Unfortunately, it also revealed the architects’ continuously problematic attitude to heritage even among those architects who are responsible for policy making. The questions remains: is heritage an endless battlefield?

The world is witnessing the growth of integration of fields and interdisciplinary holistic approach in order to follow the common imperative of sustainability. The strengthening of the holistic approach is giving hope for emerging of a common understanding also between planners and conservators, among other stakeholders.

The Declaration of the conference of Ministers of Culture in Davos in 2018 stated that the cultural heritage and contemporary creation must be seen as a single entity, which constitutes the cultural value of the built environment. “The on an all-encompassing *Baukultur*, which views the maintenance and preservation of cultural heritage and the comprehensive design and planning of the built environment as a single entity and which raises cultural expectations regarding the appearance of our built environment, can build on the ongoing international discussion, both in terms of cultural heritage and of current planning, design and construction, and set a new course in this respect.”¹⁹

European Architecture policies revealed the different scopes of inclusion of heritage into contemporary architecture policy documents. It has been in the forefront in smaller countries as Netherlands, Ireland, Scotland for heritage inseparably belongs to the national identity. As the main concept of sustainability the concern about heritage has been deepened in revised architecture policies.

The development of participatory planning consist wide potential for listening different opinions, well described in Danish revised architecture policy.

Stressing the need for holistic approach Dennis Rodwell wrote: „The holistic approach to the conservation of historic cities places conservation shoulder-to-shoulder with sustainability and prioritizes the avoidance of conflict. It seeks common-ownership of a vision and working framework that is co-ordinated across the diversity and multiplicity of disciplines and players in urban management and urban life. In short, it demands joined-up thinking and joined-up working, all from a core that integrates best practice in both sustainability and conservation.”²⁰

The need to avoid conflicts and develop cooperation is especially important for smaller European countries with their limited financial and human resources, such as Estonia.

NOTES

- ¹ Tony Fretton, “Spaces make Heritages” (keynote presentation at the conference ‘Tangible – intangible heritage(s) – design, social and cultural critiques in the past, present and the future’, University of East London /AMPS, June 13, 2018). Author’s notes.
- ² UNESCO Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture. (Paris: UNESCO, 2005). Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-15ga-inf7e.pdf>
- ³ ICOMOS Québec City Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place. (Québec, 2008). Accessed August 26, 2018). <http://orcp.hustoj.com/2016/06/26/quebec-city-declaration-on-the-preservation-of-the-spirit-of-place-2008/>
- ⁴ UNESCO Managing Cultural World Heritage. (Paris: UNESCO, 2013). Accessed April 4, 2017. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/managing-cultural-world-heritage/>
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THE EMERGING FORM OF THE URBAN PLAN AND URBAN SPRAWL IN DUBAI

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INTRODUCTION

Dubai has grown from an urban sprawl to one of the most noticeable cities and locations in the world. This could be attributed to a series of factors and reasons that have been taken into effect and consideration in the recent past. Earnestly, the development agenda and growth pattern of Dubai was initiated on the basis of a static and progressive vision alive to the growing needs and demands of the global audience. According to *Tonkiss* (2014), in the initial stages, the sprawl was a subject of individual businesses and people who designed their properties and estates according to their will and wealth. However, when the visionary leaders took the reins of leadership, their plans and visions were directed toward achieving global reputation and acclaim. The baseline of the vision was a multifaceted approach that was aimed towards incorporating the cultural principles and realities with the architectural designs. Through the various transformation that occurred over the years, Dubai had to rebrand and remarket itself as a prospective investment and relaxation destination. In a nutshell, most people around the world rely on the geopolitical standing and will of a nation or city to decide whether or not they would invest or visit it. Thus, the cultural rules had to conform to the global threshold and standards to appeal to a wider audience and market. It implies that the cultural, religious, architectural and societal designs of Dubai had to conform and be configured to the international best practices. The implication is that the prospective investors and customers did not have any difficulty or grumbling in moving to Dubai to either invest or tour because the cultural and societal standings are similar and fair or reasonable. (*Golzari and Fraser, 2013*)

The aim of this paper is to expansion a richer understanding of the contemporary urban development of Dubai City by shade the light of the urban development element, contract a richer understanding of the contemporary urban development, while focusing on the decisions made by those visionary leaders that led the city to adopt its current urban identity.

DUBAI CITY: CULTURAL AND URBANISTIC BACKGROUND

*Figure 2. ©Mai Alhasawi 2017. Lieutenant R. Cajon Map
Dubai Museum/Dubai/ UAE*

The British colonies and oil exploration in the UAE

In 1903 John Gordon Lorimer was a member of the Indian Civil Service serving in the North-West Frontier Province. In 1914, he completed *The Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia*. Lorimer (1908) appointed Dubai as (Dibai) in the Gazetteer. He wrote that Dibai had extended to three small areas. First in Deira, there were an estimated 1,600 houses situated among palm trees. Deira was a mixed population of Arabs, Baluch, Iranians, and Indians. There were also about 350 shops or businesses in the markets dating back to 1850, which are spread along the banks of the creek between residential houses in a schematic mix of architectural elements. Second is Bur Dubai, it consisted of 200 houses, 50 shops and offices and Al Fahidi Fort that built in 1787. This neighbourhood was occupied by Indians. Last is Al Shandaqah neighbourhood on the other side of the creek consisted of 250 houses occupied by Arabs and Baluch. The buildings were made of lime rocks, mud brick, and palm tree fronds. Lorimer estimated the population of the city at the beginning of the 20th century to be made up of about 10 thousand people. He noted that Dubai was one of the biggest ports in the region and that the ships used to come to it regularly.

The first phase of urban growth was slow and natural, started from 1935 with limitation of development in economic activity and slow population growth. According to *Golzari and Fraser* (2013), in the 1940s, the strength of the local desire in the Gulf countries to modernize the material fabric for the architecture development encouraged the western architects to work in the region. According to *Damlūji* (2008) In the 1950s, the British Government was responsible for some additional construction on the coast of Dubai to build new houses, schools, and offices for its representatives. The British designers started their way during the 1950s when the competitions for the architect-designer began to appear in Britain for work in the Gulf states. It inspired many young British architects fresh graduated from architectural schools such as the husband and wife team of John R. Harris and Jill Rowe in 1958, they were involved to produce a plan to design six hospitals in Dubai. They created the first plan for developing the architecture building in Dubai.

The establishment of the UAE and the ruler's visions 1971-2006

In 1971, the different Emirate states came to an agreement on forming a union and UAE was established. That driving forces to developing the city after the discovery of oil in 1966. A new phase began at the start of the 1970s. The urban area expanded with re-organisation plan for the city. During 1975-1985 the urbanization becomes a prominent manifestation; the urban development was greater than the last

twenty years comes as a result of massive economic growth that required increased on infrastructure and manpower for implementation of large numbers of projects. in the 1990s, the change in global economic activities, increasing technological changes and the liberation of trade have all contributed to the increase in multi-national production, trade and services.

Since the millennium started shows a picture of urban transformation in Dubai with the transitional globalizes in the worldwide. The changing role of Dubai itself was guided by the economic growth from an oil-dependent to an entrepreneurial and tourist-based economy. the urban development in that period entered a new phase of globalization with the cooperation of tourism business growth which led the growth of urban sprawl.

Findings & analysis: Revealing Factors that Influenced Dubai City's Urban Development

Starting point (Forming the First Map of the City)

Figure 13: Dubai Map 1822 L.Cogan In 1822, a British Naval Surveyor Lieut.t R. Cogan was the first to draw an illustration for Dubai Map (Figure 3) Cogan took the time to jot down a description of Dubai. He found a thousand-people living in an oval-shaped town ringed by a mud wall. The site was barren, barely clinging to a low peninsula just a few feet above the waterline. The map he sketched show three watchtowers poking up above a wall with several breaches. Two small groves of date palms grew outside the wall, harbouring the town's only freshwater wells. Dubaians lived in huts of thatch or mud. (J. Krane, 2009).

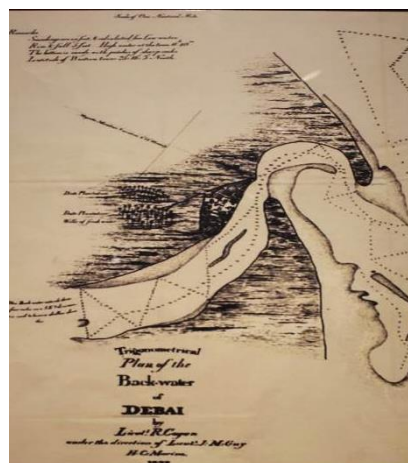


Figure 3. ©Mai Alhasawi

2017.

Lieutenant R. Cajon Map
Dubai Museum/Dubai/ UAE

First vision of the leaders

in 1960 was the first Urban master planning in Dubai made by John Harris (Elshehtawy, 2010) when Sheikh Rashid Bin Saeed Al Maktoum agreed to establish the first systematic planning with new vision for Dubai city (figure 4). Harris conceived the master plan to develop Dubai (figure 5) by the fundamentals such as the road system, map, and directions for the future growth. This plan accepted according to the logic and economies of the existing settlement in that time which it before oil in 1966, proposed a road system that contacts the old town into Dubai's future growth. in John's master plan,

there is no demolish the old city or impose preconceived ideas form, the planning strategy was aimed to achieve more efficiency in the land use by increasing business activities after the construction of several high rise building in the (CBD) central business district. that form to achieve more efficiency in land use in Dubai city. (Harris, 1971)



Figure 4. John Harris and Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum



Figure 5. The Harris Master Plan

Source: Architectural heritage and antiquities department/ Dubai/ UAE

The first master plan was drawn up based on a hypothesis without an appropriate information survey and require detailed information. Thus, there was recommending drawn up to conduct of a general census of the population, the usage of land, the traffic movements, and properties details. The essential features of the first master plan which the flexibility and build connections between the all the parts of the city by the road network. However, it was very difficult to maintain the plan because the city was undergoing continuous rapid growth and quickly gaining in prosperity. This caused the Dubai Municipality to review and modify the plan in 1971.

When Dubai become a city (Second Master Plan)

The main reason for preparing the second vision of John Harris's Dubai Master Plan 1971 was the unexpected growth in economic, social and population aspects in Dubai city. The focus in the 1971 plan (figure 6) was on finding solutions to the problems experienced in the traffic system because of the economic and population growth. Harris's second plan focused on resolving immediate problems and making some suggestions in line with the expansion of urban Dubai. according to *Ghunaim*, (1993), The alteration had been made to allocated land for future purposes, identified residential areas, the road system, and traffic circulation. the most prominent proposals in the plan were linking the main to parts of the city Shandighah with Deira and the proposal to the constructal Qarhoud bridge as a link between the city of Sharjah and Abu Dhabi without needing to pass the centre of Dubai. In addition, there was Recommendations were made to further develop Dubai's airport and the seaports, in anticipation of economic prosperity and population growth.

According to *Elsheshtawy* (2010), The updated plan of 1971 included a tunnel and two bridges across the Dubai Creek and the vision for Port Rashid. The zoning areas from the original master plan were increased in size while new zoning areas such as health, education and leisure arose. Additionally, the landmark World Trade Center was designed by John Harris himself and was the tallest building in the Arab world from 1979(its opening) until 1999

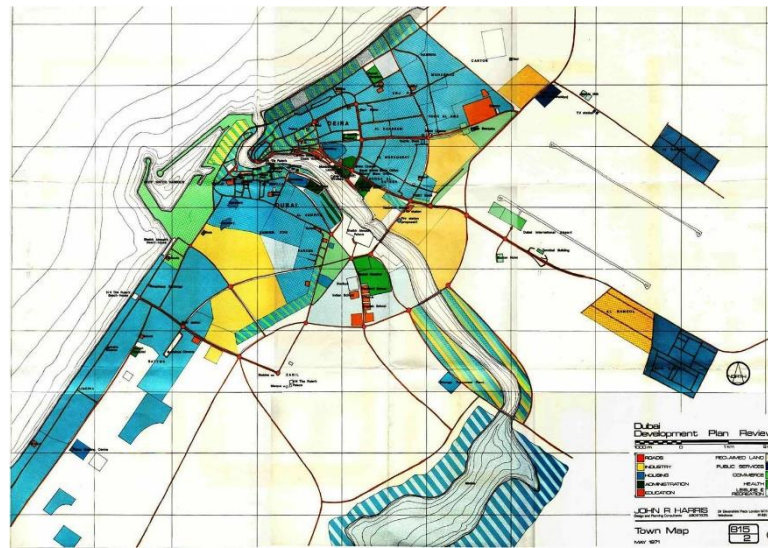


Figure 6. John Harris's Dubai Master Plan 1971

Source: Architectural heritage and antiquities department/ Dubai/ UAE

According to *Ghunaim* (1993), the advantages of this plan benefited larger areas more like the first plan. Thus, presented a practical suggestion to solve the immediate and future difficulties of the city. However, the plans were focusing on the existing difficulties in the city at that time, there were not able to completely solve all future problems. Because of expected growth, the fast-urban expansion of Dubai in the mid-seventies led to more complex difficulties in the allocation of living quarters, traffic and industrial areas, and confusion in the use of land in some places in the city. This, therefore, paved the way for the implementation of the new plan in 1985.

Growing the urbanism (Third Master Plan)

In the 1980s, the city demanded new re-organisation plans to face new requirements and unexpected difficulties. This plan was put forward by Doxiadis Associates in 1985 (Figure 7) considered on a more comprehensive plan for future, the plan focused on a deep and comprehensive study of all the natural and human elements in the Dubai. Starting with a survey of the prevailing conditions in Dubai's rural and urban environment was based on information, detailed maps, reports, and aerial photographs to ensure the evaluation of the present condition of the human and natural resources of the emirate. The survey also estimated the possibility of acquiring resources for industrial, agricultural and urban development over the next twenty years, with the intention of using them in an ideal way (*Doxiadis*, 1985).

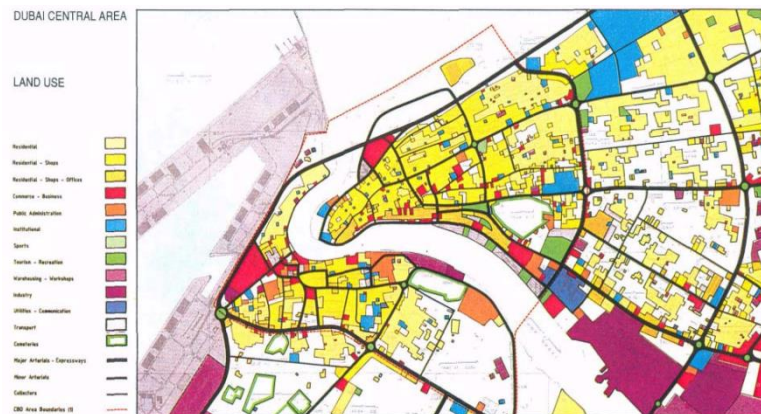


Figure 7. the Doxiadis Associates plan in 1985

Source: Architectural heritage and antiquities department/ Dubai/ UAE

The strategic plan of urban growth (The Base Plan)

With the population of Dubai growth of over 300% in 20 years, the Dubai Municipality prepared a 20-year plan The Dubai Structural Plan (Figure 8), which started in 1993 and kept developing to 2012. The plan was considered as a strategic base for the growth of the urban development for Dubai city, containing a complete policy for urban zone development. the plan divided Dubai into nine major sections, five of which were in the city of Dubai. The plan aimed to be flexible and adapt well to changes. It created a grid network of roads which can be seen in the form of the city today. Additionally, it also created a grid network of roads which can be seen in the form of the city today. ‘Spatial Growth Alternatives’ are developed into the plan, allowing for flexible extensions of zones and the creation of new nodes. There were concepts for green corridors, connections to the water, and other sustainable features that were not realized. Mixing the nationalities among residential districts was also proposed via policies encouraging 75/25, local/expatriate living in residential areas and relocating nationals to the inner-city (Elsheshtawy 2010).

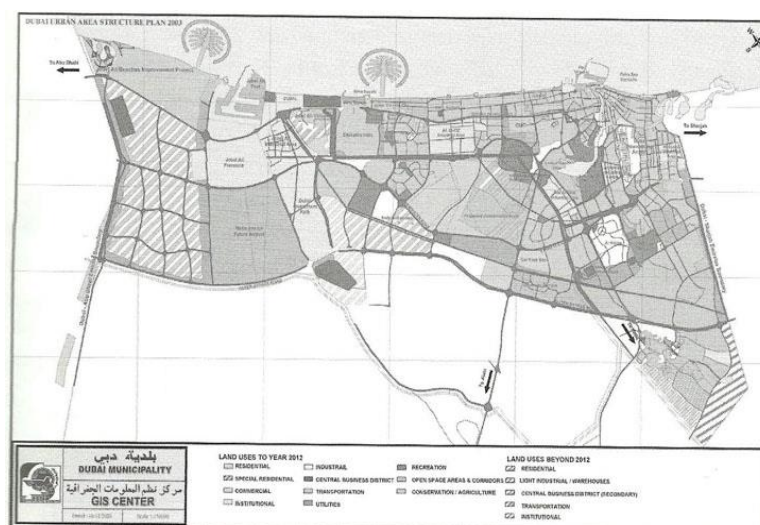


Figure 8. The Dubai Structural Plan

Source: Architectural heritage and antiquities department/ Dubai/ UAE

Future vision (Future Plans)

From 2007, the Australian Firm URBIS has been working on the Dubai Urban Development Master Plan-2020 (Figure 9, 10). In October 2011, The Dubai Executive Council (DEC) approved the Masterplan. In same time, Dubai Municipality has announced that it will establish a ‘Supreme Urban Planning Council’ to streamline the urban and environmental planning process. There are three key modules for the 2020 master plan, a vision for Dubai, an integrated city and regional development planning framework and a legal and institutional framework. (*Dubai Municipality- Dubai 2020 Urban Master Plan*)

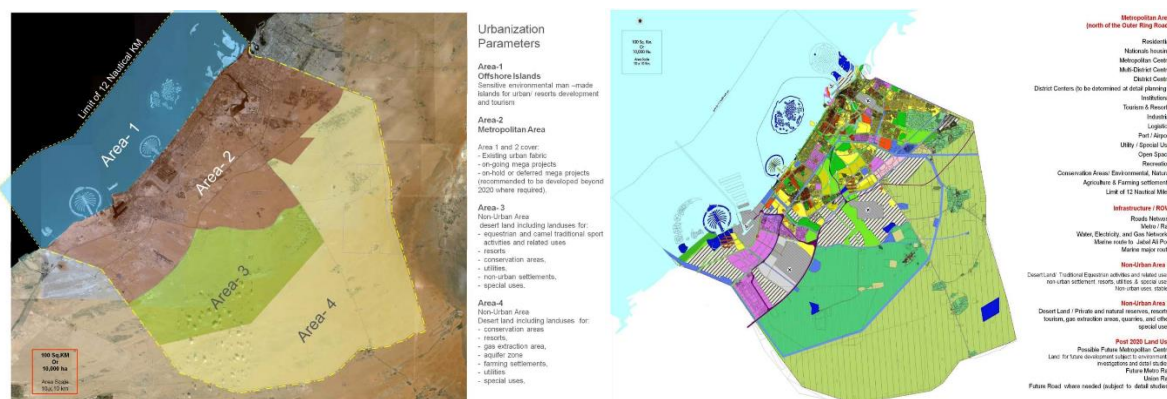


Figure 9, 10. Dubai Urban Development Master Plan-2020
Source: Dubai Urban Development Master Plan 2020 Report
Architectural heritage and antiquities department/ Dubai/ UAE

According to *Elsheshtawy* (2010) The vision hopes to improve social, economic and environmental sustainability by directly addressing transportation, housing affordability, culture integration and waste management; the first plan to mention any of these key issues. The opening of the world's largest automated metro system in September 2009, currently operating 2 of its planned 5 lines is a glimpse towards a sustainable, connected Dubai.] However, there is limited information available about the 2020 plan and its secrecy is unsettling, especially in contrast to The Abu Dhabi Plan 2030 that has been made available to the public for review and comment.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Briefly, it can be asserted that Dubai, amongst other cities in the region, represents the urban plans development in the way it represents the developed the city over the decades. this is because the rapidly developed from tiny merchant societies in Dubai to flourishing commercial hubs mainly depending on the revenue of the oil. the development of the urban plan in terms of modernization and wealth has got its consequence on the social and economic social structure and it results in creating urban environments which are fragmented Suitable for a rapid community and economic development in Dubai. The paper showed that the first and second plans didn't work with the applied survey, data and information Must be met for plan needs. hence, the following urban plans development included according to the data and information appropriate to the local environment of Dubai through varying time periods for the design of urban plans.

The key factors that influenced the urban development of Dubai City started with the first plan in 1960, The first master plan was drawn up based on a hypothesis without an appropriate information survey and require detailed information. Secondly, the main reason for preparing the second vision of John

Harris's Dubai Master Plan 1971 by Harris was the unexpected growth in economic, social and population aspects in Dubai city. After that, the third plan in 1985 by Doxiadis Associates, focused on a deep and comprehensive study of all the natural and human elements in the Dubai, starting with a survey of the prevailing conditions in Dubai's rural and urban environment was based on information, detailed maps, reports, and aerial photographs to ensure the evaluation of the present condition of the human and natural resources of the emirate. Containing comes the strategic plan of urban growth, that cover the period of 1993-2012, as a complete policy for urban zone development. the plan divided Dubai into nine major sections, five of which were in the city of Dubai. The plan aimed to be flexible and adapt well to changes. At last, the Dubai Urban Development Master Plan-2020 by The Dubai Executive Council (DEC) and Dubai Municipality, this plan have three key modules for the 2020 master plan, a vision for Dubai, an integrated city and regional development planning framework and a legal and institutional framework. The vision hopes to improve social, economic and environmental sustainability by directly addressing transportation, housing affordability, culture integration and waste management.

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HERITAGE RELOADED

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INTRODUCTION

These are confusing times in the field of heritage and its preservation: while some structures are perceived worthy of preservation, others, with equal claim to attention, face a rather different fate.

In 2006, the *Palast der Republik* in Berlin was demolished, despite its being a historic and integral symbol within the context of Germany's reunification process. The year 2017 saw the start of the demolition of Robin Hood Gardens—a residential settlement in London designed in the late 1960s by architects Alison and Peter Smithson—while at the same time the Victoria & Albert Museum was salvaging a three-storey section of the settlement for display in its museum.

More recent buildings have also experienced a surprising fate, such as the house in Bordeaux designed by Rem Koolhaas between 1994-1998. In 2002, just four years after the building had been completed, it was listed under the protection of France's *Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques*.

The concept of heritage has been developing over the past centuries as a result of historical and cultural transformations based on the ever-changing value systems recognized and shared by different groups of people. The constant extension of its notion and the many ways in which the term is used bear witness to the increasing relevance that it still plays today.

HERITAGE BETWEEN CONSERVATION AND TRANSFORMATION

Despite the late medieval origin of the term heritage,¹ the sense in which it is used today is essentially modern and derives from the social and cultural transformations that took place in Europe following the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century.

The very first phases of the process of institutionalizing the idea of heritage and conservation dates back to the Renaissance, when for the first time ever the interest in Antiquity on the part of scholars and intellectuals could be seen in the collecting of artworks and/or cultural masterpieces and in the philological documentation of ancient monuments from the Greek and Roman periods, according to selection criteria based on the value of the uniqueness and aesthetic quality of the object/building and the time and place of its finding.

The rediscovery of Classical Antiquity between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which occurred in Italy first, and across Western Europe later, was essential to the development of an interest in ancient monuments, in pursuit of the values underlying Renaissance humanism, such as beauty, harmony, dignity, and elegance.

However, in that period, this interest was basically driven by the idea of examining and cataloguing ancient sites and monuments rather than focusing on their conservation.

In the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the archaeological excavations that took place at Stonehenge and for other megalithic monuments in England, followed by the ones carried out in Italy in the ancient towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum had a huge impact throughout Europe, strengthening the idea(l) of beauty along with the institution of the first modern museums.

The collapse of the Old Regime in the aftermath of the French Revolution paved the way for a new social order in need of a new set of values that would also include the concept of heritage. The concept especially evolved during this period, until it was conceived as a collective public good as well as an economic value that the term itself includes and that is still valid today.²

The many acts of devastation that occurred during the French Revolution led the new State to develop and adopt the first legislative acts aimed at public engagement in the field of the conservation of its own heritage, such as the establishment of *La Commission des arts* in 1793; the first official census on “l'état des monuments survécus à la Révolution” in 1810; the establishment of specific bodies such as the *Inspector général des monuments historiques* in 1830 and the *Commission des Monuments historiques* in 1837; the law of 3 May 1841 on expropriation for public utility.³

Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, prominent figures and theoreticians debated on the concept of heritage and its conservation, leading to heated opinions such as the ones expressed by John Ruskin and Viollet-le-duc. In 1849, in “The Lamps of Memory”—one of the seven parts in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*—Ruskin theorized his romantic and non-interventionist approach towards ancient ruins, pointing out how restoring “it means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed”.⁴

Ruskin conceived ruins as an expression of a joint act between cultural time and natural time and that as a result is untouchable: the passage of time ‘marks’ the building, it becomes a key element of the architecture itself, and thus bestows it with the natural right to die.

Viollet-le-duc, on the other hand, considered as being legitimate all the interventions aimed at restoring an ideal formal unity typical of the style of the monument through a method of inductive analysis and interpretive reconstruction based on comprehensive knowledge and the documentation of the building. Viollet-le-duc himself explains his position in the *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, affirming that “to restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which could never have existed at any given time”.⁵

An intermediate position, developed by Camillo Boito in the late nineteenth century and at the basis of the so-called scientific restoration studies, expresses the principle of a critical approach that makes a distinction between different layers of intervention, and avoids style remakes, or, at least, advocates the need for them to be recognizable, if implemented.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the seminal essay *The Modern Cult of Monuments. Its Character and Its Origin* written by the Austrian art-historian Alois Riegl represented an attempt to speculate on the monument issue in Western culture, becoming the first and most accurate statement of values-based preservation. “The meaning and significance of a monument are not up to the works by virtue of their original destination; rather we, the modern subjects, are those who attribute that meaning and significance to them”.⁶

For Riegl, the cult of different values towards heritage is culturally linked and defined by time and place, depending upon which values a community attributes to the historical monument that, according to Riegl's own definition, is unintentional and gains its value *a posteriori*.

The clash on the concept of heritage and conservation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century then led to significant formulations by scholars and theoreticians, whose contributions helped to define the Athens Charter—adopted at the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Athens in 1931—whose historicist principles were reaffirmed later, in the Venice Charter, in 1964.

The latter still represents an international frame of reference for scholars working in the field of conservation; however while still enjoying authority and prestige for its rigour and clarity, its shortcomings reported in the second half of the twentieth century triggered a heated debate that is still ongoing today.

HERITAGE IN THE GLOBALIZED AND CROSS-CULTURAL WORLD

The concept of historic monument and heritage were investigated in-depth in the 1990s by the French architectural and urban historian and theorist Françoise Choay in her seminal book *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. In it, from the very beginning she declares her debt to Alois Riegl to whom she particularly refers when she makes the distinction between the notion of ‘monument’—unintentional and whose value is attributed *a priori*—and the ‘historic monument’—intentional and with *a posteriori* value. Her book, a meticulous investigation of the social construction of the notion of the historic monument and the institutionalization of the practice of building conservation, begins with her definition of heritage, “Patrimoine: ‘inherited property passed down in accordance with the law, from fathers and mothers to children’; in English: patrimony, inheritance, or, more closely, heritage. This elegant and very ancient word was originally linked to the familial, economic and legal structures of a stable society, rooted in space and in time. Modified by a variety of adjectives (genetic, natural, historic) that have rendered it a ‘nomadic’ concept, it has now embarked on a new and much mediated career”.⁷ While advocating the recovery of what she calls the ‘competence to build’—the skill and efforts that modern individuals should pour into any act of building that is a creative one—she points out that the concerns about this process trigger some cultural defenses, such as the cult of the past, created deliberately to disguise this anxiety. In the epilogue of her book she states that historic preservation should be interpreted as man’s narcissistic response to a sense of loss of identity at the dawn of the twenty-first century: “uncertain of the direction in which science and technology are leading him, seeking a path on which they might liberate him from space and time in order to be differently and more creatively immersed in them”.⁸

The international institutionalization of the concept of heritage, the expansion of the corpus of works worthy of being preserved to other cultures around the world through the globalization of Western Europe’s values and references, and the growing impact of what Robert Hewison calls the ‘heritage industry’,⁹ have exacerbated the aforementioned anxiety.

A reference here to UNESCO’s bodies, activities and legislative acts can be deduced. The World Heritage Convention of 1972—among the treaties ratified by UNESCO concerning the protection of cultural and natural heritage the one that is still the most complete and widespread—is in fact the main outcome of an international effort for the expansion of the notion of heritage to the whole planet, including, over the past decades, much more varied pieces of cultural and natural sites not taken into consideration before, such as structures of vernacular architecture, landscapes, and industrial archaeology.

The case of some industrial buildings and sites is emblematic, and it indicates how the evolution of the notion of heritage is culturally linked to time and place. These sometimes forgotten structures were perceived as a mirror of that industrialization process whose social cost was conceptually problematic and, at the same time, were not recognized as worthy of being preserved assets, having hosted

productive and technical activities that deviated from the ideal of a culture based on humanistic principles.¹⁰

Moreover, in some societies such as the ones in Asia and Africa, the notion of cultural and natural heritages are tightly intertwined, with no separation of the kind that one may perceive in Western cultures. Again, in some countries like Japan there is a very different understanding of what should be considered as permanent at all. The Japanese Metabolism in the 1960s is an expression of a tradition founded on the idea that eternity could pass through a cyclical transient condition. That is the case of the Ise Jingu grand shrine—one of the holiest sites in the Shinto religion in Japan—which every twenty years, locals, following the rules of very strict rituals called Shikinen Sengu, tear down only to rebuild it anew, keeping the tradition of Japanese artisans alive for the past millennium. Old and brand-new don't just coexist here, rather, they become continuously interchangeable because of the belief in the impermanence of all things, thus transience in architecture as well; a condition that could hardly be understood and received in Western societies. This shrine, an example of 'living' heritage, is not included in the UNESCO list, however many others that have not been renewed are.

Ever since UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972, a progressive revision of the concept of heritage itself has sparked a debate, which is still going on at the present time.

Indeed, several questions arose about these issues. What is the meaning of "outstanding universal value" in the context of cultural and natural heritage? Which is the relationship between the notion of "World Heritage" and the sovereignty of a territorial state, above all in the case of the inclusion of a World Heritage property in the List of World Heritage in Danger? What is the meaning of Cultural Identity taking into consideration the different cultures in a cross-cultural world?

UNESCO began working to revise the Convention of 1972 by opening up to the dimension of the intangible assets through the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2003, followed by the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* in 2005, wherein the notion of cultural identity in a globalized world was redefined. Also in 2005, at the International Conference "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape", UNESCO adopted the *Vienna Memorandum* which focuses "on the impact of contemporary development on the overall urban landscape of heritage significance, whereby the notion of historic urban landscape goes beyond the traditional terms of 'historic centres', 'ensembles' or 'surroundings', often used in charters and protection laws, to include the broader territorial and landscape context".¹¹ In 2008, the notion of 'outstanding universal value' was discussed in Quebec City.¹²

WINDS OF AESTHETIC CHANGE

In 2004, Rem Koolhaas gave a lecture at Columbia University GSAPP, later published in the book *Preservation Is Overtaking Us*, in which he states "We then looked at the history of preservation in terms of what was being preserved, and it started logically enough with ancient monuments, then religious buildings, etc. Later structures with more and more (and also less and less) sacred substance and more and more sociological substance were preserved, to the point that we now preserve concentration camps, department stores, factories, and amusement rides. In other words, everything we inhabit is potentially susceptible to preservation. [...] We are living in an incredibly exciting and slightly absurd moment, namely that preservation is overtaking us. Maybe we can be the first to actually experience the moment that preservation is no longer a retroactive activity but becomes a prospective activity".¹³

In 2010, at the 12th International Venice Architecture Biennale, Koolhaas's architectural firm OMA along with the studio's think tank counterpart, AMO, presented the exhibition *Cronocaos*, an overview of the preservation issue seen as a tool of architectural thinking, bringing to light how much our values have changed over time and the direction we should move towards regarding the architecture of the future.

Through a corpus of research, AMO showed that nearly 12% of the planet was currently labeled as 'preserved'—thus falling under a regime of strict rules of preservation—and how the time span between the present and what was worthy of being preserved constantly decreased, as each new preservation act moved the date for considering preservation-worthy architecture closer to the present. Thus, AMO developed a theory against the unlimited extension of the heritage label and the attitude of considering the past as the only plan for the future. In the exhibition, in fact, AMO presented, in response to the 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* a new thought-provoking document entitled *Convention Concerning the Demolition of the World Cultural Junk*, carefully listing the criteria to decide not what to keep, but what to discard and demolish.

Francoise Choay had already focused on the issue in 1996 in her essay *De la Démolition*, targeting the urban history of Europe and highlighting how, starting from the 1960s, the idea of the integral conservation of heritage has developed in opposition to the paradigm of demolition—the *tabula rasa* theorized and put into practice by the Modern Movement. According to Choay, demolition and conservation should not be seen as two antithetical practices: in fact it is necessary to work through substitution or modification of the building to use it again, in a continuous process of overwriting, rather than clinging to the idea of heritage in a strict way.¹⁴

Among the aforementioned positions, i.e. preservation and demolition, a third way has been emerging wherein heritage and the contemporary architectural project are not seen as opposites, but rather as two sides of the same coin that would help to keep these structures alive, preserving the memory of their bygone days. Many exhibitions held in these past years have clearly highlighted the topical importance of the issue.¹⁵

Within this context, the building is perceived as an open work, a palimpsest that opens up to new stories and meanings and hosts new transformations. The practice of recycling existing structures as an aesthetic and theoretical device, overcomes the limits of a retroactive and traditionalist approach—based on criteria of excellence and monumental being—and it pushes to update the criteria of evaluation and methods of intervention on them because the relationship with the past changes as it seems more challenging to clearly and objectively define, distinguish, and separate extraordinary buildings from ordinary ones.

Not pure reverence towards the past and then the perception of a building as an immutable object, whose value is based solely on historical and artistic qualities, but rather an ongoing process wherein the evaluation of the current physical conditions of the structure and then the interventions of recycle-strategies in tune with contemporary architectural thinking can bestow the building with a new life. “Not a simple retrofit, today very fashionable, but a sensitive approach as well as disrespectful at the same time, which while modifying the suspended state of the work still includes parts and fragments of it (the memory) in the context of the contemporary project and needs”.¹⁶

NOTES

- ¹ The term is dated to c. 1200 and comes from the word in Old French *iritage*, *eritage*, *heritage*, "heir; inheritance, ancestral estate, heirloom", from *heriter* "inherit", from the Late Latin *hereditare*, ultimately from the Latin *heres* (genitive *heredis*) "heir". Its meaning as "condition or state transmitted from one's ancestors" is from the 1620s.
- ² Francesco Bandarin, "Some Reflections on the Evolution of the Idea of Heritage". In *Heritage. Orchestra Rehearsal*, ed. Sara Marini (Venice: Bruno, 2017), 52-64.
- ³ Antonella Versaci, "The Evolution of Urban Heritage Concept in France, Between Conservation and Rehabilitation Programs" (paper presented at the international conference on *Conservation of Architectural Heritage*, Egypt, Luxor, November 23-27, 2015).
- ⁴ John Ruskin, "The Seven Lamps of Architecture", in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen and New York: Longmans Green, 1903), Vol. VIII, 242.
- ⁵ M. F. Hearn, ed., *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 269.
- ⁶ Translated by the authors. The citation is taken from Alois Riegl, *Il culto moderno dei monumenti. Il suo carattere e i suoi inizi*, ed. Sandro Scarrocchia, trans. Renate Trost and Sandro Scarrocchia (Milan: Abscondita, 2011), 16. [German: *Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*. Wien: W. Braumüller, 1903].
- ⁷ Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. Lauren M. O'Connell (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.x [French: *Allégorie du patrimoine*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992].
- ⁸ Ibidem, p.178.
- ⁹ Robert Hewison. *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).
- ¹⁰ Moira Valeri, "Factory Lost and Found" (paper presented at the international scientific conference *[Co]habitation tactics : imagining future spaces in architecture, city and landscape*, Tirana Architecture Week (TAW), Albania, Tirana, September 20-23, 2018).
- ¹¹ See art. 11 of *Vienna Memorandum* on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape".
- ¹² "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Discussion on Outstanding Universal Value", UNESCO, accessed September 20, 2018, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>
- ¹³ Rem Koolhaas and Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Preservation is Overtaking Us* (New York: GSAPP Books, 2014), 15.
- ¹⁴ Françoise Choay, "De la démolition", in *Métamorphoses Parisiennes*, ed. Bruno Fortier (Paris: Éditions du Pavillon de l'Arsenal 1996).
- ¹⁵ Among others, the German Pavilion, *Convertible City*, Architecture Biennale in Venice, 2006; the Dutch Pavilion, *Vacant NL*, Architecture Biennale in Venice, 2010; *Recycle. Strategies for Architecture, City and Planet*, MAXXI Museum, Rome, 2011; the German Pavilion, *Reduce, Reuse, Recycle*, Architecture Biennale in Venice, 2012; *Re.architecture, Re.cycle, Re.use, Re.invest, Re.build*, Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris, 2012.
- ¹⁶ Translated by the authors. The citation is taken from Giulia Menziotti, *Amabili resti d'architettura* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017), 149.

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A NEW ‘HAUS DER FREUNDSCHAFT’ AS UNLOCKER OF SPATIAL-POLITICAL CONTENTION.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a design proposal for a fictitious architecture competition, that was originally organised in 1916, which is restaged in 2016 as part of a master thesis. The aim was to explore the parallels between the Realpolitik of the refugee deal between the European Union and Turkey initiated by Merkel and Erdogan in 2015-2016, and the German-Ottoman alliance in 1914. In the framework of this parallelism the paper tries to identify and describe possible relations between politics and architecture. More specifically it investigates how one can shed new light on a political constellation by means of Design Driven Research and motivates how an architectural design can function as ‘unlocker’ of the hidden aspects of a political contention.

THE POLITICAL CONTENTION 2016

The period before the failed coup attempt in July 2016 was distinctive for both the European-Turkish as well as the German-Turkish relations. The continuous refugee crisis and the following German open border politics resulted in a growing German and international criticism on German Chancellor Merkel. Consequently after a hastily organised visit to Istanbul by Merkel, different meetings were organised between Turkish and European Prime ministers to reach an agreement on a European-Turkish refugee deal. Until that moment Chancellor Merkel had been a prominent sceptic to a possible accession to the European Union by candidate country Turkey and preferred the term ‘privileged partnership’ what means ‘the right to the advantages but not the institutions of the EU’¹

At a first, hastily organised meeting in Istanbul between Chancellor Merkel and President Erdogan in October 2015, Merkel's radically changed position regarding an accelerated Turkish accession became clear. The Turkish president, controversial for his authoritarian actions, held the key to a possible solution for the European refugee crisis and thereby the rise or fall of Merkel's chancellorship. Thus crucial chapters in the accession negotiations were rejuvenated together with the promise for visa-free travel for all Turkish citizens in the EU. This last commitment has not been fulfilled at the moment of writing.

Eventually the deal was closed in March 2016. Turkey would from now on invest more in border control and host more refugees. In change it received billions of euros support from the European Union, to improve the living conditions of refugees in Turkey.²

According to Phinnemore & İçener the German-initiated reopening of the accession process should not be heralded as a meaningful change of Merkel's position on Turkey eventually joining the EU. 'Attempting to manage the refugee crisis necessitated engagement with Turkey; and Realpolitik required Turkey to be granted some progress in the accession - as well as funding - to secure its assistance'³

As a result of this Real political transaction the German-Turkish relation came under pressure in the months after the closure of the deal. Despite different attempts of Merkel not to offend the Turkish government, during the commencement of the refugee deal a series of diplomatic incidents threatened the renewed German-Turkish friendship and the continuity of the deal.⁴

RESEMBLANCE TO POLITICAL HISTORY IN 1916

This Realpolitik between Germany and Turkey anno 2016 resembled the tactical alliance of Germany and the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. In 1914 the 'Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung' was founded to promote German cultural and economic interests in the Ottoman Empire.

The most important project of the German-Turkish association was the architecture competition for a 'Haus der Freundschaft' in Constantinople. The building would be the architectural embodiment that celebrated the alliance. In 1916 the association organised the competition and invited twelve German, early modern architects to participate. The winning design was never executed because of the further evolution of the war. All designs were later assembled in the competition catalogue 'Das Haus der Freundschaft in Konstantinopel'.

THE GERMAN FOUNTAIN

In 1901 the German Kaiser Wilhelm II commissioned a fountain as a gift to the Sultan and the inhabitants of Constantinople after a visit in 1898. This visit was intended with a long-term political goal: both the German Empire and the weakened Ottoman Empire needed a strong ally in the period before the first World War. The fountain was designed and built in Germany and subsequently shipped to Constantinople. The gift stood symbol for the amity between the rulers but also marked the run-up to the alliance in 1914 since it was clearly politically motivated.⁵

The fountain was built at the historically most important square of the city, the Sultanahmet square and thus located between a 'chronological catalogue of monuments' which demonstrates the city's history. The fountain was solemnly inaugurated in 1901 on the birthday of the German emperor.

Even though the locals quickly forgot the name 'Kaiser Wilhelm' and only called it the 'German Fountain', the location of the fountain became so important for the Germans in Istanbul that some 15 years later the place of the 'Haus der Freundschaft' was chosen at a nearby location.⁶



Figure 1. Inauguration of the fountain, 1901

BUILDING IDEOLOGY IN ISTANBUL

Today the expanding urban scale of Istanbul appears not to be comparable with the one of Constantinople. To investigate the power relation that exists between architecture and present-day politics regarding Istanbul, concisely summarize some key events that occurred and recent large-scale building projects that were built in the urban renewal processes in Istanbul. These renewal processes and mega architecture and infrastructure projects clarify the symbolic and ideological impact of neo-liberal governing in this fast expanding metropole.

An important evolution in urban politics in Istanbul was the Gezi resistance starting the night of May 31st 2013 when protestors assembled in the Gezi Park to prevent it from demolition. Most of all this was a spatial claim as the activists resisted to the unlawful cutting down of trees at Istanbul's Gezi Park, and to the project of building a replica of the historic Ottoman artillery barracks as a shopping mall to replace the Park.



Figure 2. The Shopping mall as replica of the Ottoman barracks to replace the Gezi park.

In accumulating numerous prestigious mega projects president Erdogan is building a modern identity for Turkey. The architectural expression of this identity is mostly found in the Ottoman past, which Erdogan is believed to have ‘a longstanding obsession with.’⁷ Most projects refer to the glory of the Ottoman Empire through their title or architecture. Next to the bridges⁸, airports⁹, apartment blocks and luxury shopping malls¹⁰ that were built since Erdogan gained power in 2002, 9000 mosques went up between 2006 and 2009, all completed in the imperial Ottoman style. The biggest of these mosques¹¹ were built in Istanbul and are clear ‘expressions of state and cultural power.’ Bülent Batuman states that the Ottoman architecture ‘signifies imperial power and serves as an origin for Turkish national

architecture in which this mimicry is used as an ideological simulacrum in Islamist politics, which in the current Turkish context serves the fusion of nation and Islam.’¹²

The shopping mall in the Gezi Park as a replica of the Ottoman Barracks, the Ottoman-style neighborhoods, the mega-projects and the mosques all refer architecturally or through their title to the Ottoman past. In that sense they are replicas without an original or built simulacra representing the AK Party’s politics in Istanbul. Hence the neo-liberal agenda of the entrepreneur-municipality recasting urban space in Istanbul finds its architectural expression in an ideological simulacrum best described as neo-Ottoman.

METHODS

When the situation in 2016 is compared to the one in 1916, similarities exist in the political situation. Both cases relate to a Real political transaction at the base of a series of (historical) events.

The present research started with the question of how this competition would run one hundred years later, which conclusions could be drawn out of a contemporary competition entry? Can a new proposal generate new understandings of the wider political dimension anno 2016?¹³

By redeploying the historically inspired competition as Real political tool a contemporary design might be able to uncover and circumscribe the current day urban politics in Istanbul on the one hand and the geo-political relations between Turkey, Germany and the European Union on the other. In that way a new design could provide another additional insight.

MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Finally the design proposal was presented to a non-informed jury as a competition entry for a running architecture competition in Istanbul. As an introduction that the public got to hear a fictional radio interview wherein the historical competition was contextualized and subsequently was announced that the Turkish prime minister, without knowledge of Germany, had re-opened the competition to perpetuate the friendship with Germany and to expedite the entry process to the EU. Furthermore fictional newspaper articles from Belgian newspapers supported the story the jury had heard in the interview. By the staging of a fictional reality, which was close to the reality in this period, the jury considered the design from a different, more actual point of view.



Figure 3. Fictional newspaper articles

THE DESIGN PROPOSAL

The design proposal for a new 'Haus der Freundschaft' refers to both existing building typologies of Istanbul's streetscapes as to the urban politics, which were at the basis of Gezi resistance in 2013. The global image of the construction seems indistinct at first sight but by dissecting the different layers of the design, different separated references are distinguished.

The design for a 'Haus der Freundschaft' was presented as a gift to Erdogan and the Turkish government. They can build the construction as a temporary pavilion and open it up as a publicly accessible installation to make use of the space according to their desired position on the friendship with Germany and the European Union. The construction as a temporary pavilion underlines the fragility and conditionality inherently present in the relation between Turkey and the EU and more specifically Turkey and Germany. Recent history made clear that this unstable relation can change rapidly and because of this the pavilion could rather soon be changed or demolished as well.

By analogy with a Turkish strategy, referring to planned replacement of the Gezi park by a shopping mall as a replica of the historic Ottoman military barracks, the construction was dressed as a 'Haus der Freundschaft' under construction. The construction became the staging of a construction site with the same proportions as a 'Haus der Freundschaft' would fill on the original site as explained in the 1916 competition invitation. Just like the Ottoman-dressed shopping mall would replace the Gezi Park out of accountability that these Ottoman military barracks stood at the site of the park for years and because of that they were culturally valuable heritage. Likewise, building a new 'Haus der Freundschaft' was of historical importance because the never-executed design could have been heritage.



Figure 4. Original site of the competition in 1916

The shell of the construction has the same monumental scale and impact as the design sought for by the original competition¹⁴. Instead of using the original building site, the proposal used the nearby Sultanahmet square as building site because of the symbolic presence of the German fountain which was the precedent for the nearby location of the original building site for the 'Haus der Freundschaft'. The steel truss-like structure, was placed around another symbolical monument in a symbolic place in the city; The German fountain, a gift from the German Kaiser Wilhelm II.

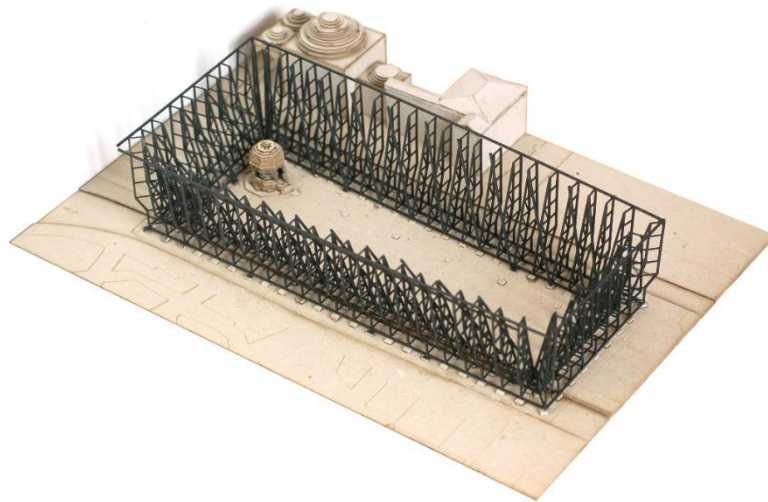


Figure 5. Model of the steel structure around the German fountain.

Although the Sultanahmet square, which would be partially encapsulated by the construction site according to the parcel boundaries of the original historical plot¹⁵ for the 'Haus der Freundschaft', is a public space, the space becomes controlled, privatised space because of the multi-layered shell in which the users will move towards the fountain. Exactly by placing public space in the new 'Haus der Freundschaft', this public space is subjected to control by means of the design. According to Wim Cuyvers' definition¹⁶ of public space, one 'who privatises space controls it'. Similarly to the

privatisation of the Gezi park by building a shopping mall as an act of neoliberal urban transformation in the inner city of Istanbul, the proposed construction privatises and thereby subverts a public space.

The shell, the abstract form of a symbolically loaded 'Haus der Freundschaft' was placed around another symbolical monument in a symbolic place in the city; The German fountain.

The shell and skin are both typologies which appear in the streetscapes of Istanbul and express the buildable power in Istanbul metaphorically. They refer to the massive building boom in Istanbul in recent years. Not so much these typologies an sich are an expression of this buildable power in the city, rather the plurality of forms and materialities with which this took place embody this building boom and so the effects on the city.

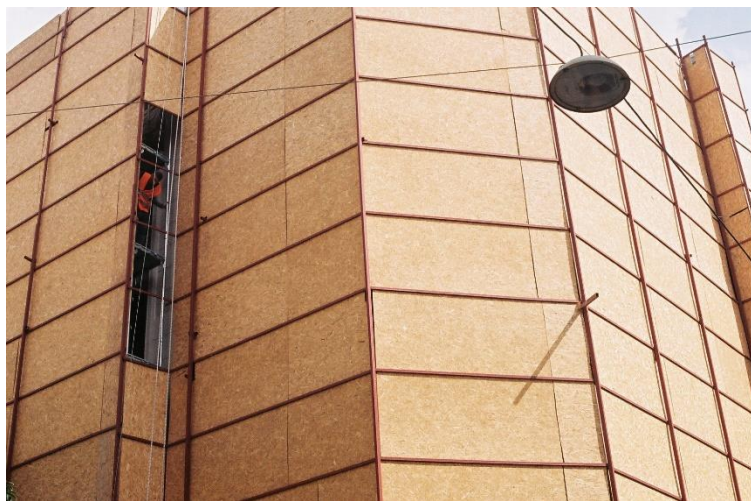


Figure 6. The shell as built typologie in Istanbul's streetscape.

With a uniform cladding, a shell shields a complete construction site off the city. Building a shell around a construction creates a new temporary image of a building in the city as an abstraction of a building under construction. The skin forms an abstraction of the underlying layer as is the case with a regular building site in Istanbul. The skin follows the profiling of the fictional underlying girders as found in Ottoman wood architecture. Accordingly the shell forms an abstraction of the skin.

The skin as an extra layer is added to the shell and shows what will appear behind the temporary shell when removed. It shows how the finished building will look like to sell the building to future users but is also used in Istanbul as propaganda. Gigantic portraits of the president and the prime minister alongside of Atatürk's portrait are attached to the monumental scaffoldings.



Figure 7. The skin as built typology in Istanbul's streetscape.

The shell, the layer within the 'Haus der Freundschaft', consists of translucent marble slabs in steel frames. The light transmittance of the material allows the users of the square from inside to control how other users circulate in the steel structure. The skin on the outside of the construction is a translucent yard-textile in a wooden frame. The skin here is both propaganda for the Turkish regime and in favor of the friendship of the Turkish regime with Germany as well as it shows what the underlying layer is, namely the marble shell.



Figure 8. The shell and the skin, section drawing.

Both propaganda as google image compositions and marble textures are projected as an architectural drawing of the building under construction on the textile cladding.

The shell and the skin, or the interior and exterior, each show several different images of power and focus, by over-identification with the architecture of power in Istanbul, on both the authorities and the users. The double layer sabotages an easy identification or interpretation, which makes it more difficult for the ruling authorities and for users to discard or support the installation.¹⁷

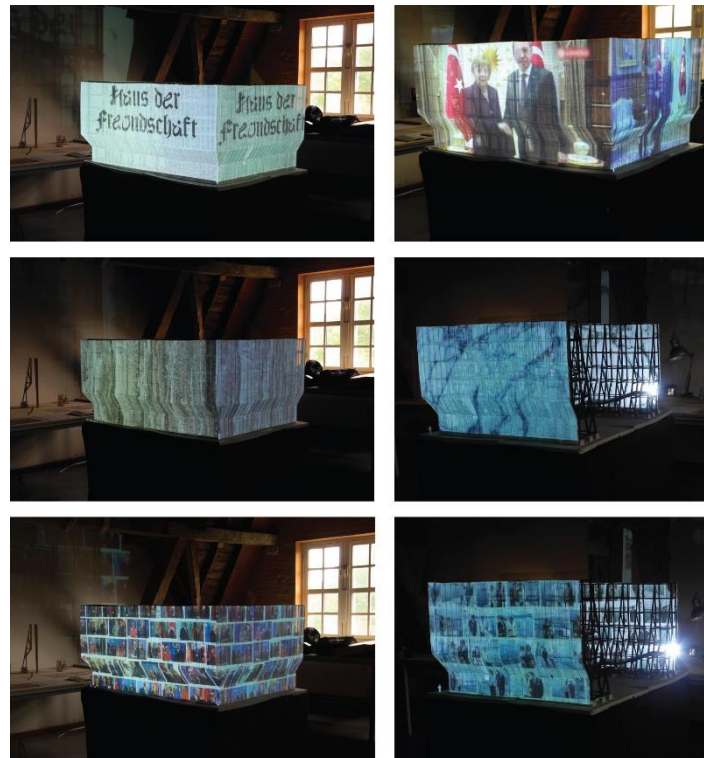


Figure 9. Over-identification by projections on the skin.

A marble staircase runs between the skin and the shell. The steps are made of marble bars which are mechanically worn out and sculpted to pretend centuries-old use in a temporary construction. The steps that would collapse due to excessive stress are subtended with steel cables and step by step stacked as stairs on steel beams. The mechanically worn out staircase is a metaphor for the friendship, it is fictitious and mechanically made but historically important.



Figure 10. Staircase in between the skin and the shell.

Once above, between the skin and the shell, the users enter the square by means of a marble sliding door and by descending again along a light metal staircase towards the fountain. From this point (of view) one will see how the construction works and the precious materiality of the marble staircase becomes redundant. The curtain falls. The user looks at the German 'Kaiserbrunnen' in the opposite corner of the square. From this position, users can understand the construction and follow other users *de visu* by the movements of their shims along the marble wall. Both from outside and inside, respectively passengers and users can keep an eye on the other by following their circulation. Because of this, besides the ruling authority who privatised it, the users can control the space as well.

The architectural walk that precisely guides the single trajectory for the user is an expression of this architectural apparatus as a publicly controlled space by privatisation.



Figure 11. Model of the German Fountain in the new 'Haus der Freundschaft'.

DISCUSSION

Next to the yet indistinct appearance of this model an extra layer of ambiguity was added during the staged jury presentation by over-identifying with the monumental scale of the neo-Ottoman architectural identity; the proposal supposed the imposition of this architectural apparatus to be fully experienced by the citizens of Istanbul which added complexity to the *mise-en-scène*. The over-identification created an uncomfortable closure within the system and sabotaged the jury's easy interpretation of the structure. Instead of criticizing the system's alleged ideals for their authoritarian, nationalist, Real political character the design takes them dead seriously and demands their uncompromised application in real life.¹⁸ The aim of this strategy of over-identification was however obvious in the end: by joining ranks with the ruling authorities and their presumed ideology through privatising more public space one can criticise the system from 'within'. This reversal of the traditional dialectic makes the new proposal a subversive designerly tool.

CONCLUSION

This architectural design connects understandings of the German-Turkish Real political constellation in 2016¹⁹ to the preceding spatial transformations that occurred in Istanbul. Hereby the production forms a synthesis of these different conditions out of the framework of the historical architecture competition. Hence the design proposal as product of design-driven-research is a material crystallisation of different

actual and historical contentions that showed similarities in Realpolitik making them meaningful once related to the other and by doing so adding meaning to these different contentions.

The design gets to function as unlocker of different spatial-political contentions and combines these conflicts by manifesting itself as a subversive tool of urban public space. By over-identifying with typologies of Istanbul's neo-liberal, neo-Ottoman architecture it subverts the public functioning of the fountain and the surrounding square as well as it exposes understanding to this symbolic place. In adding spatial understanding to the Real political situation and re-examining conventional roles of producing expected solutions to a problem²⁰ the architecture project or research-by-design might turn into a criticism by design.

A criticism by design that not only intends to critically relate to the Real political condition of the revived, fragile friendship as the origin for the renewed fictional competition but also subverts the already strongly politized public space in Istanbul, more specifically the one that determined the original location for the 'Haus der Freundschaft'.

NOTES

- ¹ Rochtus, D., 2015. De Gevaarlijke Knieval van Angela Merkel. De Standaard, 20 October.
- ² Smouter, K., 2016. Het hele verhaal van de deal tussen de EU en Turkije in één verschrikkelijke foto. De Correspondent, 9 March.
- ³ Phinnemore, D. & İçener, E., 2016. Holding the door half (?) open: the EU and Turkey 10 years on. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, pp. 446-462.
- ⁴ German TV comedian Böhmermann insulted the Turkish president in a satirical poem following a foregoing incident. Finally he was prosecuted to the approval of chancellor Merkel following a complaint of the Turkish government for insulting a head of a friendly nation. In June 2016 the German parliament voted for the acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide much to the displeasure of president Erdogan.
- ⁵ Göğüş, C., 2013. A German Fountain in The Ottoman Capital. Osaka, The International Academic Forum, pp. 12-13.
- ⁶ Göğüş, C. & Kuban, Z., 2015.
- ⁷ Hansen, S., 2017. Reading Erdogan's Ambitions in Turkey's New Mosques. *The New York Times*, 14 June.
- ⁸ The third bridge over the Bosphorus, or Yavuz Sultan Selim bridge (after the Ottoman Sultan) was finished in 2016.
- ⁹ The third airport in Istanbul will be the largest in the world when completed in 2018, and will cover 7.850 hectares the land of which 90 percent used to be forest lands and small and large water bodies.
- ¹⁰ Maslak 1453, after completion in 2015 the largest real estate development in Europe, named for the year Istanbul was conquered by the Ottomans.
- ¹¹ The Mimar Sinan mosque and çamlica Mosque.
- ¹² Batuman, B., 2016. Architectural mimicry and the politics of mosque building: negotiating Islam and Nation in Turkey. *The Journal of Architecture*, 21(3), pp. 321-347.
- ¹³ The research was established in the first half of 2016, before the coup attempt in July 2016.
- ¹⁴ 'Das »Haus der Freundschaft« soll in Istanbul, d. h. mitten im türkischen Teil der türkischen Hauptstadt gebaut werden. Die türkische Regierung hat das Grundstück geschenkt und der Türkisch-Deutschen Vereinigung übermacht. Die Lage des Platzes, die durch das sachliche Programm bedingte erhebliche Größe des Gebäudes, nicht zuletzt der Gedanke, dem es dient, werden ihm unter allen Umständen eine monumentale Bedeutung geben.' Heuss, T., 1918. Das Haus Der Freundschaft In Konstantinopel.
- ¹⁵ In Istanbul liegt an der Straße Divan Jolu,..., ein Platz von ca. 46m Länge und 96 m Tiefe, der zurzeit zwar noch überbaut, von der türkischen Regierung für das »Haus der Freundschaft« zur Verfügung gestellt und demnächst abgeräumt wird. Heuss, T., 1918. Das Haus Der Freundschaft In Konstantinopel.
- I used the parcel boundaries based upon the design of Hans Poelzig.
- ¹⁶ Cuyvers, W., n.d. *Reading Design*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.readingdesign.org/public-space/> [Accessed 4 December 2017].
- ¹⁷ BAVO(eds.), 2007.
- ¹⁸ BAVO(eds.), 2007.
- ¹⁹ The set-up of this paper didn't allow a full representation of the political factuality in the described period of 2016. Because the project was realised and based upon recent events which still evolve until this day. In retrospect today I probably would do both research and architecture production differently.
- ²⁰ Hill, J., 1998. *The Illegal Architect*. London: Black Dog Publishing.
- Hill, J., 2005. Criticism by design: Drawing, Wearing, Weathering. *The Journal of Architecture*, 10(3), pp. 285-293.

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A DEBATE AROUND DOMESTIC HERITAGE IN THE UAE

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INTRODUCTION

Heritage studies are well established globally and yet the 2013 Seventh World Archaeological Congress entitled Issues of Heritage Practice in the Gulf, was established due to a lack of discussions on the rapidly changing landscapes in the region. While heritage is something that governments seek, it is not without its problems. In recent years there has been a change in direction from purely an architectural or archaeological perspective¹ to seeing heritage as representative of the social and political sphere of a place².

Heritage has been a way of validating our identity as a nation or community for centuries and this *value* is never clearer than in the Middle East with the looting of Baghdad Museum in 2003 and an ‘industrial level of looting in Syria’.³ With the independence of the United Arab Emirates in 1971 from Britain, the then ruler Sheikh Zayed said: ‘We should preserve our traditions and national heritage [...] a country is truly measured by its heritage and culture.’⁴ Although heritage can be used as a form of destruction, it can also be used to build up communities. With historical and archeological artefacts and practices now being seen as a way to validate identity, the scope for heritage has broadened. Often governments are responsible for the selection process of heritage and indeed governments use heritage as a political agenda. For example, the returning of the ‘war trophy’ Isted Lion to Germany from Denmark in 2011 was a symbolic expression of trust to the rest of Europe, while Japan’s request to have the 333 letters from the Second World War included in The Memory of the World register led China to object.⁵ This illustrates clearly the different ways in which heritage continues to be part of hostile relations or political healing.

However, due to current global issues, citizens are putting themselves on the front line to protect their heritage and, more importantly, stop their past from being erased. Heritage today is not just directed by governments but also led by communities that want to protect a sense of ownership and reaffirm their cultural value.⁶

This paper is focusing on the impact global heritage debates have on the local heritage in the Dubai, UAE. With specific focus on the Emirati National Villa as a potentially lost vehicle to map the heritage of the local Emirati population, which in the UAE is the minority. Up until to 2008 Dubai has been building speculative projects⁷ and with the Expo 2020 around the corner there is a resurgence in construction once again. These last few traditional communities from the 1970s are being removed to make way for ‘privatized monumental towers and artificial water bodies’ says Khalid Alawadi the curator of the 2018 UAE Pavilion. With rapid changes since the 1970’s, the National Villa is worth

preserving, not just in a museum context but one which is evolving and capturing the changes in culture in parallel to that in its architecture.

This paper is exploring the wider context of heritage debates within the Dubai and is part of a more developed PhD study. Five case studies have been selected from a chronological perspective with the Emirate of Dubai. From this analysis into interior and exterior spatiality was mapped to living patterns and then onto wider events in the UAE. It raises questions about the current perceptions of heritage from the local and the government. In order to challenge these perceptions a series of semi structured interviews took place with residents and the data used to gain insights in to current thoughts around heritage, identity and domesticity.

THE UAE

The World Heritage system arose in the west but is now part of the global community.⁸ Only countries who sign the UNESCO convention are part of heritage on a global scale. Today there are 191 countries registered compared to the 40 that started out in 1978. The impact on having a UNESCO site is well documented and so governments work hard to prepare their nominations. However, current approaches to classification and presentation of sites generally force them into themes or activities.

The UAE has worked hard to get global recognition; however, with all this emphasis on heritage and culture, in 2008 they were not recognized in terms of World Heritage sites or buildings that were certified by UNESCO. Quite rapidly several laws were put in place to protect any building over 40 years old and now the UAE has several UNESCO sites. At the time of writing this Dubai was waiting to see if their 2018 entry for the Dubai Creek will be recognized as a UNESCO site.⁹ Sullivan, a heritage consultant to UNESCO, suggests that the modes the *west* used to categorize heritage are very materialistic and outward facing successes Such as statues and its these which are used as a way to solidify achievements of the past.¹⁰ Interestingly, in 2003 the *Intangible Cultural Heritage* list was created to balance out the observations that the first list failed to address. On the first list the majority were European sites, with other areas underrepresented. The European sites were mostly under the ‘cultural’ category and therefore were already highly valued, whereas the places of spirituality that showed signs of the past were forgotten, like Africa’s heritage which encompasses traditions, dances and customs rather than monumental structures.

There is a darker side to UNESCO’s listing when it is not used for its official purpose and instead to promote tourism, which has been called ‘UNESCOization’¹¹. This is the development of tourism around the registered site in an often *inaccurately staged* manner or as Saskia Cousin and Jean-Luc Martineau observed in their study of Nigeria’s Sacred Grove in Osun-Osogbo¹², local traditions were exploited after their appearance on the list or artefacts often moved into museums and separated from the context in which they were found.

So why are these changes towards heritage important? The changes show the importance of the collective memory of people in relation to heritage. Narrative makes us human, wrote Roland Barthes, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society, it begins with the very history of mankind.¹³ Lack of narrative often gives areas a feeling of *placelessness* and anomie. Buildings and spaces are our most important key to memory and reinforce sensations of belonging. So how do we manage the ‘living’ culture without freezing or fossilizing heritage? In a survey by Laurajane Smith, the author of *Uses of Heritage*, she asked visitors to define ‘heritage’ and most described their understanding as involving memory, family histories, oral histories or traditions, further justifying the role of memory¹⁴. Furthermore, Walter Hood suggests in a recent Ted Talk titled ‘How Urban Spaces Can Preserve History & Build Communities’ (2018), that ‘traditions belong to us all’ and the common

assumption is that traditions only become traditions once people leave, but it is possible to have layers of traditions embedded in living heritage.

In general, this is not the approach that is taken in the UAE. Architectural and heritage associations have been set up to help future generations understand their past and “to show them their real identity”.¹⁵ The focus within Dubai, in particular, is to get recognition for the many buildings which represent *modernity*, which were built around the 1950s & 60s throughout the city. These buildings are functioning as part of the urban fabric. The approach with the older more traditional sites is often treated in a freeze in time manner, preserving them at the time of construction, for example the Bastakiya area or the Heritage Village which is to embrace traditional culture and lifestyle in a museum format. The value of the time *after* construction and what that can tell us about is a missing consideration in terms of heritage in the Middle East. This connects to the concept of authenticity, which has been debated since the 1960s in the heritage world but given some clear definitions in the 1994 Nara conference¹⁶. It was here that it was clarified that authenticity differs from culture to culture and that to judge and evaluate authenticity, this would have to be done by the respective culture it belonged to. What the conference did clarify, that authenticity included all its historical forms and periods, best defined by David Lowenthal as, ‘Authenticity is in practice never absolute, always relative’¹⁷.



Figure 1. Bastakiya – a historical district in Dubai.

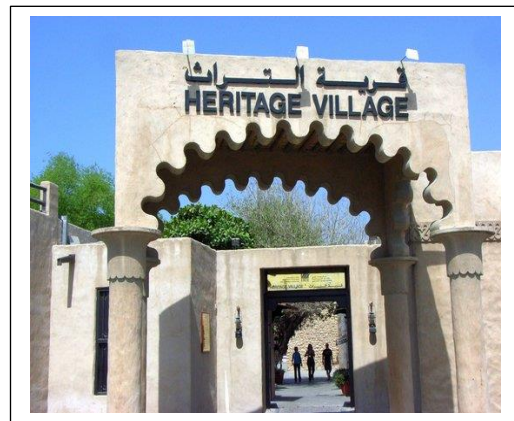


Figure 2. The Heritage Village, Dubai – created in 1997

EMIRATI NATIONAL HOUSING

With the concept of authenticity described earlier and the importance of intangible heritage discussed we consider Emirati National Housing. Considering changes in spatiality and living patterns over the last 60 years, through selected case studies in Dubai, the National Villa makes more of a historical statement than is currently associated with it. In recent years much research has focused around the Emirati National Housing¹⁸. National housing was introduced by the government in the 70s as part of a larger national program. Existing housing which was influenced by lifestyle, customs, the environment and limited building materials, was pushed to the suburbs once the western typologies were imported, coinciding with the oil discovery and population increase. Many changes, such as AC and the car, removed the need for passive design and changed the urban landscape. These changes happened at a rapid speed over the last 50 years. In the ‘haste to provide home(s), consideration to the heritage, culture, climate, community and character were neglected’.¹⁹ This is an area which is not considered, given the

rapid growth of the UAE since the 70s during which time the transformation of the national villa from localized to westernized has *designed out* many cultural and traditional ways of life. For example, segregated housing, ‘is a necessary means towards preventing (their) cultural heritage from being swept away by an overflow of foreign customs’²⁰. The traditional villa is a mark of self-identity but not of the dweller as such but of the culture of the Emirati.

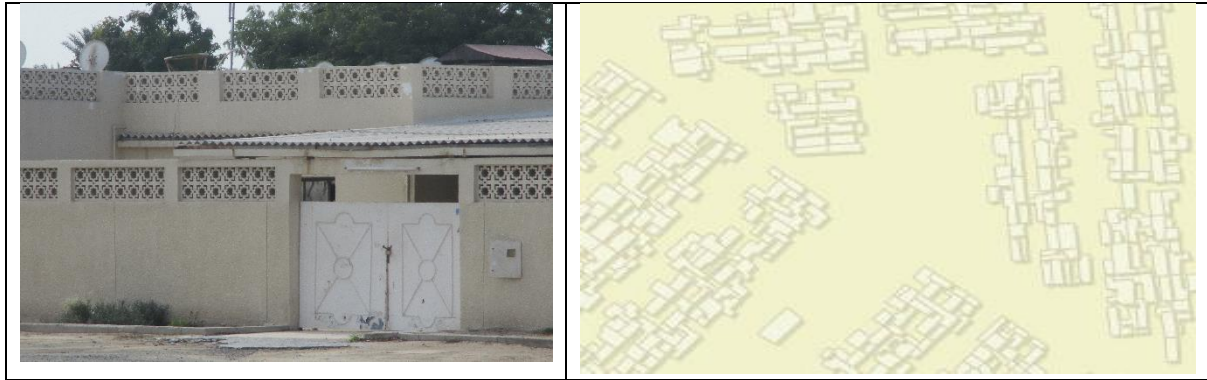


Figure 3 & 4. Al Shorta neighborhood built in the 1970s, all 419 homes flattened in 2019. Example of traditional clusters, pedestrian oriented and social interactions.



Figure 5 & 6. Example of suburban neighborhoods, super blocks, bigger luxurious villas filling the plots.

The new generations of Emirati's have different expectations to the older generations and therefore these changes need to be captured as the Gulf cities continue to develop at a rapid speed. In this instance, heritage is more than just a commodity, it can help interpret and apply their lost and forgotten history so to take pride in their past. The national villa and its importance as a form of heritage were expressed in the Venice Biennale in 2016 and 2018, when it was the focus of the UAE Pavilion. The 2016 curator, Yasser Elsheshtawy, presented his research around the *Sha'abi* as a standard housing model that was adapted by the residents who then individualized their homes, thus reflecting their culture and lifestyles. This aspect of heritage is sadly very rare as the many modern government neighborhoods take over the urban context with little consideration to mapping the old. In 2018 Dr Khalid Alwadi was the curator and he addressed the urban context in the UAE. Through his studies most of the social urban areas were located near or within these traditional communities, thus again recognizing the many levels of cultural heritage these developments offer.

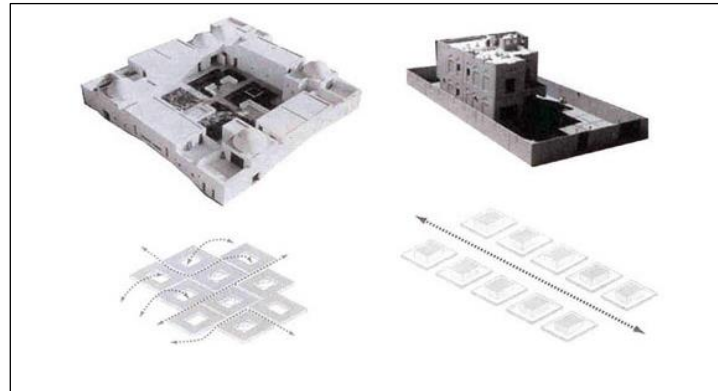


Figure 7. Example by X-Architects showing the difference in urban planning and villa design.

The changes in architecture which connect to cultural heritage are quite easy to see and have been highlighted in studies by Elsheshtawy, Alwadi and by local firm, X-Architects²¹. It is these elements connected with traditions of lifestyles which are becoming secondary to modern westernized homes. The 1970s neighborhoods were dense but pedestrian orientated, clusters of homes which offered privacy and interaction at the same time. The house offered individuality from the entrance which is what distinguished it architecturally. More emphasis was put on the landscaping of the neighborhoods as the entrance was often on the street. Neighbourhood planning and design was the product of social relationships and cultural evolution.

The organic pattern of neighborhood planning provided different spaces and atmospheres for living. Public and private spaces were clearly defined and respected. Residents often planted extensively, and many homes disappeared behind plantations of palm trees. This in turn made the streetscape a varied and unique setting. The modern version removed the unique setting and instead it is replaced with bland, vast network of roads.

If we look at the plan of the housing from the 1970s, we can see that there is a greater emphasis on the exterior space and the house is placed towards the front of the plot. The connection between the house and the exterior wall is closer at the front, making the boundary wall part of the entrance itself. Residents actively personalized and adapted the entrance space, making this model a perfect example of ‘expression of local culture and lifestyle’.²² In the 1990’s a ‘set back’ policy was applied to make all houses sit 3m from the edge of the plot and building heights capped at 15m.



Figure 8. Traditional Sha'ab housing façade.



Figure 9. Current example of National Housing

These two differing street scenes offer a point of discussion. The older is more humanistic in scale, visually stimulating and based around the dweller. Traces of erosion and wear remind us of time. This is also demonstrated by the strong attachment the dweller has with the home and the memories accumulated over the years, many residents did not want to move out when redevelopment occurred. Memory, as discussed in *Understanding Architecture*, is connected to places, spaces and settings. Memory engages our entire body, not just the brain it is also a way of self-identity. We understand who we are through our settings and materials, this is also supported by Sussman and Hollander book *Cognitive Architecture*. If you fall short of nurturing the physical and mental benefits that create emotional attachment to a place, in the first instance, people will not care for their environment.²³ This has been evidenced in architectural theory for a long time.²⁴ However, with the case of the Shaba housing, it is old and tired, but people care for it, fix it, modify it and *live* in it, because of the attachment, history and story behind the building. We dream of eternal life through image of timeless beauty and perfection, but mentally we need experience that mark the passing of time.²⁵ In order to modernize do we need to forget the past? Kenneth Frampton suggests that culture has to root itself in the soil of its past, forge a national spirit and unfurl this cultural vindication²⁶. To begin to understand how tradition embeds a deeper sense of authentic experience and legacy for the Emirati people, it is these traditional

developments that need to be considered and valued as forms of intangible heritage. The national villa has evolved through the last 50 years and therefore embed design, material techniques and functional changes which can tell us a lot about historical and social aspects of Dubai.

What becomes interesting is the government's desire behind housing a nation, is it driven by innovation or tradition? With two extensive exhibitions regarding the need to stop destroying these traditional neighborhoods, to date nothing seems to have changed direction. In Frampton's, *Introduction to Labour, Work and Architecture*, he talks about the oppositions between tradition and innovation, a constant struggle where one is superior to the other. It seems this is part of the contemporary struggle in Dubai and since 1994 the focus has been on capturing international economies, not housing a nation. With the race towards the Expo 2020 and a resurgence in construction this could have been the point at which to set a new precedent for national housing. Emirati housing is now more a consequence of the latest developments, relocating and following the familiar global urban sprawl patterns of the 60's.

CONCLUSION

The value of tradition and all that it entails within our environment is slowly being lost. This is never truer than in emerging Gulf cities. The past (history/tradition/culture) has created us, and our environment. We project a future on the basis of the situation that the past has created for us, and act in the light of our understanding of this past. To remove the identity of the past will offer us a shapeless future as we do not only dwell in a space but also inhabit it through culture and a surrounding by material memory.

Buildings need to be used, lived in, not only preserved as museums. They are resources to be recycled. That's the richness of old cities. How many lives have old buildings in central London gone through or the Centre of Mumbai or the old colonial cities of Melbourne or Cape Town? This is cultural and environmental sustainability, as opposed to the throwaway society²⁷. The national villa offers us more than just an architectural model but one that allows us to understand a traditional way of life, often very private, which has had to evolve and at times lost some aspects. To map these changes through physical neighbourhoods would allow us, the visitor, as well as the local an understanding of the heritage of the UAE and not just something that is frozen in time but that continues to evolve in the 21st century.

NOTES

- ¹ Smith, LauraJane & Akagawa, N. Intangible Heritage; Routledge 2008
- ² Kalay Yehuda, Kvan Thomas & Afflect Janice. New Media and Cultural Heritage; Routledge 2007
- ³ Parker, K. The Impact of Armed Conflict on Cultural Heritage - https://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/peacebuildingarts/pdfs/libraryauthors/2015_10_KristinParker_HeritageandReconciliation_Final.pdf
- ⁴ <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/heritage/the-uae-s-success-is-a-result-of-our-forefathers-achievements-1.75340>
- ⁵ <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1532127/un-heritage-body-refuses-request-preserve-letters-kamikaze-pilots>
- ⁶ Sharon Sullivan is a heritage consultant to UNISCO and has written extensively on the topic. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.476.8460&rep=rep1&type=pdf#page=50>
- ⁷ Eleseshtawy, 2006 & Alawadi 2017
- ⁸ The History of Heritage - http://kodu.ut.ee/~cect/teoreetilised%20seminarid_2010/etnoloogia_uurimisrühma_seminar/Harvey-The_History_of_Heritage.pdf
- ⁹ <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/nation/dubai/dubai-creek-in-race-for-unesco-world-heritage-tag-among-30-other-sites>
- ¹⁰ <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.476.8460&rep=rep1&type=pdf#page=50>
- ¹¹ Heritage Regimes and the State, pp399-413
- ¹² <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/special-topics-art-history/arches-at-risk-cultural-heritage-education-series/trafficking-protection/a/the-unintended-consequences-of-unesco-world-heritage-listing>
- ¹³ Sussman & Hollander, 2015:133
- ¹⁴ Smith, 2016:115-161
- ¹⁵ <https://gulfnews.com/news/uae/culture/storeys-from-the-past-1.25448>
- ¹⁶ <https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>
- ¹⁷ Lowenthal, 2008
- ¹⁸ Eleseshtawy UAE Pavilion 2016 & Dr Khalid Alawadi 2018 UAE Pavilion, Venice Binalle both raised the National Villa and its urban landscapes as places where authentic cultural practices happen.
- ¹⁹ <https://www.x-architects.com/x-architects/al-manakh-continued/66>
- ²⁰ Alawadi & Benkraouda, 2017:3
- ²¹ <https://www.thenational.ae/arts-culture/a-nation-at-home-how-emiratis-made-sha-bi-housing-their-own-1.202113>
- ²² Eleseshtawy, 2016
- ²³ Dr Stephen Kellert explored links between people and nature. In recent years he had pioneered the concept of improved health and wellbeing by creating connections between nature in the built environment.
- ²⁴ Oscar Newman who wrote Defensible Space in the 1970s and Jane Jacobs who wrote The Death and Life of Grete American Cities both wrote about the rise in people feeling disconnected to their environment and the impacts it has on communities and people.
- ²⁵ Pallasmaa, 2007
- ²⁶ Frampton, 2002
- ²⁷ Peter Jackson has had a big influence on architecture in the UAE. He is the chairman of the English chapter of the UAE Architectural Society. <https://gulfnews.com/culture/people/peter-jackson-architect-of-time-1.25629>

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THE FATE OF THE UNBAPTIZED BUILDINGS: A THEOLOGY FOR PRESERVATION

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INTRODUCTION: LENSES TO ESCAPE APORIA

To list for preservation is to acknowledge certain virtues, characteristics, or narratives worth commemorating. This reveals a conscious choice: a choice to construct certain propositions for the future by way of the preserved subject. Indeed, a certain relation between decisions on heritage and the future is suggested in the introductory statement of the conference too. Yet, instead of a forward-looking confidence, it is with aporia we stand before certain listed buildings in Athens, Greece, mainly parts of the so-called neoclassical heritage of the city. But our problem lies not in their neoclassical and eclecticist qualities -a similar issue is now becoming evident concerning interwar and post-war modernist buildings. Our awkwardness is not a matter of the quality of the buildings itself; neither of the quality of any possibly realised preservation; and for sure it is not a problem addressing their re-programming. It, therefore, doesn't seem to be a problem of strictly architectural nature, rather a matter of the vision their preservation signifies for our future; these buildings seem like not proposing anything, they remain mute.

This essay looks into exactly this link between heritage and the future, keeping a specific portion of today's listed buildings as a reference point, for they, as proclaimed monuments, have a causal relation to our heritage. We got to question what a decision 'to preserve' suggests for our future, since it seems to have become more of an automatism rather than a conscious choice of distinctions. Hence, we are interested in readjusting the lenses through which certain monuments, and therefore their perception as heritage, is understood. It is an attempt to construct a conceptual system of reading through existing building shells, using a sort of classification in regard with the idea of the monument.

The system and its classification derive from an analogy between the world of humans and the world of buildings, tracing a 'theology' of western preservation. Our work contemplates on the concept of death, to look beyond the tangible realm preservation is most usually situated in, and portrays buildings through the transcendental language of religion, to approach their intangible context. Having first made a distinction between monuments and listed buildings, we proceed with the theological analogy to identify buildings which are impossible to be either blessed or condemned, rather lie somewhere in-between. Eventually, we intend to show how these buildings negate the future, discussing the need for exposure to loss, in order to construct a solid vision for the future.

A THEOLOGY FOR PRESERVATION

Any question of preservation poses, from the very outset, an essential dilemma: to keep, and to protect against the passage of time or instead to erase, and to disregard as the powers of nature or the market prevail? This question arises at a certain point in the life of a building, usually well after its construction, defining what we could call 'the regular life' of the building. These two given, a certain dilemma, at a specific moment, the matter of preservation indicates a critical transition in the existence of a building; having completed a certain 'life cycle', it goes through a judging procedure to decide in favor or against of a celebrated afterlife. This constitutes a very important moment in which the building is subject to judgement, resembling the judgement rituals of traditional theologies: the believers, having completed their mortal life, perform a significant transition, depending on the result of a divine judgement. In such an analogy, the death of a building is not about abandonment and demolition, but it signifies the very moment of crisis.

We believe this analogy help us broaden the scope of our reflection, and consider preservation outside a strictly architectural context. The formulation proposed by the theological model sets a good basis for developing the analogy. Despite its seemingly simplistic dualism between condemnation and forgiveness, it actually implies a number of internal gradations. Saints, martyrs pious, believers, may all share the same side after their judgement, yet certain theological systems acknowledge degrees and levels in paradise.

Pairing the theological dualism with the dilemma of preservation, 'forgiven' buildings are protected against time and physical decay. They represent values worth remembering, and they confidently stand for their example to be followed. Like saints, they are proper monuments. On the contrary, 'condemned' buildings are convicted, directly or indirectly to some form of erasure, be that physical decay, replacement, or even demolition. Their values are deemed unworthy, indifferent, or even inadequate.

If, then, preservation does simulate a certain process of judgement, and as such is directly linked to death, then looking into the relationship of humans with death, may provide answers or directions concerning their relationship with preservation. Nowadays, peoples' relationship with the concept of death is rather one of resentment and repulsion. Gilles Lipovetsky, discussing the anxiety of the human body upcycling, comments: "physical deprivation is now understood to be obscenity, contemporary fear of old age and death is a constituent element of neonarcissism, indifference to future generations intensifies the stress of death, its modern meaning does exacerbate its horror." [1] The anxiety to avoid death, concentrates in a particular care of the body mechanism, pursuing its maximum efficiency. This way, an attachment to the physical and material existence of buildings can be paralleled, also through a weakness to link them to any intangible and transcendent idea.

MONUMENTS AND LISTED BUILDINGS

Our inability to experience loss, easily produces laws and policies to protect the existing. Rem Koolhaas lectured how 'Preservation is Overtaking Us' some years ago. "[W]e started looking at the interval or the distance between the present and what was preserved. In 1818, it was 2,000 years. In 1900, it was only 200 years. And near the 1960s, it became 20 years." [2] Preservation is overtaking us, namely, the temporal distance between the creation of the projects we preserve, and our present time, is shrinking. Unless it is that contemporary western civilization produces more and more buildings worth remembering, listing buildings have come to answer to some form of reflexive operation, an automatism, reflecting an obsession of keeping things.

The framework for this reflexive reception is well described by Alois Riegl, in a paper of his at the turn of the 20th century. In his essay titled "Essence and development of the modern cult of monuments",

he analyses how we get to value pre-existing buildings. Although he describes a number of different kinds of values (artistic, historical etc.), his narrative posits that one of them develops rapidly, namely the age value, one that is tightly connected to the emancipation processes of the subject. “Commemorative [age] value lies in the idea of the time elapsed since the creation, revealing obvious traces of age [...] It seems that historical knowledge is a not prerequisite to satisfy this need, instead is simply caused by sensory perception and is immediately expressed as certain feelings; this age value is apparently projected as value of universal application.” [3]

A question arises then, whether buildings listed solely due to their age value are considered proper monuments. According to Alois Riegl, a monument, apart from its commemorative value, has also other values, absolutely dependent on our contemporary judgment, like, say, the artistic value. Such subjective values define specific monuments, which do not just result from the passage of time, but reflect exceptional moments of history. Hence, there exists a dichotomy between monumental value and documentary value. [4] Monuments rise signifying a specific way of dealing with the past; they stand at the exact opposite of complete erasure.



*Figure 1. A mosque inside the Parthenon and the neighborhood around
source: William Pars, Print Study / Drawing; East of the Parthenon, 1764-1766, British Museum.*

Let us consider the Parthenon, and the scale of loss from which it arises, exposing its value. To bring the acropolis in its current form, other structures have been taken down unable to survive the power of our appetite for the city's classical past. An ottoman mosque built in the temple along with a venetian tower on the side of the propylaea have been demolished, while a whole neighborhood on the top of the rock has been entirely taken down. [5] (figure 1) In this case, the progress towards monumentalization causes loss and erasure, crossing out even objects that could have been considered as monuments today as well. The emergence of the Parthenon inaugurates the new history of Athens through a bold erasure. This is a central point in Jacques Derrida's definition of the archive, ascertaining that each archival operation is based on an equally important erasure, emphasizing its proactive and decisive character. [6] In this light, the monument constitutes an act of archiving, the result of a deliberate confident decision.

This distinction between monuments and listed buildings reveals a weakness in the model we described. Listed buildings are kept despite their ambiguous ability to reflect monumental values. Their presence raises questions as to why they are considered as partially or totally protected; in many cases even their architectural value does not seem to reveal any obvious reason for them to come to such a state of protection. For example, in the case of Athens, a bulk of buildings are listed due to their obvious inclusion in what is classified as neoclassical architecture - even if such a classification is rather wide

for the Greek collective subconscious. Their oldness compensates for their poor architectural value.

BUILDINGS IN LIMBO

Eventually, in the context of the analogy we elaborated previously, the theological model seems to fail in settling these buildings' grouping, probably also indicating the root of our discomfiture. Unable to be considered monuments of certain artistic or historical value, they only take pride of their age, even which is eventually considered mundane. Buildings are preserved, without being monuments. Eventually, they will not fit in the paradise-hell dualism. They seem to be neither immortal saints nor mortal sinners, rather some kind of downfallen righteous believers who lie somewhere in between.

A similar problem has appeared in theology too, with the case of infants that died before they were baptized. The problem was that these infants would not be forgiven for the original sin. Nevertheless, according to the Supplement of Summa Theologica by Thomas Aquinas, the punishment to be imposed on them cannot be one depriving their liberty, such as condemnation to hell, rather a private penalty, the perpetual inability to perceive of God. Notably however, throughout their punishment, their bodies would remain imperishable, unspoiled, just like that of the blessed ones. The infants were to remain in an antechamber before the gates of paradise or hell, in an intermediate limbus state. [7]

Transferring the idea to the realm of the built environment, it is worth mentioning that the importance of this distinction is not to complete the sort of theological analogy we have pursued, rather it goes the other way round; to extend our initial observations on architectural heritage. The buildings that are subsequently identified as lying in limbo, and specifically their increasing presence, is that which initiates the process of the whole theological analogy. Buildings in a limbo condition find themselves in between forgiveness and condemnation. They stand before the gates of memorialization, unable to worthily represent some transcendent value, yet intended to remain unchanged as declared listed buildings.

Let us consider Zaha Hadid's MAXXI in Rome, which develops around a neoclassical-like preexisting building of the plot, yet unable to replace or remove it. Old and new coexist coercively, with no line of dialogue between them. Despite their insignificance, the preexisting shells are preserved, although they stand more like an obstacle for the architect, or at best, serve as the outdated context in which her avant-garde creation will stand out. The preserved preexisting buildings are treated as the background against which the protagonist unfolds, in an effort to escape. In Hadid's words: "MAXXI integrates itself with its surrounds [...] delighting in a peculiar L-shape footprint, which in this context becomes 'liberation' - a freedom to twist, bundle, and turn through existing buildings." [8] Standing uninvolved in front of the choreography of concrete is an old building for which we find no reason to be present or absent; what we read is the desire to hide away from loss.

In bold contrast, let us now consider another example, where the architect, not being limited by preservation mandates, handled the issue of loss, based on an analysis of the conceptual intangible context. We refer to Lina Bo Bardi's intervention in Pompeia, São Paulo. In this occasion, although the pre-existing buildings were in no state of listing and preservation, it was the architect who decided to keep them and develop her design within them. Her concept was simple: the new SESC would refer to users whose forefathers were workers of the factory. "The decision to keep the existing structure significantly enhanced the sense of place from a social point of view. [...] [It] paid respect to the history of human labor that took place there." [9] Such an instance stands as a positive exception in today's dominant condition.

EPILOGUE: BUILDINGS THAT NEGATE THE FUTURE

Returning to the nature of the limbo condition, Giorgio Agamben's thoughts are worth considering, to

bring us a step closer to the link between heritage and the future that we are interested in. As he observes, although the notion of limbo comes as a complementary addition to the theological dualism of paradise and hell, covering a gap of certain exceptions, it simultaneously threatens to destroy the very theological narrative. For, in order for their punishment not to be unjust, the main feature of the unbaptized infants is the inability to perceive of God, as we previously mentioned, and consequently of the theological dualism. [10]

In their ignorance, subjects in limbo remain neutral before forgiveness and condemnation; not only they are not desperate, rather they retain their last memories of joy in a frozen smile, through the proposal of Aquinas. In their neutral attitude, Agamben identifies the most radical opposition to forgiveness, in front of which the theological narrative collapses.

Tracing a theology for preservation, we project Agamben's thought upon the building realm in an effort to identify the role of a building in limbo. What could God be in the realm of buildings? And eventually what is that buildings in limbo radically oppose? As we firstly stated in the very base of a preservation discourse lies the generic dual structure of keeping or erasing. In this exact dualism we try to find our answers. Riegl states that values which define monuments are present and subjective, pointing, in our understanding, to our visions for the future. In this light, discussions on preservation become discussions about the visions of our future. And this is exactly what limbo buildings resist to deal with. If the rise of the unbaptized buildings establishes the gradual demise of God, as Agamben proclaims, then the rise of the unbaptized buildings establishes the gradual demise of our future visions.



Figure 2. St Teresa versus Lindsay Lohan
source: instagram.com, @historyinmemes

The awkwardness we have been referring to throughout the essay, occurs exactly at the time when we seem to have a difficulty to look forward. At this time, the figure of the hero seems distant. Death appears only as an imperilment, a danger, or a risk to be taken through extreme sports or exhausting diets. Monuments too, cease to commemorate heroes who consciously led themselves to death, rather victims of unintentional deceases; what we fear of most is loss. Exiled in a desert of complete nowness we can praise no heroes; only stars and models seem to form our contemporary pantheon; pacifistic personas mute enough to avoid any conflict. Architecture follows, engaging in exercises of innovation and edginess, producing buildings that strike poses in silence, as well as cities of incomprehensible narcissistic personal statements. Trapped within their flesh, listed buildings release their offsprings from any responsibility of replacement whatsoever. The prevalence of buildings in limbo signify a constant drifting away from the warlike morality of heroes and saints, only to embrace the pacific ethics of the supermodel.

NOTES

- 1 Gilles Lipovetsky, *L'ère du vide* (Gallimard, 1983). Excerpt from the greek translation: Ζιλ Λιποβετσκί, *Η εποχή του κενού* (Αθήνα: Νησίδες), 54-55.
- 2 Rem Koolhaas, *Preservation Is Overtaking Us* (New York: ColumbiaBooks on Architecture and The City, 2016).
- 3 Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins," *Oppositions: A Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture* 25 (1982), originally published in 1903.
- 4 See Ignasi De Sola Morales, "From Contrast to Analogy: Developments in the concept of architectural intervention", *Lotus International* 46 (1986).
- 5 Ιωάννης Τραυλός [John Travlos], *Πολεοδομική Εξέλιξης των Αθηνών* [The Urban Development of Athens] (Αθήνα: Καπόν, 2005).
- 6 Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- 7 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Supplement 1 to the Third Part.
- 8 From the MAXXI project description at the website of the ZHA website: <http://www.zaha-hadid.com>.
- 9 Steffen Lehmann, "Keeping the Existing: Lina Bo Bardi's Upcycling and Urban Renewal Strategies," in *Sustainable Lina: Lina Bo Bardi's Adaptive Reuse Projects*, ed. Annette Condello and Steffen Lehmann (Springer, 2016), 59.
- 10 Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 5-8.

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IMAGE CAPTIONS

[Figure 1]

Caption: A mosque inside the Parthenon and the neighborhood around

Source: William Pars, *Print Study / Drawing; East of the Parthenon*, 1764-1766, British Museum.

[Figure 2]

Caption: St Teresa versus Lindsay Lohan

Source: instagram.com, @historyinmemes

SOUND JOURNEY BETWEEN ASIA AND EUROPE: COMPARING OLD AND NEW FERRIES

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INTRODUCTION

MODERN CITY AND ITS MODERN FERRIES

In early 19th century, the industrial revolution reached to Istanbul port. On the 20th of May, 1828; the first steam-ship ‘Swift’ sailed in İstanbul waters. Shortly after its arrival, it was renamed as ‘Buğu’ by the public which means ‘Vapour’. Later the name of the steam-ships stayed same, ‘vapour’.

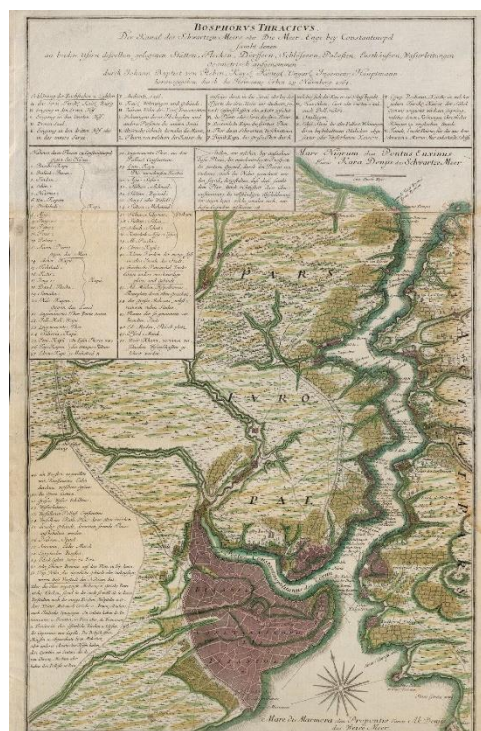


Figure 1.1764 Map of İstanbul, Von Reben

“The Ottoman capital saw emerging public transport with the introduction of the steam ferries crisscrossing the Bosphorus” where the social and economic changes, the expansion of the summer-

house lifestyle demanded a new way of transportation. Between 1837-1851 British and Russian ferries were operating the public service on the Bosphorus line. In two decades the Ottoman Empire reinstated its sovereignty in the waters of İstanbul by the establishment of Şirket-i Hayriye (1851). The maritime transport; a vital element of the İstanbul's city organisation, had become a faster and more practical method. The active use of steamers in everyday life and westernisation of the high-class society expanded the boundaries of the city in the direction of the Bosphorus line and Marmara sea. Shipyards, maintenance pools, almost factory-scale production workshops and an enormous infrastructure, ferry stations are established. Transformation of modern İstanbul has been led by ferries with the other establishment of the industrial revolution; railroads as far as motorways started to redesign the city.

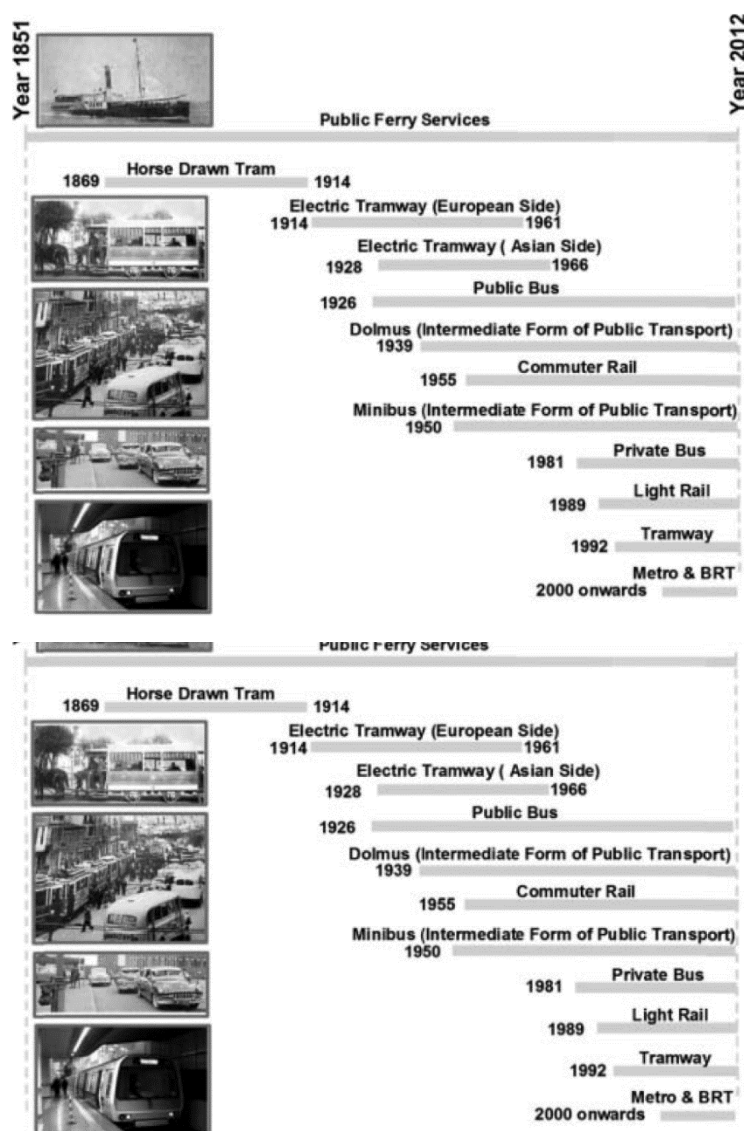


Figure 2. Historical timeline: the introduction of new technologies in Istanbul, 1851-2012.¹

In Architecture and the Turkish City: An Urban History of Istanbul Since the Ottomans Gül stresses on “Modern İstanbul: a mirror of Turkish political history”. Inevitably, involvement and development of the modern ferries in İstanbul have the same trace. Şirket-i Hayriye was in the public service with two different companies until 1945 with 77 ferries. The demolishing effects of The First World War (most of the Şirket-i Hayriye ferries served in the war and could not come back to Bosphorus) and later the Great Depression was massive on the economy of new Turkish Republic. Three different enterprises had been in service were nationalised; AKAY (Marmara Line) in 1937, Haliç Vapurlar Şirketi (Haliç line) in 1941 and Şirket-i Hayriye (Bosphorus Line) in 1945. They gathered under the same roof Şehir Hatları Administration (City Lines).

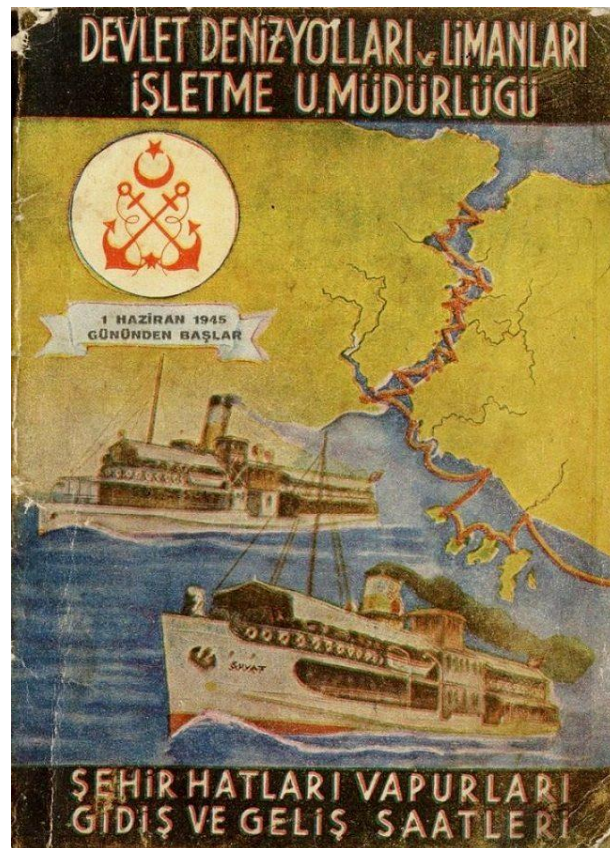


Figure 3. Old Ferry Schedule 1945

In the second half of the century, İstanbul faced with American influence (Marshall Plans) just after World War II. The new economy movement led by Menderes, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey from 1950 to 1960, redesigned İstanbul. Menderes adopted the plans of the French urban planner Proust (1940) for the city almost twenty years after they had first appeared. The improvements occurred in road construction in the 1950s that demolished the old city and caused the illegal settlements that were expanding the city edges between 1950s and 1960s. Later in the 1960s, İstanbul built tramway rails were demolished in both European and Asian side. Finally, as an urban planning solution, the first bridge was built in 1973 and the second in 1988. The military coup in 1980 was another turning point. By the influence of neoliberal policies in 80s local production lost its importance. Several privatisation attempts occurred on sea transportation as well as on other public enterprises in the last decades of the century.

Even after the two bridges connected the continentals, the ferries protected their central position in Bosphorus.² Şehir Hatları Administration in İstinye dockyard produced first local ferry in 1956. The enterprise continued to grow the filo by the establishment of the new technologies.

In 2005 Şehir Hatları Administration, which was under the umbrella of the Turkey Maritime Organization and was holding the heritage of the three different companies, was transferred to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) by a decision of the High Board of Privatization. The İBB, in 2006 built two new ferries which were mimicking (public survey elected the new ferry from eight different options) the old style ferries. The second attempt of privatisation was İstanbul Şehir Hatları Turizm Sanayi Ticaret Anonim Şirketi, which was founded by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2010.

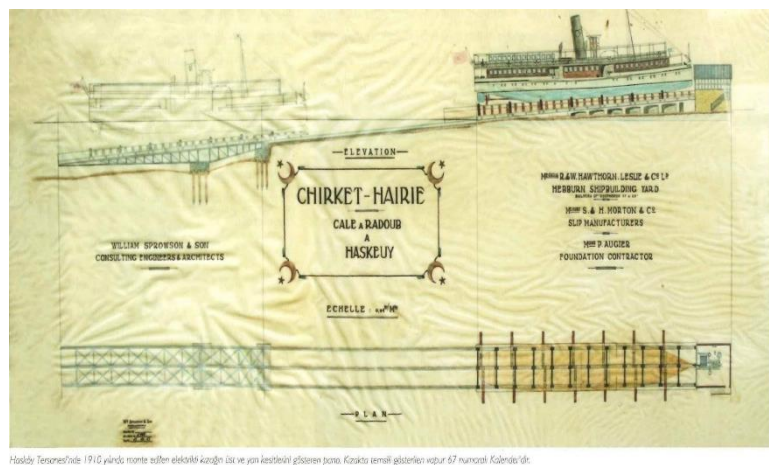


Figure 4. Kalender ferry built in 1911 in Newcastle, England, retired in 1984.³

For two century, the modern ferries of İstanbul have been in public service. Some of them served to İstanbul for 90 years, and the last ferry of Şirket-i Hayriye in use retired in 2014. The ferries of İstanbul became an integral part of urban life as a cultural and industrial heritage.

In 2015, the new double-ended ferries (Göksu, Küçüksu and Durusu) were put into service without consulting the public, but they were not ‘vapur’. While Şehir Hatları is claiming that;

“Şehir Hatları is a modern enterprise in urban maritime transportation in Istanbul, with a strong brand value and a great corporate reputation, offering an alternative in transportation by providing public maritime transportation services, protecting the ferries, the shipyards and the quays that are symbols of our cultural heritage and it is the favored leader enterprise in urban maritime transportation”.⁴

The public opinion was not the same. “The new sea vessels were subjected to heavy criticism from descriptions as “a shanty house posed as a ferry” to question such as “what did we do to deserve such hideousness?”⁵ The project aimed to build ten new ferries, but the process was stopped after the public reaction. The reaction of the public was not just nostalgic cry. The design and, ultimately, the experience of the ferry were dramatically changed.



Figure 5. Şehit İlker Karter (still in use) built 1980 in Haliç, İstanbul.⁶

The critical point of view, in this case, is based on the user (public) experience in everyday life. As a daily passenger of Karaköy Pier (old city centre) - Kadıköy Pier (modern city centre) route, I started to investigate the difference between old and new ferries by listening and recording the soundscapes of the ferries. How did the twenty minutes daily voyage experience change by new economic investments?

SOUNDSCAPES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Defazio defines; Culture itself “material” (without any outside)⁷ and sound touches the smallest corners of all around. In *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life* LaBelle says;

*The dynamic of auditory knowledge provides then a key opportunity for moving through the contemporary by creating shared spaces that belong to no single public and yet which impart a feeling for intimacy. It is a networked and situational understanding.*⁸

This auditory knowledge, situational understanding, can be heard in everyday life. French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre defines the critical context, everyday life, as “what is left over” after all distinct, superior, specialized and structured activities have been removed. He suggested that space is produced within a dialectic relationship between social action and spatialization, which corresponds to social construction, instead of being an absolute or naturally occurring phenomenon.⁹ His dialectical approach to everyday life can be seen in his notion of spatiality, which included the body, action and the built environment. This approach enabled him to understand and think through the urban experience. By following the concept, listening to everyday soundscapes let us analyse a social space, which is produced between sound, listener (individual) and environment.¹⁰

“Soundscapes are the totality of all sounds within a location with an emphasis on the relationship between individual’s or society’s perception of, understanding of and interaction with the sonic environment”.¹¹ As a physical phenomenon, sound is a form of energy and air forms the medium in which it moves. The movement of a sound ends when its energy turns into another form of energy.

Sound is a form of energy which travels multi directionally through the medium; air. As Lefebvre says; Physical space has no “reality” without the energy that is deployed within it. This presents sound as in fact one of the defining forces of space¹² and with sound, everything interacts with everything else¹³, it is a [way of touching](#) from distance.

The materiality of a sound can be found in a physical space, but also the movement of sound creates an invisible social network between things and people. Therefore, sound can be considered not as “the property of a thing but the result of an action”.¹⁴ And “Everywhere there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm”.¹⁵ Rhythms imply repetitions and can be defined as movements and differences within repetition. In *Towards the City of Thresholds* Stavrides considers, as “Rhythm seems to be a promising concept in an effort to connect a theory of practice as meaningful performance with the experience of time and space.”¹⁶

Sound, a temporary phenomenon, creates social rhythms in an urban context. For analysing a soundscape from this perspective, there is a need to consider that the earlier researches that were established by Canadian composer Murray Schafer and his colleagues at Simon Fraser University in the 1960s. They examined the spaces’ background and foreground sonic environment. Schafer developed a terminology for identifying the main features: ‘keynote sounds’, ‘sound signals’ and ‘soundmarks’, which contributed to the structuring of soundscape studies and defining a soundscape.

The term ‘keynote sounds’ refers to the “tuning of a space” and these sounds are quite important “because they have an archetypical value and meaning and can be imprinted so deeply in the soul of the people who listen to them that life without these sounds could be perceived as an obvious impoverishment”.¹⁷

The tuning of space “is created by its geography and climate: water, wind, forests, plants, birds, insects and animals” and in today’s urban areas perhaps we can call this ‘background noise’ caused by the non-stop movements of people and things, which all help us to understand that we are in the big city: traffic, the constant hums, and air conditioning.

Furthermore, ‘signals’ are foreground sounds, which are unseen figures and are listened to consciously. These sounds carry an acoustic warning, such as bells, sirens and car horns. The term ‘soundmark’ is derived from ‘landmark’ and soundmarks are different from signals because they “stand out and hold a special meaning for a place and its inhabitants”.¹⁸

This terminology has contributed to the structuring of soundscape studies, an interdisciplinary field which has gained importance in urban studies, not only as a physical concept but also in social terms. In *Acoustic Communication* (1984), the composer and researcher Barry Truax, was one of the leading scholars, as Schafer, in the *World Soundscape Project* (1970-1975) at Simon Fraser University, introduced a new approach to the sound phenomenon. For him, the term ‘acoustic communication’ “is the most general way to describe all of the phenomena involving sound from a human perspective”.¹⁹

In this study, sound is associated with physical movement and the motions of everyday life. As a principal feature of the urban concept, temporality re-creates urban rhythms and the city’s soundscapes, and consciously or unconsciously shared sonic experience in everyday life establishes its own ‘acoustic community’. By that, Truax meant that

*... acoustic cues and signals constantly keep the community in touch with what is going on from day to day within it. Such a system is ‘information rich’ in terms of sound, and therefore sound plays a significant role in defining the community spatially, temporally in terms of daily and seasonal cycles, as well as socially and culturally in terms of shared activities, rituals and dominant institutions. The community is linked and defined by its sounds.*²⁰

Just like Schafer, Truax stressed the unique and historical importance of soundmarks, which are the most striking components of the acoustic community. These most powerful and loudest sound signals

define the acoustic boundaries of the community;

*... since all within these profiles have the shared experience of hearing them, and nearly any definition of community will include some element of a shared commonality.*²¹

As Stavrides declares in (In)Common Spaces: Place is the learned language that a society's members use in the different contexts of their interaction: space is a spoken or 'practiced place'.²² In a social space;

*"Sound operates as an emergent community, stitching together bodies that do not necessarily search for each other, and forcing them into proximity, for a moment, or longer. Such movements bring forward a spatiality that is coherent and inhabitable, that opens up spaces for sharing, as well as being immediately divergent and diffuse, that is, temporal and multiple, noisy. Acoustic spatiality in other words forces negotiation by being constituted with the feverish energies of so many interruptions."*²³

From this perspective, as Farina suggests;

*"The soundscape is an acoustic context but also a cultural domain that greatly contributes to defining the characteristics of a region, the culture of the people, and more in general the cultural heritage. The strict and continuous contacts between sound and environment emphasizes the importance of this sonic context in shaping use and traditions and reinforcing the sense of the place and every other issue related to human culture and heritage".*²⁴

In this work, the sound is regarded as a movement in a physical and cultural sense that evaluated as the critical item of production or reproduction of the social space in everyday life. In this context, cultural-shared soundscapes are considered as common spaces.

From this point of view; the research examines two kinds of heritages; As tangible heritage: the ferries of Istanbul and as intangible heritage: the soundscapes of the ferries of Istanbul İstanbul's industrialisation history had started with its modern ferries. In two centuries these unique public spaces became cultural and industrial heritage. However, the experience of ferries is not tangible as Vapur itself. These unique transportation vessels have an essential role in everyday life of the city. Everyday practices transform the common value on any cultural heritage. The dramatic change of the experience of the ferries is questioning by comparing the sonic environments of both ferries. Field recordings from different parts of the ferries and the piers are collected for spatial analyse, while focusing on three kinds of movement; the movement of the air, the movement of the users and the movement of the ferry have been discussed.

This research claims that the common experience of spaces created by sounds. Before comparing the old and new ferries, there is a need to discuss the everyday experience of the ferries and social reproduction of space by examples. In the last two decades, first of all, 'the modernization' did not build a ship, the tool was media. The year was 2003 first intent to put TVs into the ferries. In short, the attempt was adopted. In 2011, the year that İstanbul metropolitan municipality became the owner of Şehir Hatları, TVs were modernized and ready for the publication, but with only one news channel on them. As a sound source, TVs became dominant/obligatory objects of the ferries' soundscapes. In the summer of 2013, during or after the Gezi Park protests²⁵, TVs were silent. They were 'just' scenes of the news or kind of a commercial billboard in the ferries. After 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, instead of a news channel, entertainment videos have been chosen for showing on public transportation TVs. Still, today there are always visuals without sound.

Besides all that, an ungoverned movement established itself. Street musicians have been taking place in these moving public spaces in the last eight years. They became illegal first, but acceptance came

from the public. For the sake of others who do not want to listen, spaces are determined by Şehir Hatları management. Nowadays musicians have their stages for playing. Rhythms recreated and adapted by the sound of changing everyday practices.

In the last two century ferries of İstanbul have established the new city' rhythms. Listening to the strong relationship between the city and its ferries, listening to the journey help to trace the transformation of everyday life rhythms. Therefore comparing the old and the new; what kind of common space experienced in the ferries/in the city by sound? What is the intangible value of the soundscape of the old ferries? What kind of common spaces created by the new design of the ferries? Moreover, what is the difference?



Figure 6. In Cumhuriyet Koraltürk painting; Güzelhisar, Büyükkada, Göztepe, Altinkum Ferries of Şirket-i Hayriye²⁶



Figure 7. The photograph of the new ferry is seen with unfinished construction of Çamlıca Mosque on the background. (source: <https://www.instagram.com/muratgermen/?hl=en>)

KARAKÖY-KADIKÖY: THE SONIC EXPERIENCE OF THE FERRIES

Kadıköy is one of the biggest centres in Asian side of İstanbul. Karaköy is the coast of the historic city Galata's old port throughout the history of İstanbul. Both of them are serving as transportation junction points. In 1846, the close relationship between two coasts established by the ferries that started to operate in Bosphorus. As a small village, Kadıköy became a modern part of the city by establishing the railways (1853 Haydarpaşa-İzmit route) and ferry routes(see Figure 3). Today, Karaköy-Kadıköy route is one of the main lines of Şehir Hatları, which serves to more than 250.000 daily passengers, this declares the role of the ferries in every day life of the city.

The ferries of this route, these temporary sharing spaces²⁷ carry the city dwellers who are entirely different from each other in cultural and economic base. During the day and night (from 6.10 am to 01.00 am); the sound of seagulls, voices of rushing people, machine noises, wave sounds, tea services, are ordinary sonic events while street musicians, hawkers, fans, night drinkers at the back are common marginals in the soundscapes of these ferries. Those typical incidents changed dramatically when the new ferries put into the service.

Between 2017 winter and 2018 summer renovation of the Karaköy pier was another critical issue. Temporary pier in Karaköy was not suitable for the old style ferries. The new ferries became obligatory for the passengers of the route. These vessels according to the İBB, called as “double-ended-type passenger ship” not even ferries, they are sea buses. Completely changed form and functional design affected the experience of the ferry voyage and the city' relation with it.

The old style ferries, which had been made between the 1950s and the 1980s and they still give service today. Since the middle of the 19th century, the image and the functionalization of the İstanbul ferries have changed by the improvements of the new technologies, but they have never been transformed to entirely in a different shape until 2015. The body of the old style ferries designed for İstanbul waters and climate. Engines, fuels, wheels, propellers, pipes, colours were adapted to original design principles, even if they were produced in different dockyards. The production of the ferries was dependent on needed capacity, economic benefits and optimum comfort conditions for users. Unfortunately, the new vessels design shares only one common concept with the old ones; colours. On the other hand, compare to the old style ferries, the new vessels user circulation is highly limited. While critics were around the idea that; “New ferries pose a threat to historic fabric and authenticity of İstanbul”, the experience of them transformed the everyday practices of the users.

As seen in Figure 8, the old style ferry has various spaces. There is two spots for boarding and evacuation on the main deck, and four stairs for vertical circulation that connect indoor and out-door spaces to the main deck with several options. The sections of the old style ferries are like; abaft, abaft saloon, main deck, fore-saloon, fore starboard- fore larboard, service areas, abaft starboard-abaft larboard, upper fore deck, upper deck, upper abaft deck. This division presents different options for a user who prefer to be indoor or outdoor spaces while protecting itself from any possible climate condition or enjoying a breeze. On the contrary, the new design (see Figure 9) does not propose many options for users. For boarding and evacuation, the fore-abaft part (the design of the ferry is symmetric) of the ferry is in use, as might be expected, that is not efficient for quick evacuation. The automatic ramp and slide doors close the gate before departure. There is no outdoor space on the entrance level indoor area connected to the upper level by stairs. The only access to the outdoor area is from the upper level, and the design does not contain any natural ventilation properties. In addition to this, three unprotected outdoor spaces are not ideal neither for the city, which has average days with precipitation per month around ten for eight months, either for the summer season. Eventually, the design of the new ferries blocks the air and user movement.

As discussed before, sound travels multi-directionally through the medium; air which is common for all. In any social context (heritage, architecture, urban planning, etc.), consideration of soundscapes establishes as necessary research. These dynamic, temporal spaces carry information about sound, individual and environment that establishes the critical role of sound on social reproduction of space. From this perspective, in this research, listening to these unique public spaces reassesses the concept of cultural heritage.

The dates between October 2017- June 2018, I collected field records (with ZoomH6 mic. X/Y, ZoomHn4 X/Y, ZoomH1 X/Y, and mobile phone) from both of the ferries and the piers, in various hours and days. Analysing the records evinced the dramatic difference between the soundscape of the both ferries. The findings, general features of soundscape such as, soundmark, keynotes, and signals will be discussed as conclusion on this study.

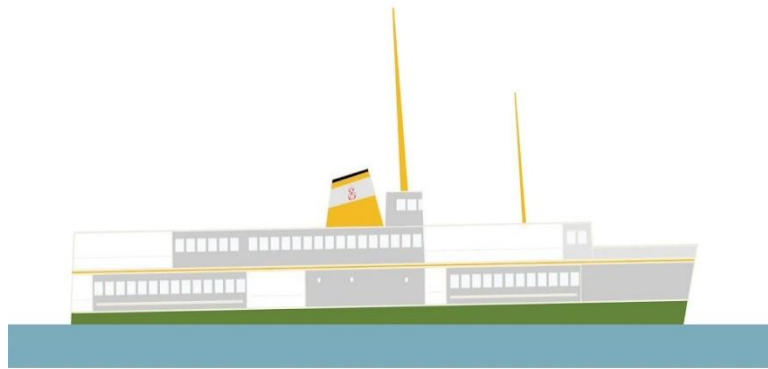


Figure 8. The schematized drawing of old style ferry shows windows, open and closed spaces for air and user circulation

The acoustic spatiality of the old ferries has been creating by the separation and connection between spaces which enable to air flow. Natural ventilation works for all the seasons. The design establishes relationship between interior and exterior spaces as for the city scale as well as the ferry scale. The organization of the decks allows different conditions of use for passengers. The protected outdoor spaces define acoustic space by the reflection, absorption, and diffusion of the sound waves that creates defined acoustic space. Comparing to new ones this characteristic feature of the old ferries also defines experienced common space by sound. Spaces for the public usage in the ferry are like; [abaft](#), [abaft saloon](#), [main deck](#), [fore saloon](#), [fore starboard-fore larboard](#), [service areas](#), [abaft starboard-abaft larboard](#), [upper fore deck](#), [upper deck](#), [upper abaft deck](#). The tracks for each link, contains different days and day times from approximately around same locations in the journey. As a result, the sound of sea waves, cry of seagulls, conversations, engine noises, tea services, winds, are keynotes of the old ferries' soundscapes. During boarding and berthing the engine make definable sounds, which are sound signals that can tell the minutes for arriving to the pier. For centuries, the remarkable sound of the ferry's whistle has been establishing as a soundmark for user of it and the city.

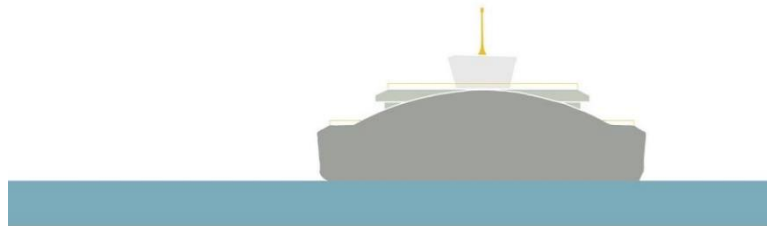


Figure 9. The schematized drawing of new 'passenger boat' shows open and closed spaces for air and user circulation

On the other hand, the design of the new vessels, as declared before, does not contain any natural ventilation properties. That is the reason for the weak relation between indoor and outdoor spaces, and also between users (public) and the city. This symmetric design does not present many options for its users. [Levelled one indoor space](#) and [three unprotected outdoor spaces](#) do not have any common sound except humming of the engine. As a [soundmark](#) for Istanbul which can be heard from a far distance by the help of the geography and sea; the steamboat whistle/ vapour whistle has no space on the new vessels, instead of that there is a technological version of it, a horn. The high frequency of the horn sound and similar warning sounds are the sound signals of the soundscape of the new vessels. The conversations indoor spaces mostly in low volume, the lack of background sounds can be the reason for it. Also, outdoor spaces have not definable sonic environment during the journey, besides that, hearing the sound of waves from the passenger seat is not possible. Even free passengers, seagulls, do not prefer to travel by the new vessels because there is no extra space without human occupation. Another critical sonic event on the vessels is the announcement of the captain after arriving to the pier. Not directly but intentionally, he informs passengers who sit on the back deck and do not notice the evacuation because of the lack of sonic information.

Consequently, the everyday sonic experience of the ferries is respectively different from each other as like their designs. In other words, comparing the old and new ferries' soundscapes, established the results as, heterogeneity versus homogeneity, separation-connection versus isolation on user experience. Sound of waves, city noises, conversations, the movements and ferry's specific engine noises were floating between individuals and the public until they were blocked by the new "investment". By listening to the rhythms of hundred years tells the intangible value of the ferries of Istanbul. From lasting hours journey to twenty minutes as an everyday practice, the ferries have been establishing their importance as a cultural heritage. The findings of this study show that the lack of sonic connection in the new vessels turns the historic journey in the waters of Bosphorus into "a mission" to see Istanbul. Listening to these unique public spaces is listening to the city, listening to the community, listening to social reproduction of space in a given moment. Homogeneity and isolation,

which are establishing by the new vessel usage, are not efficient for social intercourse in a cosmopolite city that has more than fourteen million population. In order to understand, communicate, share and create common values we need to let the air flow between people and things.

NOTES

- ¹ Pelin Alpkokin, John Andrew Black, "Historical analysis of economic, social and environmental impacts of the Europe-Asia crossings in Istanbul," *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation* 10, no. 2 (2016), p. 67
- ² Zeynep Çelik, "19. yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti." *Değişen İstanbul*, (TETTV, İstanbul, 1998), p.72
- ³ Murat Koraltürk, *Şirket-i Hayriye:(1851-1945)*. (İDO, 2007), p.140
- ⁴ The Experience of Over One and a Half Centuries: Şehir Hatları, Accessed June 10, 2018, <http://en.sehirhatlari.istanbul/en/kurumsal/history-6492.html>
- ⁵ "New ferries pose threat to historic fabric and authenticity of Istanbul" Accessed August 20, 2018, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/new-ferries-pose-threat-to-historic-fabric-and-authenticity-of-istanbul-88950>
- ⁶ Eser Tutel, *İstanbul'un unutulmayan gemileri*. (Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005), p.134
- ⁷ Kimberly DeFazio, *The city of the senses: Urban culture and urban space*. (Springer, 2011), p.10
- ⁸ Brandon LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life* (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2010), p. xviii
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Barry Truax, *Acoustic communication*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001).
- ¹¹ S. R. Payne, W. J. Davies, and M. D. Adams. "Research into the practical policy applications of soundscapes concepts and techniques in urban areas. DEFRA report NANR200, June 2009." (2009) p.7
- ¹² Peter Nelson, 'The materiality of space' *Organised Sound*, vol 20, no. 3 (2015), p.2
- ¹³ Barry Truax, *Acoustic communication*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001).
- ¹⁴ Jean-Paul Thibaud, "A Sonic Paradigm of Urban Ambiances." *Journal of Sonic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011)
- ¹⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. (A&C Black, 2004), p.15
- ¹⁶ Stavros Stavrides *Towards the City of Thresholds*. (Trento: Professional Dreamers, 2010), p.24
- ¹⁷ Antonella Radicchi, "The notion of soundscape in the realm of sensuous urbanism. A historical perspective." (*Listen*, 2013), p.19
- ¹⁸ Ibid. p.19
- ¹⁹ Barry Truax, *Acoustic communication*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), p.xi
- ²⁰ (ibid: 58)
- ²¹ (ibid. 60)
- ²² Stavros Stavrides, (*In*)*Common Space:The City as Commons*, (Zed Books, 2016), p.237
- ²³ Brandon Labelle, Acoustic Spatiality. *Književnost i kultura, Broj, 4.*(2012), p.1
- ²⁴ Almo Farina, *Soundscape Ecology: Principles, Patterns, Methods and Applications*, (Springer Science & Business Media, 2013), p.4
- ²⁵ There is no accepted current dates for the protests.
- ²⁶ Murat Koraltürk, *Şirket-i Hayriye:(1851-1945)*. (İDO, 2007), p.268
- ²⁷ The writer chooses these spaces as a daily passenger of the route.

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Tracks Playlist:

<https://soundcloud.com/sound-in-betweenness/sets/sound-journey-between-asia-and-europe>

[IN]TANGIBILITY – AN INSTITUTIONAL DIVIDE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper will explore the unbounded perception of ‘**heritage**’, a term often associated with the commemoration and preservation of a physical context. Recognising its timeline as manifold, the term has been dressed in wandering interpretive meanings and definitions over the years, situating a questioning authority over the accuracy with which one can position oneself and their argument within such a vastly developing terrain. The aim of this study is to critique the intrinsic institutional division set between attributes classified under ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ cultural heritage, as inscribed by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO]. Accepting this as an opportunity for targeted discussion, therefore, this work attempts to examine why the term, to date, so heavily weighs over the distinct tangibility that is associated with its every interpretation, challenging its institutional labels with a propositional argument that aspires to access a more holistic reach to its limitless translation. Can it not be said, that the overlooked power of the collective concurrence of a community, with its ethereal tangents of its storytelling and its shared memory of place, embody the physicality of any ‘listed’ site; and shouldn’t it, therefore, be recognised as equal in its contribution to a community’s identity?

Set specifically within the multi-faceted Indian landscape, the paper interrogates the conventional definitions provided by the institution, critical to the wider conservation framework of the built environment and highlights how its management is currently viewed through a westernised lens. Establishing a global position as a country with one of the highest number of UNESCO inscribed heritage attributes, [36 World Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites¹ and 13 Intangible Heritage Elements²], India is introduced as a contextual catalyst. A sense of belonging, therefore, should be integral to such a contested site, as at present, conservation is often reduced to a selective past that abides by global cultural and political policies.

HERITAGE: An Institutional Divide

Instigating the conversation with a critical understanding of UNESCO’S two pertinent conventions that fall under the theme of ‘Protecting Our Heritage and Fostering Creativity’, the definitions draw reasons to question the divorced conditioning of the term.

Tangible [heritage] recognised under:

➤ “The Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage” (WHC) (1972) defined as:

*“... buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future. These include objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture. Objects are important to the study of human history because they provide a concrete basis for ideas, and can validate them.”*³

Intangible [heritage] recognised under:

➤ “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” (ICH) (2003) defined as:

*“...traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.”*⁴

According to UNESCO, the ‘Convention Regarding the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage’ encloses a boundary of all that is inherently tactile or physical, that of which is perceptible by touch – elements, as they mention, such as buildings, monuments, artefacts, etc. This immediacy of western legitimisation, embedded within a clean and measured terminology of formal objects being referenced to in the Articles as of worthy of preservation, received international backlash over its confining representation⁵. Thirty years later, UNESCO introduced a new realm in response to the allegations of an increased neglect towards the non-western heritage practices, under which heritage was depicted as acquiring an intrinsic intangible quality, thereby establishing the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Posing an almost antithetical outline to the 1972 convention, however, almost immediately implicated a marked divide amongst the interpretation, perception and preservation of heritage, defining it merely by its absence or presence as a material entity⁶.

To what extent can we restrict a tangible existence to its visual and physical form without recognising that, absence, too can also be inherited by an invisible tactility? Can we not interrogate that the presence of a building acquires no worth or meaning to its community without its lingering memories, its ethereal auras and its experience within time and space?

MANDALA: A Heritage of Unity

Inaugurated through a methodological series of recreations of the Mandala, a spatial archetype of Hindu and Buddhist descent, the critique argues a more balanced interpretation of heritage, disputed through an analogy of the mandala’s symbolic foundation of the cosmos, enriched with meanings of a scared totality and synthesis. Derived from the root, ‘manda’, understood as ‘essence’, along with its added suffix, ‘la’, to mean ‘container’, its holistic interpretation lies in the notion of a ‘container of essence’⁷, otherwise perceived by Jungian analyst Marie-Louise von Franz, as serving the “creative purpose of giving expression and form to something that does not yet exist, something new and unique...”⁸. Charles Sanders Peirce’s theory of ‘Semiotics’ is referenced throughout the text to support the arguments, exploring the authenticity of representation, and equally its interpretation, unearthing a radical belief that our ideas, our thoughts and our internal experiences, all which could be described as ‘intangible’, each have a subjective mirror settled in the external objects of the physical world.

The paper is structured to dissect each individual category under UNESCO’s Intangible Heritage definition, (in reference to specifically inscribed Indian heritage), which includes: Oral Traditions,

Performing Arts, Social Practices, Rituals and Festive events, Knowledge and Practices concerning Nature and the Universe and Knowledge and Skills to produce Traditional Craft. So, in an attempt to nest these terms together under one definition of ‘heritage’, the self-initiated drawing practice of the mandala, guided by the relevant contextual research, unintentionally matures into an art form itself, unfolding an elasticity and a fluidity that expresses a symbiotic unity of the tangible unconscious mind and imagination with the meticulous tangibility of the held pan against paper. Thus, an intangible process generates a tangible product.

ORAL TRADITIONS: Mandala of Vedic Chanting

Critiquing Intangible Heritage as ‘*oral tradition*’, as per its reference in Article 2.2(a)⁹, situating its expression through the intangibly inscribed Indian tradition of Vedic chanting.

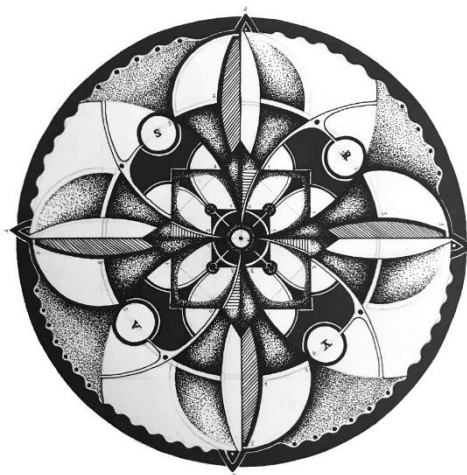


Figure 1. Mandala of Vedic Chanting

This ancient Indian ritual immerses a mosaic of profound esoteric recitations of the earliest sacred Hindu texts, known as the Four Vedas¹⁰. Its treasure lies within its transmission, a recitation discipline that ensures the sustenance of the inordinate holy hymns from generation to generation. The ritual, however, cannot embody its divine sound without the “vitality of the corporeal expressive body”¹¹, its somatic manifestations and locality of levelled importance that enable this immaterial act to evolve. What the definition fails to exhibit, which in its very essence, is the reason for its original nomination under what constitutes as worthy of a listed status, is, in fact, its exact delicate, multi-layered nature, its presence and its permanence, involving much more than a mere sounding echo, but rather an interlace of intricacies and overlaps that stem from rooted sites, tactile communications and objects of great symbolism.

The mandala attempts to illustrate the culmination of this unique nature, resonating an echo that originates from the centre and transcends around four secondary loci, each representing the Four Vedas, grounded by their physical volumes as texts. The reflexive curvature and looped structure resembles the repetitions and pauses taken within the recitation methodologies. Dots contract and relax between the symmetry, an ethereal presence surrounds the pulsating mandala as the intangible remnants of the mantras find place in their associated tangible constants. Peirce says, “the quality of things are founded in the nature of things, hence unity of substance implies perfect correspondence of qualities”¹².

There is an urgency to accent this perfect correspondence, this holistic dialogue that the Hindus can so naturally illustrate through a language of profound symmetry, in order to correct all biased prejudice, not only on an institutional level but on a human level also.

PERFORMING ARTS: Mandala of Kalbelia Folk Songs and Dances of Rajasthan

Critiquing Intangible Heritage as '*performing arts*', as per its reference in Article 2.2(b)¹³, situating its expression through the intangibly inscribed Indian Kalbelia folk songs and dances of Rajasthan.

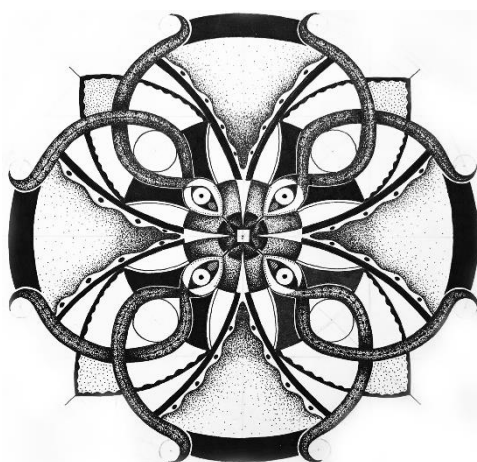


Figure 2. Mandala of Dances of Rajasthan

Kalbelia Folk Songs and

Kalbelia form an ancient Indian tribe in Rajasthan, India. Nomadic in nature, they follow a humble life on the margins of society, traditionally earning their living through the male occupation of snake charming and snake venom trading, whilst the females magnetise audiences with bewitching dance performances accompanied by mesmeric vocals that respire songs of past heroes, lovers and pride for the land¹⁴. This surviving community has led to a form of “ritualised begging”¹⁵, a resilient development in the Kalbelians’ adaptive nature to reconstruct and mature the songs and dances to keep up with their socioeconomic contexts. However, identifying the dances merely by the abstractedness of a swirling and sensuous motion impedes on their holistic framing, of a ritual that far exceeds the limits of imagination and bridges a unique bond between financial necessity with performance, danger with enchantment and predator with prey. This complex union involves the duality of both tangible and intangible temporalities, overlapping to construct an extraordinary practice of culture and tradition.

The mandala responds to this misrepresentation, with the image of the snake taking founding position, each head fixed, seduced to face the centre as the snake charming oscillates in resounding magnetism. Snake and woman become one – each elaborate sensuous motion performed, merges into a line that bends and swirls, curving and snapping as it meanders around the locus, grace perfected in the ancient artistry and gravity of each step. The physicality of the Kalbelia costume and the tactility of the instruments that discipline the growing tempo, all unite in both sound and motion, senses and intentions merge. Tactility and intangibility become intrinsic to each other, and, therefore, their authentic interpretation can only exist when one is associated with the other.

SOCIAL PRACTICES, RITUALS, FESTIVE EVENTS: Mandala of Navroze

Critiquing Intangible Heritage as ‘*social practices, rituals, festive events*’, as per its reference in Article 2.2(c)¹⁶, situating its expression through the intangibly inscribed New Year’s celebrations, formally recognised in India as Navroze.

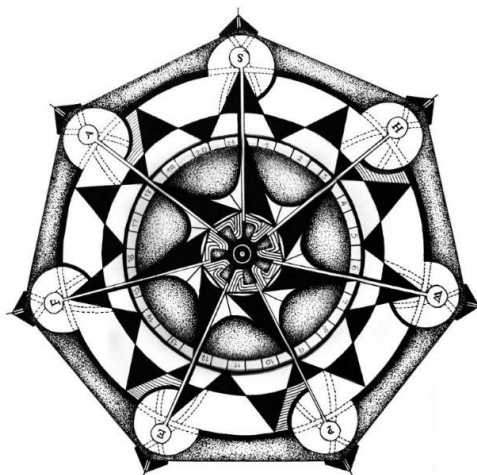


Figure 3. Mandala of

Navroze

Translated as the act of “renovating the creation”¹⁷, the celebration grounds an astrological interpretation whereby the divine Creation repeats its construction on the 21st March every year. Founded by the ancient Zoroastrian religion, the reasons for celebrating this day could be interpreted as transparent or diaphanous with a temporal appearance and disappearance of cosmogeny¹⁸. However, the day itself marks the absolute physicality and existence of the world, therefore it is not unusual to anticipate a merging of both tangible objects and intangible media engrained within today’s rituals of its celebration.

The mandala as compass finds its centre in the heptagonal symmetry of the divine elements – sky, animal, fire, earth, plant, water and human. Dotted lines overlap and sprout inwards, each root takes precedent over the other as they all come together to hold the divine ‘Table’¹⁹. Families traditionally prepare an elaborate table dressed with a white cloth, ornamented with everyday objects which on the day symbolise far more than their mere physicality. So even in the conception of the end and the beginning of a temporal period, we can understand there to be an essential unity of intangible notions through their tangible manifestations.

KNOWLEDGE & PRACTICES CONCERNING NATURE & THE UNIVERSE: Mandala of Yoga

Critiquing Intangible Heritage as ‘*knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe*’, as per its reference in Article 2.2(d)²⁰, situating its expression through the intangibly inscribed Indian practice of Yoga.

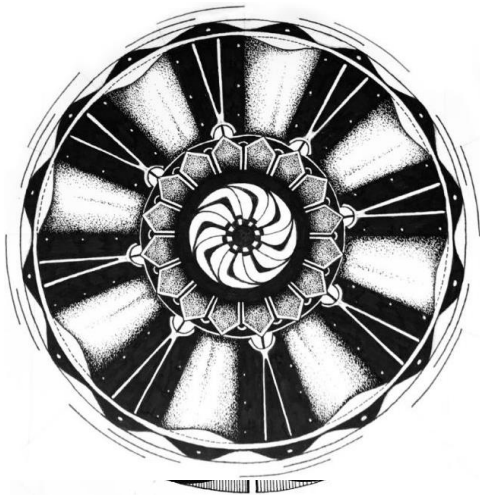


Figure 4. Mandala of Yoga

Involving the challenging exertion of mind and body controlled through physical postures, the focused gaze, meditation movements and breathing techniques²¹, the discipline empowers the tangible body to act as a medium for self-development, transporting a unity between the raw layer of skin and its axial spirit. As the paths towards a yogic foundation may vary per individual, the practice is understood to always leave the tactile soma in a surrendered state, whilst engaging with the inner self.

The mandala blossoms from its centre, a concentrated fragility in the balance of each line as nature's leaves, the fringes of the body, draw attention in and around the locus, a reverberation of dots breathe heavily controlling each steady meditative movement. Spiritual liberation is found in the curves which contract in tandem as the muscles do, and meditation commences via the fixated eye concentrating mind and body in merging ecstasy²². Pierce says, "but all mind is directly or indirectly connected with all matter"²³, which highlights an underestimation of 'heritage' on an institutional level, isolated by the two, separate conventions, since both the tangible and intangible are founded in the universe. (296)

KNOWLEDGE & SKILLS TO PRODUCE TRADITIONAL CRAFTS: MANDALA OF TRADITIONAL BRASS & COPPER CRAFT

Critiquing Intangible Heritage as '*knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts*', as per its reference in Article 2.2(e)²⁴, situating its expression through the intangibly inscribed Indian traditional Brass and Copper Craft of Utensil Making among the Thatheras of Jandiala Guru, Punjab, India.

Figure 5. Mandala of Traditional Brass & Copper Craft

The community of Thatheras was founded in the 19th century and consisted of trained metal craftsmen who quickly developed a highly regarded reputation in the manufacture of brass, copper, and other metal alloy utensils through their specialised techniques²⁵. Requiring an onerous work ethic, the craftsmen orally transmit the unique processes inherited from father to son²⁶. And as these crafts find place in the patent grounds of time, an embodied consciousness is marked accordingly as each craftsman expels skill through drive and humble motivation.

The mandala is grounded by a two-fold nature, its external view appearing as ‘matter’ in relation to its physical dimension, whilst a simultaneous internal framing captures its character and underlying consciousness. It finds moulded form within the locus of its scorching fire, its bounded periphery warps and flattens, a dance of welded edges and seamed joints perform amidst the ignited sparks of the furnished brain. There is an obvious tangibility that is first associated with the term craft. But in the words of Richard Sennett, ‘making is thinking’, implying that there is a duality between the physical act of making and the sociological act of thinking²⁷.

CONCLUSION

Its integral not to overlook how we divide practice and theory, technique and expression, how we nurture a need to define everything and therefore risking authenticity for reductive labels. In arguing the reflexive role that tangibility and intangibility possess together as one, an inherent shared nature in their homogeneity becomes apparent as it equally reflects the creation of a sense of national identity based upon shared values rather than ethnicity. American painter, William Morris Hunt, articulates how “art is man’s only lasting monument”²⁸, a beauty found within the thought that ‘monument’, too, can be given new meaning, itself no longer held by an institutional inscription of its physicality, but rather inscribed by the self in one’s creative memory. So from a speculative standpoint, could we suggest a reformation of UNESCO’S Rules of Procedure, encouraging the Convention Committees to redefine their current reductive classifications with an interactive and creative collaboration inspired by the mandala, purely driven by the public as interpretants instead. Staying true to UNESCO’s aphorism of Building Peace in the minds of men and women, a harmonious inclusive dialogue blossoms to teach us that the self is in fact the other, just as tangibility is as present as the intangible, and in that we meet as equal citizens to carry a common understanding of our pasts in absolution.

NOTES

- ¹ “Countries With The Most UNESCO World Heritage Sites”, Sousa, Gregory, 2017, accessed on April 14, 2018, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-most-unesco-world-heritage-sites.html>.
- ² “Countries With The Highest Number Of UNESCO-Inscribed Intangible Cultural Elements”, Sawe, Benjamin, 2017, accessed on April 14, 2018, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-highest-number-of-unesco-inscribed-intangible-cultural-elements.html>.
- ³ “The Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage”, UNESCO, 1972, available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>.
- ⁴ “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, 2003, available at: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- ⁵ Munjeri, Dawson, *Tangible and Intangible Heritage: from difference to convergence* (Museum international 56, no. 1-2, 2004), 12.
- ⁶ Munjeri, Dawson, *Tangible and Intangible Heritage: from difference to convergence* (Museum international 56, no. 1-2, 2004), 15.
- ⁷ “Mandala – Sacred Geometry in Buddhist Art | Exotic India”, Exotic India, 2000, accessed on April 7, 2018, <https://www.exoticindiaart.com/article/mandala/>.
- ⁸ Jung, Carl Gustav, *Man and his symbols* (Laurel, 1964), 225.
- ⁹ See Article 2.2(a) in “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, 2003, available at: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- ¹⁰ Howard, Wayne, “Vedic chant”, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: South Asia: The Indian Subcontinent* (2000), 238-245.
- ¹¹ Whatley, Sarah, “Materiality, Immateriality and the Dancing Body: The challenge of the inter in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage”, in *The Performing Subject in the Space of Technology* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2015), 218.
- ¹² Peirce, Charles Sanders, *Peirce on signs: Writings on semiotic* (UNC Press Books, 1991), 21.
- ¹³ See Article 2.2(b) in “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, 2003, available at: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- ¹⁴ “Kalbelia: A Sensuous Form of Folk Dance in India”, Utsavpedia, 2018, accessed on March 3, 2018, <https://www.utsavpedia.com/cultural-connections/kalbelia/>.
- ¹⁵ Joncheere, Ayla, *Kalbeliya Dance from Rajasthan: Invented Gypsy Form or Traditional Snake Charmers’ Folk Dance?* (Dance Research Journal 49, no. 1, 2017), 37-54.
- ¹⁶ See Article 2.2(c) in “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, 2003, available at: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- ¹⁷ Eliade, Mircea, and Willard R. Trask, *The myth of the eternal return, or, cosmos and history* (Vol. 118. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 64.
- ¹⁸ Eliade, Mircea, and Willard R. Trask, *The myth of the eternal return, or, cosmos and history* (Vol. 118. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 22.
- ¹⁹ “The Intangible Cultural Heritage of Navroze.”, Dasgupta, Arunava, 2016, accessed on April 1, 2018, <https://www.diplomaticsquare.com/the-intangible-cultural-heritage-of-navroze/>.
- ²⁰ See Article 2.2(d) in “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, 2003, available at: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- ²¹ Smith, Benjamin Richard, *Body, mind and spirit? Towards an analysis of the practice of yoga* (Body & Society 13, no. 2, 2007), 26-27.
- ²² “Not one yoga, but many yogas”, Wellcome Collection, 2018, accessed on April 6, 2018, https://wellcomecollection.org/articles/Wi_yzSQAfQpOrDY.
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- ²⁴ See Article 2.2(e) in “The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, UNESCO, 2003, available at: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
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- ²⁶ “Thatheras of Jandiala Guru”, IAS Preparation Online, 2001, accessed on April 9, 2018, <https://www.iaspreparationonline.com/thatheras-of-jandiala-guru/>.
- ²⁷ Sennett, Richard, *The craftsman* (Yale University Press, 2008), 7-9.

²⁸ “Artscope | Online edition of Daily News - Lakehouse Newspapers”, Archives.dailynews.lk., 2010, accessed on April 18, 2018. <http://archives.dailynews.lk/2010/08/04/art11.asp>.

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Figures:

- Fig 1-5: Author's Own. *Mandala Pen Drawings*. 2018.

SOCIAL VALUE - CHALLENGES OF CONSERVING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN CHINA

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INTRODUCTION

SOCIAL VALUE IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN CHINA

In the '13th Five-Year Plan' (2016-2020), President Xi Jinping mentioned that protecting historical and cultural heritage is an important cause that promotes national unity, strengthens national image and improves people's quality of life, which is conducive to promoting the development of society, the inheriting of national culture and protecting the national spirit (Zhao 2016). Economic globalization has progressively influenced many aspects of society (Gu 2017), which makes it more important but also difficult to protect the locality, nationality and diversity of culture (Zhang 2016).

The revised version of ICOMOS China's Principles (2015), with the explanation of five heritage values, demonstrates China's attempts to realize a holistic heritage-conservation understanding. According to Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (2015), the heritage values of a site are its historic, artistic, and scientific values, as well as its social and cultural values. 'Social value' is becoming an increasingly important topic in heritage conservation in China. This topic has been extensively discussed recently (Zhang 2016, Gu 2017, Lian 2016 et al), and encompasses the sub-topics of memory, emotion and education.

Social value is the value that society derives from the educational benefit that comes from the dissemination of information about the site, the continuation of intangible associations, and the social cohesion it may create (ICOMOS China 2015). Many types of places have been recognized as having social value. These types of places provide a spiritual or traditional connection between past and present; tie the past affectionately to the present; help give a disempowered group back its history; loom large in the daily comings and goings of life; provide an essential community function that over time develops into a deeper attachment that is more than a utility value; shape aspect of community behaviour and outlook; offer places where people gather; and or, act as a community. For example, places of public ritual, public meeting or informal gathering (ICOMOS China 2002). Overall, the importance of the social value is to emphasise the connection between the past and the present.

HOW CHINESE SCHOLARS PERCEIVE HERITAGE VALUE

China's research into heritage values can be traced back to the 1930s. Affected by the historical background in China, research on heritage values started much later than Western countries. The turning point is when the Government of the Republic of China enacted a law entitled Law on Protection of Antiques related to heritage conservation. In 1950, the Instructions of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government on Protecting Cultural heritage defined "historical value" and "revolutionary facts" as two criteria to judge the value of cultural heritage (Ruan & Zhang 2005). In 1961, the Central People's Government introduced the Temporary Regulations on Protection and Administration of Cultural Relics, which clarified concepts of historical and cultural relics and regarded "major historical events, revolutionary movements and celebrities" as the primary condition for value confirmation of cultural heritage (Sun 2011). This document included the historical value, artistic value and scientific value of cultural relics as evaluation factors of heritage value, and emphasized on heritage conservation related to revolutionary movements. In 1980, the Notice on Strengthening Protection of Historical Cultural Relics was promulgated, and the Report on Strengthening Protection and Administration of Ancient Architecture and Cultural Relics was approved (Xu 2011). In 1982, the concept of heritage value was amended in the Law on Protection of Cultural Relics clearly stipulating that "The following cultural relics with the historical, artistic and scientific value and located within the border of the People's Republic of China shall be under national protection." Since then, relevant regulations, rules and literature have all adopted the historical value, artistic value and scientific value as the criteria to judge the value of cultural heritage, historical buildings and sites (Ruan & Zhang, 2005).

Luo (2007) analyzed the value of cultural heritage from the perspective of cultural values and economic values. He argued that the cultural value of cultural heritage is manifest in the values of historical inheritance, of scientific cognition, of aesthetic art, and in the value of social harmony. Additionally, he recognized that the cultural value of cultural heritage could be subjective, unique, eternal, vulnerable and non-contact perceptible (intangible). Second, when discussing the economic value of cultural heritage, Luo argued that it represented an extension of cultural value, and include spiritual value, tourism value, and age value. Nevertheless, Luo (2007) did not deeply examine the connotations of every value. In contrast, Miao (2008) divided heritage value into historical value, technological value and cultural value. Miao considered that, in terms of the historical value, that historic buildings of different eras carried also the history of urban development. Hence, cultural heritage can facilitate people's understanding of historic buildings and urban development expressing the morphology of an ancient or contemporary city.

Recognising these contradictions, Li (2006) took a closer examination at the diverse values of historical architecture in Shanghai. Li concluded that Shanghai's cultural heritage conservation was a value-added process, as demonstrated in its diversification of values and its deepening of heritage connotations. Li also observed that heritage value has been progressively widening from historic value, in the very beginning, to the cultural value, and artistic value. Additionally, some other scholars have studied the concept of heritage value basing their inquiries upon specific exemplars. For example, Qi (2009) conducted a classification analysis of the historic value of the Taoist Temple of Tianhou and the Dazhigu Palace Site in Tianjin. He suggested that heritage value includes educational values, political values, tourism values and folk custom values. Fan et al. (2008) reviewed the tourism value and development prospects of historic buildings in The Hutong of Shanxi Province, proposing that the tourism value of historic buildings be divided into aesthetic value (including natural aesthetics and harmonious aesthetics), social and economic value, ecological value, and special functional value.

Geng (2014) investigated in detail the conservation strategies of five case studies, selected from three registration lists: the Xidi and Hongcun villages in southern Anhui Province that are on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage list, the Ancient watertown Zhouzhuang Town near Suzhou that was on the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List, and Beijing's Guozijian and Yandaixiejie Districts that are included on the list of China's 'Famous Top 10 Historic and Cultural Districts'. The premise for selection and examination of these case studies was built upon the research aim to compare and contrast theories (the Framework for Assessing Management Effectiveness developed by World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) and the Rapid Assessment and Prioritization of Protected Area Management developed by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF)). Each case study was examined from six aspects (geographic location, the participating organisations, conservation objectives, policy aims, conservation methods, and funding sources). A comparison of the similarities and differences of the conservation practices and structures amongst these five case studies, involving the values of practitioners, residents and government experts, was conducted and analysed in her research. Additionally, Geng provided a clear organisational structure of historic district management practice in China for heritage conservationists.

In summary, there is a dearth of research that considers social value with respect to China's cultural heritage.

HOW CHINESE SCHOLARS EVALUATE HERITAGE VALUE

In the field of heritage value evaluation by Chinese scholars, most studies have been undertaken through the lens of Western experience and methodological frameworks, thereby negating a Chinese perspective that better aligns to the particular Chinese-specific definition of heritage and social heritage embodied in the Principles (2015) that is different to other ICOMOS charters, declarations and principles.

By analyzing the conceptual differences between ancient cultural relics and historic buildings, traditional buildings, and archaic buildings, Cheng (1993) discussed his evaluation standards for the measuring and assessing heritage value. His research involved selecting value characterization indicators of historical buildings from aspects of historical value, artistic value, scientific value, architectural age and value, using an expert scoring method to evaluate the value of various types of historic buildings. Cai (1993), similarly, applied a qualitative evaluation of heritage value on stone forests in Xi'an using international cultural heritage value evaluation standard. Chen and Hu (2005) have discussed heritage conservation and applied complementary methodologies philosophically, and established a comprehensive value evaluation system from this analysis that drew from use of expert evaluation of these evaluation scores.

In 2007, the Suzhou City Administration of Cultural Heritage together with Southeast University jointly studied evaluation systems for Suzhou's cultural heritage. They selected 12 indicators from 5 kinds of values including historical value, scientific value, artistic value, environmental value and use value that were expert scored, thus obtaining a comprehensive score of heritage value. On the basis of this analysis the multiple attributes and characteristics of the values of cultural heritage, Lai et al (2006) constructed a comprehensive evaluation system of historical buildings that consists of historical value, architectural technology value, social value, and cultural and artistic value. They proposed a grading system within a comprehensive evaluation index of historical buildings, thereby establishing a comprehensive evaluation model. Yu (2007) has also discussed evaluation methodologies for the historical and cultural values of historic buildings.

Shen (2007) used the theory of Economic Value Added (EVA) index to discuss these evaluation standards. However, he only discussed the feasibility of the EVA method, and did not propose specific evaluation index systems and standards. In view of the subjectivity in determining the quantitative

standards and weights of evaluation indicators in the current evaluation process of historical buildings, Tong and Liu (2008) and others have proposed the application of a structural equation model (SEM) in the evaluation of historical buildings.

Xu (2011) evaluated 40 ancient residential buildings in the ancient city area of Suzhou, all of which are either conserved or preserved. In Xu's study, an Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) was used to determine the weights of 5 categories of values in the selected index system, and then the variable weight model was used to deal with them (as shown in Table 1 and Table 2).

The basic formula of AHP is:

$$C = \sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i$$

where C is the comprehensive evaluation score of the evaluation object; w_i is the weight value of each evaluation index, x_i is the score for a single index and n is the number of evaluation indexes.

The data used in this study mainly drew upon questionnaire and interview data. Included in this research was the evaluation of the value of 40 ancient residential buildings based upon expert scoring. Finally, according to the weighted values draped upon the 5 categories of values, a comprehensive evaluation model was used to evaluate the value of these 40 ancient residential buildings (Xu, 2011).

Target	Standard	Weight	Indicators
Heritage value	Historic value	0.2525	Age of construction
			Relevance with Important Historical Events and Historical Persons
			Whether to retain historical relics
			Relevant documentary records or legends
			Contribution to the local Regional cultural characteristics
	Social value	0.2161	Social Popularity
			Social Rareness
			Education function
			Tourist function
			Symbol of Social background
			Authenticity
			Reflection of local culture
	Aesthetic value	0.2304	Aesthetic perception of spatial arrangement
			Aesthetic perception of facade Component details and decorations
			Aesthetic perception of component details and decorations
			Aesthetic perception of characteristics of locality and nationality
			Aesthetic perception of gardens
	Scientific value	0.1505	Scientific rationality of construction, Gardening and Interior Design
			Scientific rationality of historic building functional zoning
			Scientific rationality of historic building material
			construction technique
		0.1515	Coordination with the surrounding environment
			Feng Shui distribution

	Environmental and ecological value		The effect of historic buildings on the Ecological Environment Rationality of landscape elements in internal environment of historic buildings
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Table 1. Assessment indicator system for heritage value of historic buildings. Source: Xu 2011.

Indicators	Weight	Index	Score
Social Popularity	0.30	Very good	10
		Good	7
		Ordinary	4
		Weak	1
Social Rareness	0.10	Scarce	10
		Common	5
Education function	0.15	Very good	10
		Good	7
		Ordinary	4
		Weak	1
Tourist function	0.10	Very good	10
		Good	7
		Ordinary	4
		Weak	1
Symbol of Social background	0.20	Very good	10
		Good	7
		Ordinary	4
		Weak	1
Authenticity	0.05	Very good	10
		Good	7
		Ordinary	4
		Weak	1
Reflection of local culture	0.10	Very good	10
		Good	7
		Ordinary	4
		Weak	1

Table 2. Assessment indicator for social value of heritage value. Source: Xu 2011.

On allied threads to social values, Han (2006) examined traditional and contemporary Chinese values of nature in her thesis. Her research provided a critical perspective and approach for re-examining and re-interpreting the traditional Chinese view of nature. Additionally, Gao (2016) has discussed the interactions between archaeological tourism, World Heritage and social values in China involving an in-depth analysis of the perceptions and attitudes of local communities towards such development in the two heritage sites (the Daming Palace and the Huashan Rock Art Area) in Guangxi, southern China. In conclusion, many pre-2015 studies on heritage value in China do not consider social values, because social value has not been deemed the main value (historic, artistic and scientific value) of heritage value, which in China's context has often been overlooked.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The following presents a conceptual network structured around the three social value principles of memory, emotion and education. In the context of this paper, these 3 principles are defined as the primary the social value evaluation indicators (as shown in Figure 1).

Conceptual background and hypotheses development

Social value

Social value encompasses memory, emotion and education (ICOMOS China, 2015).

Therefore, the following 3 hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 1: There is a positive relationship between emotion and social value.
- Hypothesis 2: There is a positive relationship between memory and social value.
- Hypothesis 3: There is a positive relationship between education and social value.

Memory

Individual memory and collective memory are two parts of memory (Halbwachs 1992). In Zerubavel's research, he argued that there is a strong relationship between collective memory and the making of the Israeli national tradition (Zerubavel 1995). Further, previous research has proved that local memory can help to build collective memory (Olick & Robbins 1998: 105-140).

Therefore, the following 4 hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 4: There is a positive relationship between individual memory and memory.
- Hypothesis 5: There is a positive relationship between collective memory and memory.
- Hypothesis 6: There is a positive relationship between national memory and collective memory.
- Hypothesis 7: There is a positive relationship between local memory and collective memory.

Kalakoski (2001) explored 200 taxi drivers' exceptional memory of street names. He proved that individual memory and local memory are affected by spatial cognition. Additionally, Burgess et al. (2002: 625-641) have concluded that spatial memory is that part of the memory responsible for the recording of information about one's environment and spatial orientation

Therefore, the following two hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 8: There is a positive relationship between spatial characteristics and local memory.
- Hypothesis 9: There is a positive relationship between spatial characteristics and individual memory.

Social value is the value that society derives from the educational benefit that comes from dissemination of information about the site, the continuation of intangible associations, as well as the social cohesion it may create (ICOMOS China 2015).

Therefore, the following 2 hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 10: There is a positive relationship between social cohesion and national memory.
- Hypothesis 11: There is a positive relationship between the continuation of intangible associations and national memory.

Emotion

Professor of Psychology Eric Eich (2000) proved that emotion and memory interact with each other.

Therefore, the following 2 hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 12: Memory has a positive influence for emotion.
- Hypothesis 13: Emotion has a positive influence for memory.

Because spatial memory is one part of memory, and considering that emotion and memory influence each other, the following 1 hypothesis is proposed:

- Hypothesis 14: There is a positive relationship between spatial characteristics and emotion.

Ryff and Singer (2001) have examined whether emotion was affected by social contexts.

Therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- Hypothesis 15: There is a positive relationship between social contexts and emotion.

Education

Cultural heritage education may be approached through a variety of angles including multi-sensory, emotional, cross-disciplinary and constructivist approaches (Hein 1998). Wang (2008) explored the state's political use of the past and the function of education in political transition and foreign relations (Wang 2008: 783-806.). Resnik, in his study, analyzed the development of the national memory in Israel that stressed the position of the Holocaust as the constitutive representation of Israeli national identity and education in the last decades (Resnik 2003: 297-317). Cultural heritage education, from Gesche-Koning's (2018) perspective, is about "personal memory and sensory apprehension".

Therefore, the following four hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 16: Memory has a positive influence for education.
- Hypothesis 17: Education has a positive influence for memory.
- Hypothesis 18: Education has a positive influence for national memory.
- Hypothesis 19: National memory has a positive influence for education.

Cultural heritage education develops "knowledge, creativity, artistic sense, and critical judgement, a teaching approach which exploits all the senses in order to favor inclusion over exclusion and is capable of integrating anyone" [sic.] (Branchesi 2007: 44).

Therefore, the following 5 hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 20: There is a positive relationship between teaching approaches and education.
- Hypothesis 21: There is a positive relationship between critical judgement and national education.
- Hypothesis 22: There is a positive relationship between artistic sense and national education.
- Hypothesis 23: There is a positive relationship between creativity and national education.
- Hypothesis 24: There is a positive relationship between knowledge and national education.

Research network model

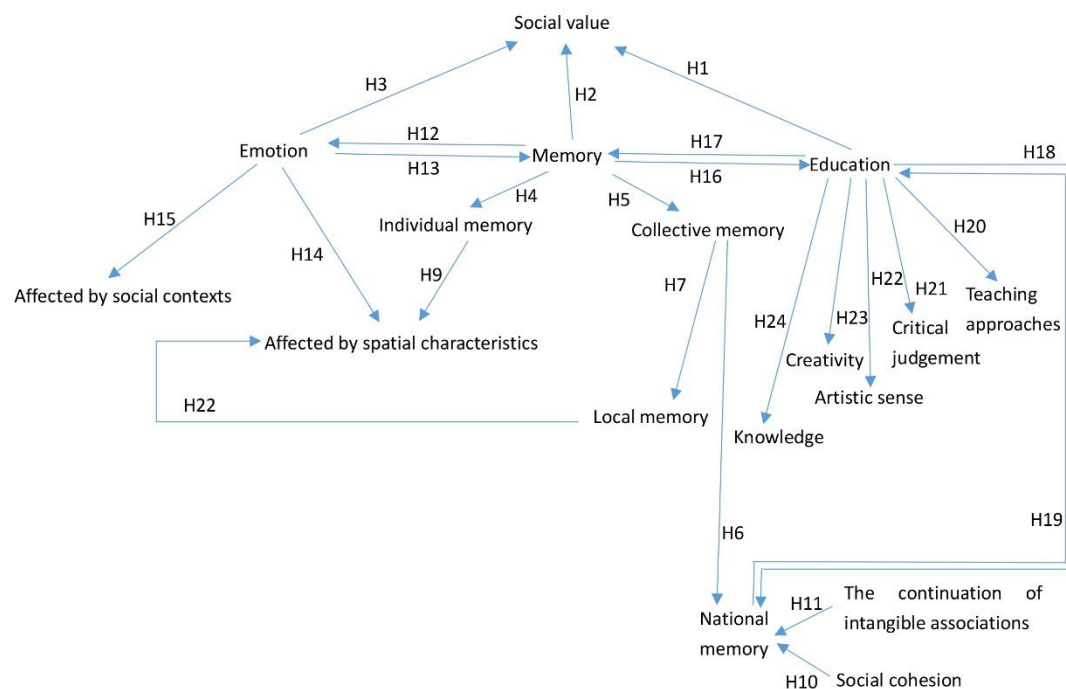


Figure 1. Conceptual network for the social value evaluation indicators

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDY

To conclude, this conference paper considers ICOMOS China's definition of social value and proposes a conceptual network that hopefully will assist in evaluating the determinants of social value towards innovatively conserving China's cultural heritage. To test the hypotheses in this conceptual research network, further research will develop to formulate a questionnaire. This questionnaire adopts the Likert-type Scale Method for quantitative analysis. Further, future research will apply Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) through AMOS 7.0 in the data analysis. SEM will formulate the weight of each indicator on social value evaluating conceptual network, to effectively improve an understanding and evaluation heritage value.

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CANTE - INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY: REPRESENTATION OF A TRADITIONAL ART IN THE CITY OF ALMADA.

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INTRODUCTION

We intend to disseminate a case study in a community of migrants in the urban context of Almada. In this city, with more 180 thousand inhabitants, ¹is a community of 50 thousand descendants and natural of the Alentejo province, inserted in a wider context of about 500 thousand people who, with the process of industrialization in several periods of the twentieth century and especially in the 60s, is present settled in the eighteen municipalities of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon.

From 2014, with the recognition of Cante Alentejano as intangible immaterial heritage by UNESCO, in the city of Almada, where there are three groups of Cante Alentejano - one male and two female - was established in January 2015 the Working Group of Cante of Almada Municipality (GTCCA), coordinated by us. This group is composed of ten local and regional entities and institutions of local administration, teaching, protection and ethnographic dissemination, which aim to safeguard Cante through teaching, using traditional methodology as well new methods, in public schools.

It is our aim to contribute to the safeguarding of Cante, perceiving and maintaining the spaces where it is practiced. To identify and perceive the symbolic meaning of the spaces where singing is performed, bonding tradition with emerging city identity, like in streets and buildings. On the other hand, we want to understand the dynamics of Cante change - coming from a region with rural characteristics, the Alentejo - and its evolutionary course in an urban reality like Almada, as a meeting point of the groups of Cante in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon.

DEFINITIONS AND ORIGINS OF CANTE

Cante is a polyphonic vocal expression of oral tradition sung by amateur choirs without recourse to any instrumentation.

It is characterized by the use of Ponto, Alto and Moda. Ponto is the solo voice that begins to sing, in a more grave tone, usually between "Do" and "Mi". Alto is the solo voice that follows the Ponto, in a sharper tone, usually a third above. Finally, the Moda is sung in chorus by the third voices, be it suddenly in the tavern or presented on stage or in a parade.

Cante is associated to Alentejo, a province with an extensive geographical area of 31 551 km², which occupies about 1/3 of the national territory. However, its geographic space was initially limited,

roughly, to the Lower Alentejo, including Sado River, as João Ranita Nazaré says “when we want to cite this repertoire, we usually use the administrative designation “², cantos from Lower Alentejo which refers from the geographical point of view, to an immense plain intersected by some shallow valleys, *sui generis* characteristics in relation to the general morphology of the Portuguese territory ”.³ But this has a *raison d'être*: it is in the Alentejo of the plain to lose sight that the telluric relation that the Man of Alentejo (the *alentejano*) has with the Earth, made almost of love and hate, is best mirrored in Cante.⁴

BRIEF HISTORY

Its origin is not scientifically defined, although we find similarities in the polyphonic vocal forms in the Mediterranean basin - from the Maghreb to Corsica - or even in the liturgical songs, reason why some establish a connection with the monks that settled, in the century XVI, in the Mountain range of Ossa, Alandroal, of the schools of classical polyphony of the XV century, Évora. This fact confers some geographic proximity with the Left Bank of the Guadiana River, where the Mountain de Serpa is referred to as crib of the *viola campaniça* - an instrumental partner of Cante. However, if the song also incorporates liturgical themes such as "sing it to the Infant Jesus"; others from the Christmas work and *saudade*⁵ are very present.

But love is not behind it, as is a certain period, it clearly presents profane characteristics, where nature, eroticization of nature, sometimes with a great load of sensuality that induces us, or at least leaves the possibility of the physical realization of desire and passion, nothing platonic and not in keeping with the dogmas or practice of the Catholic Church.

But Cante is not vulgar. On the contrary, is full of a telluric lyricism and imbued with a great solemnity, it is in such an emotional way that it reaches to shiver soul.⁶

From this traditional musical genre of the Alentejo, we hear of far more remote times, as appears in the Fifth Book of the Philippine Ordinances, 1603.⁷ In fact, the legal norms, prohibiting or limiting the playful practice of Cante seems to be a constant, and that arrive until century XIX and beginnings of the XX⁸.

A little further north, in Portel, we also find reference to legal postures, those of 1884, prohibiting singing in taverns.⁹ Paulo Lima refers the existence of the first organized group in Serpa, in 1907 - Serpa's Popular Orpheon. However the oldest surviving group till nowadays, it is the Choral Group of the Aljustrel Miners' Union, founded in 1926.¹⁰

During the long period of dictatorship (1926 to 1974), Cante, as a performative act, with clear rules and identity meanings (musical and extra-musical), could have benefited from the ideological control operated by the regime through the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN) and the National Federation for Joy at Work (FNAT), especially since 1933 and 1941. When elected by the regime as one of the most representative practices of the Alentejo region was object of folklorization and instrument of ideological, political and propagandistic purposes. However, Cante maintained, parallel to the formal presentation, the tradition of being sung unexpectedly in the taverns, fact that the Dictatorship could not control¹¹.

After the revolution of 25 April of 1974, there was a generalized increase of Alentejo's Choral Groups, since till this date there were only 20 choral groups in Alentejo. From 1974, until 1998, 53 groups were founded, in which a substantial part was in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area,¹² that covered the former industrial waist area of Lisbon and Setúbal, where, due to migratory processes, especially in the 60's, about 500 thousand natural and descendants of Alentejo are settled.¹³

Thus, the Cante was not only Alentejo. Later it spread to the north and south banks of the Tagus, in Lisbon and Setúbal, went to Africa (Luanda), Europe (Paris)¹⁴ and North America (Toronto Canada).

Choral groups have emerged in Évora, Portel, Monsaraz (Central Alentejo) and later in O Porto, Algarve (Tunes and Albufeira) and in Ribatejo (Chamusca). Recently, with the heritagization, Cante came also to Montemor-o Novo (Central Alentejo) and to Portalegre (Upper Alentejo).¹⁵

The most substantial increase of these cultural groups, occurs in Alentejo, with the proliferation of youth groups which present a unique vocal quality, although in some cases has an ephemeral duration.

The municipality of Castro Verde is a paradigmatic example, to this increase. A municipality in which there are similarities to others in the sparsely populated Alentejo, has only eight thousand inhabitants, and it has today ten choral groups, and in on the eve of heritagization, in 2013, had eight.

On the other hand, in the diaspora, the number of groups increased: today there are more than 30 (male and female) choral groups, and, in 2017 a Children's Group was born in Almada.

Almada and the arrival of the people from Alentejo

The Alentejo, throughout its history, has always seen its people leave in search of better conditions of life. It was a man from Alentejo, Vasco da Gama, who in 1498, commanded the naval fleet that made the first voyage to India by sea, enabling a new world economic structure.

Throughout the Maritime Expansion, when Portugal, a small country with a small population, was the protagonist of modernity, many people from Alentejo will have embarked on the caravels and ships. But if migration cyclically happened, due to several motivations and purposes, for Brazil, Portuguese Africa and later to Europe in the sixties, internal cyclical migration coincided with the industrialization processes. This operated in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth, in the cork industry and in the 60's, in the naval industry. This is the case of the city of Almada, where about 50.000 natives and descendants of the Alentejo will be settled.¹⁶

The Cante and the brand of the *alentejanos* in the social fabric of the county of Almada

This explosive increase is not unrelated the mass migration of Alentejo natives. This mass arrived in the sixties of the twentieth century to work mainly in the naval industry.

In Cacilhas, Almada's fluvial parish, in front of Lisbon, inaugurated in 1967 Lisnave, one of the largest shipyards in the world at that time which reached 10 thousand workers - where the largest dry dock in the world will be built in 1971. Lisnave was dismantled in the late 70's and formally closed in the year 2000.¹⁷

Also, many *alentejanos* will work for the Naval Base of Alfeite, located in another Almada's fluvial parish, Laranjeiro, which is dedicated to the construction, maintenance and repair of the Portuguese Navy, and of other military navies, as those from NATO and civil and merchant navies, using advanced technologies.¹⁸

THE SPATIAL ISSUES OF CANTE

These migrant populations will inhabit several parishes of Almada, namely Cova da Piedade, Laranjeiro and Feijó. We are now going to meet the leisure spaces where these migrants, especially the men, will preserve their culture and identity, and they do it singing in taverns and civil local associations. They give continuity to informal practice in singing in an urban context, where the emergence of choral groups occurs.

In these spaces of conviviality and fraternization, where the people from Alentejo, the *alentejanos*, meet for the end of the afternoon and at the weekend to drink a glass of wine, the Cante comes naturally. It is through it that they collectively remember their village and its region and establish communion with the motherland. A telluric deeply religious relationship, according Pedro Ferro.¹⁹

The Cante was made in the ranches of the wheat and rice harvest, the brotherhood of men and women sang to soften the hardness of the agricultural work made from the sun -rise to the sun-fall. With the mechanization of agriculture, the Cante was more restricted to the tavern where the access was practically tight to the woman before 1974.

In these communities of migrants settled in the municipality of Almada,, in the decade of 60 of the twentieth century, in the parishes of Cova da Piedade, Laranjeiro and especially in Feijó, this social practice is valid and, to a certain extent, reaches today, with only small changes at the end of the twentieth century, which allows the creation of women's groups.

The *alentejano*, the man who gives himself the reunion with the mother earth and with himself in the Moda that rises in the tavern around the glass of wine, and thus communes with the collective, is a “concentrated expression of all the shades that solitude can have”.²⁰



Figure 1. Exterior of the rural aspect of Rampa Tavern

The places (taverns, or *tabernas*)²¹ of the Cante in Almada: Cooperativa Piedense (nowadays closed), Taberna in Rua Rosas do Pombal, nowadays the Café Beira Rio (Cova da Piedade) (closed) Rampa do Papança (Feijó,) Former Zé's Ancient 'House Alentejana Zé, actual Tony's Winery, and Tavern of the Feijó Recreative Club (Feijó) the last three in operation, and especially active the last two.²²



Figure 2. Exterior of Feijó Recreative Club

These spaces are located in a parish (Feijó that still maintains traces of identity marked by the proximity and recognition of the neighborhood, so characteristic of the rural reality of the Alentejo, from where Cante emerged.) They constitute a set of single-family dwellings, which constitute neighbourhoods, where vicinity culture can happen, with a configuration similar to the traditional ones, according to the model of the architect Raul Lino.²³



Figure 3. Neighborhood traditional dwelling detail

The consumption of traditional snacks, not available in the spaces of the city characterized by postmodernity, is a pretext for meeting and reaffirming the bonds of socio-cultural solidarity. In these intimate spaces proliferates symbolic images of the origins, almost mythemes of its creators and goers. Aromatic herbs, almost all with healing properties that persist in telling stories to those who ask what they are for, thus maintaining the continuity of traditional knowledge. In the urban world

where the primordial telluric element is missing, these elements are fixers of memories and guarantee of the cultural continuity of this community.



Figure 4. Healing/ aromatic herbs in Rampa's exterior

From the places of unplanned encounters, traditionally masculine, closed to the outside look, we find in the city of the diaspora the preference for spaces with numinous characteristics par excellence, in what refers to the proportion of the interior space, destined for the playful celebration where on stage generates the sacred performance, before an audience that remains in complete silence.

These spaces dedicated to the meeting of the current feminine and masculine groups are, in general, the associations or recreational clubs that constitute the elements of the centrality of the neighborhood. Here the planned meetings take place and the performance aims at the perfection of the content that is transmitted in an almost liturgical way.

Urban spaces are ritualized with the stamp of the pagan tradition, through the Cante that, besides the voices, expresses itself in the body of the performers through the Alentejo identity marks - traditional design of garments that tell stories in a prideful way.



Figure 5. Amigos do Alentejo do Feijó Choral Group in a parade

This ritualization can happen in the open public space, such as piazzas, and large avenues. But it is better represented in nature itself, according to great part of the performers.

The municipal councils will be the main supporting institutions of the Alentejo choral groups, in the Democratic period, since 1974, both in terms of financial and logistical support according to Jorge Moniz.²⁴ And it actually happens in Almada, where the support from the parish of Laranjeiro e Feijó is to be highlighted.



Figure 6. Same group in an open stage performance

THE HERITAGIZATION AND THE PROJECT TO THE SAFEGUARD OF CANTE IN ALMADA

With the elevation of Cante to Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2014, it was necessary to proceed for its safeguard. As the average age of the members of the choral groups is 60 and more years, and not only 70, it was necessary to begin the teaching of Cante to perpetuate the existence of the choral groups to face the natural aging of the singers. Thus, it was created in Almada the Working Group of Cante of the Municipality of Almada (GTCCA), in January of 2015.

Two school groups were involved: Emídio Navarro School Grouping and Francisco Simões School Grouping. In the first one was carried out specific activities of Cante divulgation to the school community. In the second, teaching in the classroom started through rigorous, structured and methodical work, with the use of formal and informal methods, by primary school teachers and a master traditional trainer. Solid foundations were been laid for renewal and revitalization.

The functioning of two groups in the 2016/17 and 2017/18 academic years generated the creation of an infantile group at the end of 2017. The creation of the Cante Alentejano Children's Group of the Francisco Simões School Grouping is the most visible result of the work undertaken which the Working Group has been conducting since 2015 with the educational community of the county.



Figure 7. Children's Group performance at Oficina da Cultura, in Almada

In January 2018 emerged a group of Cante in a senior university - D. Sancho I.

On the other hand, on the first and third anniversaries of Cante as Unesco Immaterial World Heritage, the Working Group organized, with the support of several entities of the municipality, the event "Almada honors Cante" that involved 3,000 people. In 2015, this Group (GTCCA) organized a colloquium with 200 participants, and the edition of a number of the magazine *Memória Alentejana* – where, for the first time, was published the survey of the 30 Alentejo Choral groups in the Diaspora. In the same year, 2015, this Group organized a show of Cante performers in an Almada city's show room that was made for more than 1,000 spectators. This show was considered, by the Association Moda, that represents all the Groups of Cante, the most important celebratory event of the 1st anniversary of Cante, in the country.

In 2017 - under the same motto the "Arts and Oenogastronomic Fair" was held, a performance in a closed space of the municipality, and several streets performances in the 11 parishes of the city - "Cante in the Parishes", which involved entities representative not only of the community with Alentejo origin, but also of the cultural, socio-educational of the county.

While in the area of education we intend to consolidate and extend to other classes - at another school in the same group there are six classes waiting for financial support to start the learning of Cante. There has been an exchange with the School Grouping of Castro Verde, in Alentejo, with a study travel that occurred in 2017, of these students to Almada, and in April 2018 with a study travel to Castro Verde of the students from Almada. These procedures registered the availability of educational and autarkic leaders of Alentejo County to promote its continuity in the future.

With a Cante workshop planned for soon, it is intended to have a physical space, within a municipality vacant building from dedicated only to Cante. This building, located near the civic centre of Feijó's parish, is not a kind of *Rossio*²⁵, but it is a place where Cante can be taught to the next generations, and it is near the traditional neighbourhood, where the *spiritu locus* of Alentejo is still alive to be remembered.

Because living in a city is more than inhabit it, city planners must see, listen and comprehend the lores of its inhabitants. We believe if they do so, that there would be a better fluidity of city discourse interpretation, and consequent enhance of quality life values, for the local and the visitors- including tourists.

In the near future, we intend to create a database on this subject and, with a project awaiting for approval, it is planned to create, within the framework of our Investigation Centre, an international interdisciplinary scientific team, to analyze the characteristics of urban culture, where Immaterial Heritage has its representations, and Cante its own role.

NOTES

¹ The municipality of Almada currently has about 180 thousand inhabitants, because in the censuses of 2011, the resident population in Almada was 174,030. According to "Distrito de Setúbal. Evolução da População entre 1864 e 2011," accessed April 29, 2018, <https://populacaodistritodesetubal.jimdo.com/almada-1/o-concelho>, from the 1950s there was a rapid increase in population, having passed in three decades from 43,768 (1950) to 147,690 inhabitants (1980). Subsequently the population increase remained, although more moderate. Almada became a city in 1973.

² João Ranita Nazaré, *Música tradicional portuguesa – Cantares do Baixo Alentejo* (Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, (1979), 24.

³ Idem refers to Leon Poincard, who was in Portugal in 191: "from the social point of view as well as from the economic point of view, the Alentejo is certainly one of the most curious regions in Europe." He also cites Paul Descamps, who visited Portugal in 1935: "from a social point of view, however, Alentejo is, in fact, a region." (25).

⁴ And as Pedro Ferro says, that defines it as nobody else does, in *Artesão do Efêmero* (Castro Verde: ImagemImenso, 2002), "It happens at dusk (...) When it is neither day nor night and time breathes deep. That is why singing is telling a secret to the plain, that he keeps deep inside himself ... The alentejano does not sing with a sense of singing: the Alentejano says. And put lutes in the voice to say. It does so at dusk, at the hour of subsolar and sublunary time that makes everyone stop to listen to it. At nightfall. When the shadows wrap around the corner like cathedral ships." (27). (e.g., "all translations from Portuguese are our own")

⁵ Portuguese term that refers to the sentiment of longing, or missing something.

⁶ Idem, "The cante portrays solitude and sadness. Love and work. The joy. The sun and the earth. The sweat. Sing the wheat and the storks. The emigration and Alqueva dum. Sings death and life. Anguish and dreams. Sings the lost man in unreachable lengths. It is warm and tender. Naive and serious. Sober and sad. Solemn as a cathedral.(...)" (115)

⁷ Carlos Mota de Oliveira, *Tão Pouco e Tanto. Janita Salomé* [album] (Portugal: Capella, 2003). The Philippine Ordinances, which stipulated, "those who tamper with and sing with those who assist are to be put in jail (...) and for thirty days in chains without remission, and for the chain they will have to pay all ten cruzados, and loose the instruments that are taken with them".

⁸ José Francisco Colaço Guerreiro, "Quando o Cante era proibido," *Memória Alentejana* 31/32 (2012/2013): 36. According to the news, that arrives at us from both the Civil Government Regulation of Beja of February 1866 and its December 1900 version, with the consequent popular reactions in January 1901, in Almodovar. Here the population, mainly composed of agricultural workers, reacted collectively and manifested itself with great uproar, which provoked the escape of the Delegate of the Royal Procurator, of the administrator of the Municipality and the clerk of the Judge. This fact originated the military occupation of the village for three days and several prisons. (37).

⁹ Paulo Lima and Augusto Brázio, "Cante. Seis Estórias Entrelaçadas da Vida do Sul." *As Terras e as Gentes do Cante*, 56-87 (Serpa: Turismo do Alentejo, ERT/Câmara Municipal de Serpa, 2012), 59.

¹⁰ Paulo Lima, "Inventário-catálogo dos Grupos de Cante Alentejano Documento de Trabalho para a Proposta de Candidatura do Cante Alentejano à Lista do Património cultural da Humanidade, a apresentar à UNESCO." (Serpa: Turismo do Alentejo, ERT/Câmara Municipal de Serpa, 2012.), 11.

¹¹ Jorge Moniz, "Cante e Diáspora. Do Estado Novo à Actualidade," *Memória Alentejana* 35/36 (2015):56.

¹² Idem, Ibidem.

¹³ According to the "2011 Census Naturalidade versus Residência em Portugal 2011" (Lisbon: National Statistics Institute, 2017) 77, approximately one-third of the Alentejo's natives resides outside their region of naturalness. Thus, around 287,000 of the 912,968 alentejanos, live in the region, with 73.1% of them living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area - which includes the Setúbal Peninsula, where Almada is located. Some 210 thousand Alentejo residents were migrants that left this province in the decades of 50, 60 and 70 of the twentieth century, due to the shortage of work, seduced by the increase of the then industrial waists of Lisbon and Setúbal. Thus they were established in the eighteen municipalities that compose the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, in the North and the South banks of the Tagus River. There, although with different numerical weight, they established important communities that have a significant importance in the associative movement within the organs of Local Democratic Power. But, above all, they imprinted a unique characteristic in some parishes and settlements, where they are the majority of the population, as is the case of Baixa da Banheira, Moita county, Damaia, Amadora county or Feijó, in Almada. Its descendants, of the second and of the third generation, assume the cultural identity of its progenitors as its own.

And this is how, in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, they imprint a community characteristic, with an indicative value of approximately 500 thousand people.

¹⁴ Paulo Lima, Idem, 73.

¹⁵ “O Cante na Diáspora,” *Memória Alentejana* 35/36 (2015): 7.

¹⁶ If historic migrations cyclically occurred with various possible motivations and prime objectives, whether for Brazil, Portuguese Africa or later for Europe in the 1960s, internal cyclical migrations coincided with the industrialization processes that typically took place in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, in cork industry, and in the decade of this last one, in the naval industry. This is the specific case of Almada, where about 50 thousand natural and direct descendants of *alentejanos* will be settled. This figure, although indicative properly reflects the Alentejo community that is numerically the most enhanced one in this multicultural county, where about 180, thousand inhabitants - the most populous city south of the Tagus - about 65% - that is relatively 117 thousand were born in other regions of Portugal. On the other hand, the strong mass migration of *alentejanos* to Almada in the 50s, 60s and 70s of the late century coincides roughly with the exponential increase in population in the municipality of Almada in these periods, respectively, of 27 thousand, 37 thousand and 40 thousand inhabitants (vide note 1). Also the specific case of the united parish of Laranjeiro-Feijó - with 40 thousand local inhabitants, where the population of origin or direct descent of the Alentejo is composed majority, easily reaches the 50,000 natural and descendants of *alentejanos* radicated in Almada, in a context of 500 000 in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

¹⁷ “Lisnave. 50 anos depois, uns estaleiros que marcaram a história de Portugal e da revolução,” Pedro Dórdio, accessed April 29, 2018, <https://observador.pt/especiais/lisnave-50-anos-depois-uns-estaleiros>.

¹⁸ “Estaleiro de Construção, Reparação e Manutenção Naval, Prestação de Serviços de Engenharia e Manutenção Industrial,” Arsenal do Alfeite SA, accessed April 29, 2018, <http://www.arsenal-alfeite.pt/index.php?id=105>.

¹⁹ Pedro Ferro, Idem: “Alentejo: deeply sun solitude Manuel da Fonseca also refers “men do not enter the church, just so they do not have to take off their hats”, Pedro Ferro later mentions: “Men never learn to pray”, perhaps because it is not necessary because ... “Every alentejano privatizes. It carries, without externalization, a cosmic, abyssal religiosity. And, above all, instinctive “(...), and also because (...)” Singing is the only way the people from Alentejo has to pray.” (112).

²⁰ Idem, Idem: “the solitude of the monk and the shepherd, the Maltese and the Gypsy, the sailor and the shipwrecked, the ascetic and the Berber, the vagabond and the emperor. All of it, all the solitude of the world, all in the heart of a man, scratching the empty paths that no god created. Moreover, quoting Manuel da Fonseca, “Look at the vagabond who has nothing and carries the sun in his pocket” (105).

²¹ Are the intimate spaces destined to the snacks that are accompanied by wine, which always serves to “wet the word”.

²² According to a survey carried out in Feijó with photographic support of José Alex Gandum - photographic credits. This fieldwork was accompanied by the former leader of Grupo Coral e Etnográfico Amigos do Alentejo do Feijó, José Pereira, who is currently the representative of this choir group in the GTCCA, in which he also had the participation of the singer Francisco Sargento. The survey at Feijó was conducted by Eduardo M. Raposo and Ana Pereira Neto in April 21, 2018.

²³ The Portuguese architect that created the model of modern dwellings embedded with Portuguese traditional habitational and vicinity characteristics (1879-1974).

²⁴ Jorge Moniz, Idem, 57.

²⁵ Portuguese word that means to symbolize the traditional roman centripetal heart of the town.

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NORRBOTTEN'S TECHNOLOGICAL MEGASYSTEM AS A HERITAGE DISCOURSE: PARADOXES AND CONTROVERSIES

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INTRODUCTION

This study investigates controversial impacts of large-scale industry and uses of built heritage in the northernmost part of Sweden. This large and scarcely populated region (Norrbotten), has rich mineral resources, heavy infrastructures, and fits well within the description of “an operational landscape”¹ proposed by Brenner (2014), i.e. a territory that provides the global capitalist system of urban agglomeration with the resources it intensively needs. Building on Lefebvre’s (2003) concept of global complete urbanization, recent research in urban theory has focused on these “spaces of extraction” (Arboleda, 2016) and “resource extraction urbanism” (Correa, 2016).

Straddling the Arctic Circle, Norrbotten is at the centre of growing commercial and political interest in the arctic region, an area that is not as homogenous as once perceived. On the contrary, it is a complex meeting point of varied and conflicting discourses and narratives (Korber et al., 2017).

This study focuses on historic built environments that originated in processes of industrialisation and modernisation of Norrbotten that began in the 19th century to exploit its iron ore fields. This interconnected regional system of mines, towns and industrial infrastructures was defined by Hansson (1998) as Norrbotten’s Technological Megsystem (NTM) and was officially recognised as a national industrial heritage site in 2001 (RÅA, 2002).

The starting point of our discussion is conceptualisation of the NTM as an authorised heritage discourse (AHD). Smith (2006) used this term to characterise a Western perspective on heritage, where professionals and experts have the power to define and manage the heritage. She nevertheless argued that subaltern discourses to the AHD can exist, which are parallel and sometimes competing, but should also be taken into account in heritage management.

As Avango and Roberts (2017) wrote about the NTM: “(...) *the materials remains of mining may be read as sites of social and cultural memory rather than merely components of an economic production process. But to what extent is that memory partial – ignoring certain individuals or collectives – and does the continued dominance of mining in Norrbotten foreclose possibilities for alternative narratives that validate different histories, and perhaps different futures?*”

Building on this question, the paper challenges the current dominant narrative of the NTM heritage discourse by describing some of its paradoxical consequences on built heritage management and by

critically framing the controversial outcomes of its ongoing evolution. The investigation is based on fieldwork, observations, literature and document studies.

CASE STUDY: NORBOTTEN'S TECHNOLOGICAL MEGASYSTEM



Figure 1. Map of Norrbotten's Technological Megsystem

The term Norrbotten's Technological Megsystem was coined by Hansson (1998) to describe the ensemble of interconnected sites with different strategic functions developed in the 19th and 20th centuries to allow the extraction, transformation, transport, export and protection of the mineral resources in the largest and northernmost region of Sweden. The NTM was institutionalised and designated a national heritage site of great significance in 2001, when it was included as one of 12 historic industrial sites by the Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ, 2002).

The NTM rapidly evolved and it soon transcended regional and national importance, becoming a global-level strategic asset². The old technological infrastructures have been updated over time, and new ones have been added (e.g. there are now 15 hydropower plants in the Lule river basin).

For these reasons, it would be difficult nowadays to define clear boundaries, of time or space, for the NTM. However, as this paper focuses on built heritage, parts specifically discussed here have been designated core sites of national interest by the Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ 2002). They are:

- the iron ore mine and mining towns of Malmberget and Koskullskulle, (Gällivare Municipality);
- the iron ore mine and the mining town of Kiruna (Kiruna Municipality);
- the Malmbanan, the backbone of the system, a railway line connecting the mines to the harbours of Luleå (on the Baltic Sea) and Narvik (in Norway)³;
- the industrial area of Svartön (Luleå Municipality), including the iron ore shipping harbour, the steel mill and neighbourhood of Svartösten;

- the hydropower plant and adjacent settlement in Porjus, along the Lule river (Jokkmokk Municipality), which was built to supply the railway with electricity;
- the fortress-city of Boden, a military site established to protect the strategic resources of northern Sweden (Boden Municipality).

A key player in the region, which played a major role in the NTM's development, is the mining company Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag (LKAB). Established in 1890 and fully owned by the Swedish State since 1957, it is now in charge of the mining operations in Kiruna and Malmberget. Another is Vattenfall, which operates the hydropower plants along the Lule river.

FIRST PARADOX: THE SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE NTM AS BUILT HERITAGE



Figure 2. A house about to be moved in the company area of Malmberget (2018, photo by Sjöholm)

In 2004, Kiruna Council announced the need to move a substantial part of the town to allow LKAB to continue mining, as further extraction of the massive deposits of magnetite ore was expected to cause subsidence that would strongly affect Kiruna's original core area. Kiruna was founded in 1900 as a company town with an adjacent service and supply town, to support LKAB's mining operations, and is officially protected for its cultural significance. According to Swedish law, LKAB has to provide full compensation for negative impacts of its activities. In reality, this means that compensation is based on negotiations between LKAB and other actors. An agreement between LKAB and Kiruna Council has been adopted, which will allow some historic buildings to be moved, and thus preserved and kept in use, while most will be demolished. The movement of the historic buildings started in 2017. Publications by the Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ 2008) and Sjöholm (2016) describe the controversial discussion about the urban transformation of Kiruna and the future of its built heritage.

The announcement of Kiruna's movement gained international attention, partly due to an international urban design competition for a new town centre and architectural competition for a new town hall. However, a similar urban transformation has been underway for decades with much less fanfare in a settlement nearby: the mining town Malmberget. Here the clearest and most impressive sign of the mining activities is the so-called 'Captain Pit', a giant open pit that is continuously expanding due to subsidence and hence gradually destroying the town. Important public buildings have had to be torn down since the 1950s. A new town centre was built in the 1960s to replace the lost one, but evacuations and demolitions of houses continued in the following years. The church was moved in 1974 and in 2007 some houses were moved as an experiment, but the operation proved too expensive (Svensson & Wetterberg 2009, Storm 2014). Nowadays, what remains of Malmberget is a town split in two parts by the open pit and fenced areas. Following an agreement between Gällivare Council and LKAB, around 30 historic buildings from the company area will be moved and become a new neighbourhood in the nearby mining town Koskullskulle. The relocation started in 2016.

The profound economic and social importance of the mining activities – in terms of job opportunities and the community's wellbeing - makes preservation of the existing industrial and built heritage a secondary problem, leaving few options for the local communities and institutions to save their built heritage. The scale and impacts of the urban transformations of Kiruna and Malmberget provide clear examples of a provocative prophecy made by OMA at the 2010 Venice Biennale: *"The march of preservation necessitates the development of a theory of its opposite: not what to keep, but what to give up, what to erase and abandon."* (OMA, 2010)

The necessity of demolishing or relocating historic buildings to continue mining exemplifies a first paradox for the management of built heritage in Norrbotten: the same economic paradigm that has created those built environments since the 19th century, with recognised heritage values, is now the main reason for their destruction. This paradox raises two challenging questions. First, how can the built heritage of these mining towns be protected, when changes in the scale and intensity of the extraction processes are causing conflicts between their preservation and other societal needs and economic interests? Second, is it possible to save the complexity and stratification of an historic urban environment by relocating a selection of its components?

SECOND PARADOX: THE LOOSENING CONNECTION BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THE NTM

The technological evolution is also challenging the symbiotic connection between local communities and industrial and mining sites, which is a consistent theme in the dominant narrative of the NTM and its history.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the NTM drove urbanisation in the area. The need for a large number of workers led to the foundation of new settlements and expansions of existing villages, such as Kiruna, Malmberget, Porjus, Boden and Svartösten. However, due to technological evolution, the NTM, once labour-intensive, requires fewer and fewer workers, although it is more productive than ever.

Consequently, settlements and communities like Porjus, Kiruna and Malmberget are gradually becoming redundant for the resource extraction industry. Malmberget has even been defined as "an expendable community"⁴. Kiruna's population peaked in 1976 at over 24 000 inhabitants, with a noticeable drop during the oil crises in the 1970s (Warg 2000). Moreover, since then there have been no substantial increases in the population, even during the economic boom in the first years of the 21st century, when there were significant investments to increase production of the existing mines and open new mines.

Vattenfall, the company that operates the hydropower plants along the Lule river, is also employing fewer people than in previous periods. This is problematic for municipalities such as Jokkmokk, in which most of the hydropower plants are located. Swedish municipalities depend on income taxation, so high unemployment or population shrinkage directly impair their possibilities to supply services or invest in common goods.

In addition, historic buildings' and settlements' social functions and relations with local social groups are also changing or being completely lost. For example, changes in global geopolitics have greatly reduced the need for military protection of the area, causing Boden to lose, almost completely, its main function as fortress town.

In the neighbourhood of Svartöstaden, in Luleå, the changing social conditions of the inhabitants are instead affecting its character as a traditional working-class neighbourhood for employees of the nearby steel mill and iron ore shipping harbour. Its proximity to the sea, the relocation of some industrial activities and lower levels of pollution are nowadays making it an attractive and more exclusive residential neighbourhood.

The shifting social uses of the built heritage associated with the changes in industrial practices and conditions exemplifies a second paradox: the economic paradigm that created those built environments since the 19th century, with recognised heritage values, is now the main reason for their redundancy or radical change in use. This paradox raises further challenging questions. Is it possible to protect and preserve such a living historic environment without the industrially associated communities, can other social groups replace those communities, and if so how will it affect the perceived heritage values?

CONTROVERSIAL USES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE NTM'S HERITAGE

The paradoxes described above raise important, controversial issues about the present management and future use of NTM's built heritage. One concerns the decision-making processes. Decisions regarding Kiruna's and Malmberget's urban transformations are usually the result of agreements, compromises and negotiations between LKAB and the local institutions, including conservation authorities. An assessment of the heritage values is usually the official basis for decision-making, but several other criteria seem to guide the choices of buildings to save, and the planning of new areas to host them. In Malmberget, an attempt is being made to preserve the urban environment of the company area, by reproducing the disposition of the moved buildings in the new locations (at a smaller and simplified scale), the former morphology of the settlement, the historical construction phases and the urban relationships between the buildings. In Kiruna, buildings with recognised outstanding cultural and symbolic value seem to be prioritised (e.g. Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården, the residence of the first manager of LKAB, which was moved in the summer of 2017) or assigned particular effort despite the complexity of their relocation, as planned for Kiruna Church. The technical feasibility and economic viability of the operations are also playing major roles, and in some cases over-riding heritage values in decisions not to move and save some buildings. A good example is the contested decision to de-list and demolish the old Town Hall in Kiruna, a building with outstanding heritage values (Sjöholm 2016).⁵



Figure 3. Workers' houses moved into the new company area of Kiruna (2018, photo by Sjöholm)

Interestingly, in both Kiruna and Malmberget, only historic buildings in the company areas, or closely related to LKAB's history (e.g. Kiruna Church), have been selected for relocation. Whether or not this is a deliberate and conscious choice, it will reinforce the existing narrative of LKAB being the predominant actor in the NTM's development. Furthermore, the relocation operations will create new company areas that are separated from the rest of the towns and closer to the main entrances of the mines, thus replicating the pattern of the company area and fostering the perception of Norrbotten's industrial heritage as LKAB's property rather than a shared and common heritage. The questionable outcomes of this attitude of LKAB towards its heritage are exemplified by the burning of a shaft tower in Malmberget during a training exercise for the company's fire brigades in the early 2000s, apparently without any thought about the value of the historic building for the community⁶.

In other sites of the NTM, there are risks of the built heritage losing its original function and being underused. In the fortress town of Boden, the drastic reduction in presence of the Swedish military forces has led to a process of musealisation of the built environment, involving various actors with different aims and outcomes. In some cases, decommissioned buildings have been turned into institutional exhibition spaces, e.g. the Defence Museum, or opened to visitors, e.g. the fortresses surrounding the town. In other cases, diverse actors have contributed to the reuse of decommissioned buildings. The imposing former multi-storey oats store of the army is now a contemporary art gallery (Havremagasinet), and a private collector has reused a former stable to host his collection of old motorcycles, bikes and other vintage objects (Patinamuseet). Although these cases of adaptive reuse have allowed good preservation of the buildings, they have limited impact and may provide little compensation for the reduction in commitment of such an important actor as the army for the community's well-being.

In the residential neighbourhood of Svartösten, changes in users, with new needs and expectations, rather than uses, is challenging the preservation of the built environment. Once the home of Luleå's industrial workers, it later became an unwanted place with environmental problems, being located near the steel company and the iron ore shipping harbour, which led to neglect and deterioration. The low rents attracted young people, artists and creatives who formed a strong community that fought for preservation of the area. Today, the iron ore shipping harbour has moved further out, as it required more suitable infrastructure, and the pollution from the steel plant has decreased due to technological development and environmental legislation. Together with the proximity to the seashore, this has made the neighbourhood attractive for exclusive residential developments. As the former shanty town becomes a fancy town, ongoing gentrification processes are starting to compromise the existing heritage values. In a recent cultural-environmental analysis of the area, Elmén Berg (2016) detected the negative effects of the construction of new buildings and of some renovation works (e.g. incoherent construction details) and adaptation of the existing buildings (e.g. addition of new volumes, such as terraces, garages and carports).

CONCLUSION

This presented investigation indicates that the dominant NTM heritage discourse focuses on nationally successful industries, which strongly contributed to the Swedish economy, continue to do so, and are considered the socio-economic backbone of the Norrbotten region. However, this vast industrial heritage site's constitution is transforming. Both material aspects, such as the destruction of settlements once vital for the industry, and immaterial aspects, such as the social life and vitality of the places are changing. The built heritage is consequently used in various ways, inter alia it is being used in some cases to legitimise continued industrialisation, and its transformation, sometimes drastic, is framed as a natural element of the continued exploitation of natural resources. In other cases, the re-use and re-appropriation of built environments by local communities is helping its preservation.

A key question this raises is whether the built heritage produced by the NTM continue to be part of the identity of Norrbotten. Despite its imposing physical presence, the attempt to diversify the local economy and enhance the region's attractiveness is starting to bypass the NTM narrative. The way the region communicates and promotes itself to tourists focuses on nature, Sami culture, the pre-industrial traditions and heritage⁷. Even the name Norrbotten is tending to disappear in favour of the more attractive Swedish Lapland brand.

As a result, there are risks of the built heritage described here being crushed between two antagonistic futures: erased by the self-destructive impulses of the NTM and neglected in favour of more attractive types of heritage and narrations.

Nevertheless, in the authors' opinion, embryonic signs of different perspectives can be seen, such as the creative reuse of decommissioned historic buildings in Boden, the activism of the communities in Svartösten and Porjus towards their built heritage, and alternative narrations of the NTM by an emergent local artistic scene. Their future development deserves further studies and attention.

NOTE

¹ “While such operational landscapes may not contain the population densities, settlement properties, social fabric and infrastructural equipment that are commonly associated with cities, they have long played strategically essential roles in supporting the latter whether by supplying raw materials, energy, water, food or labor, or through logistics, communications or waste processing functions.” Neil Brenner, ed., *Implosions/Explosions. Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization* (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 20.

² It is worth mentioning here that Swedish iron ore played a crucial role in Germany’s activities during WWII and Sweden is now the main iron ore producer in the EU, accounting for over 90% of its production (SGU, 2015).

³ The Norwegian section of the line is also known as Ofofbanen and is obviously not under Swedish jurisdiction.

⁴ Adolf Henriksson, “Det moderna Malmberget,” *LKAB-tidningen* 1 (1963), quoted in Anna Storm, *Post-Industrial Landscape Scars* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 29. She translated the term “förbrukningssamhälle” as “expendable community”.

⁵ Regarding the economic viability of the urban transformation, there is a further controversial point to raise, concerning the compulsory financial compensation for the mining company’s impacts. Key decisions about the urban transformations of Kiruna and Malmberget coincides with a boom in the commodity markets and rises in prices of raw materials. This suggests that not only technological advances allowing mining at deeper levels, but also increases in international prices of iron may have contributed to the economic viability and desirability of the urban transformations LKAB. In a heritage management perspective, one could argue that the fluctuations of iron ore price in the global markets, which are by definition volatile, can strongly influence decisions about the preservation of Norrbotten’s built heritage, although they are supposed to have a long-term orientation and benefit everyone.

⁶ See Gabriella Olshammar, “Ruin landscape: a problem or history?” in *Malmberget. Structural change and cultural heritage processes - a case study*, ed. Birgitta Svensson and Ola Wetterberg (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2009). A provocative painting by the local artist Tord Pettersson, representing the LKAB employee as a member of the Taliban, is pictured in the same text.

⁷ This can be clearly seen by visiting the website of Swedish Lapland (<https://www.swedishlapland.com/>).

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QUEST FOR AUTHENTICITY OF PLACE IN GENTRIFICATION: EXPLORING TRADITIONAL MARKETPLACES MASQUERADING WITH A ROMANTIC IMAGE

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INTRODUCTION

In considering social dilemmas today, gentrification is one of the ubiquitous issues in cities that precipitates wealth polarisation and social inequality in neighbourhoods. This process causes public outrage in terms of affordable housing crisis and community displacement, and this emerged through the riots against “Cereal café” in Shoreditch in East London stigmatised as a symbol of social inequality.¹ This context suggests that the new consumption trends entail cultural and economic power to evict existing communities. In this sense, this study investigates a change of traditional marketplaces in gentrification by exploring different understandings of authenticity of place. Two case studies – Broadway market and Barking market located in East London are investigated through interdisciplinary approaches with visual mapping supported by architectural documentation and ethnographic work in order to delineate the tangible and intangible character of these places.

AWARENESS OF HERITAGE VALUE IN GENTRIFICATION

The increasing interests and enthusiasm in antiquities since 1960s have promoted to review heritage as a lucrative market in a major consumption activity, corresponding to capitalistic and neoliberal society.² Accordingly, the scope of heritage has been broaden in order to embrace change and redefine its meaning, and heritage value has been conflated with cultural and economic capital.³ In response to the changing value of heritage, disregarded historic neighbourhoods have also been reviewed as an idea of revitalisation as a profitable alternative to demolition, and conservation of the built environment became of particular significance in the British planning policy in the 1970s and 1980s.⁴ This process facilitated the economic revitalisation of historic buildings and areas by emphasising an aesthetic and symbolic value of heritage distinctively, while other crucial values were diluted and not maintained. Attentiveness in old housing complex in disregarded neighbourhoods dovetailed with upsurge in nostalgic fantasy in the radical upheaval of British society politically and economically. This was adduced to explain the emphasis on consumer society laid on marketing the past.⁵ Local urban regeneration initiatives utilised

the concept of heritage to be the agent of capitalised production and provoked a sentiment of oldness on the purpose of social mixing and regional economic regeneration, which encouraged the middle-class population to move in low-income areas.⁶ This served as a momentum for the occurrence of Gentrification.

Gentrification, a concept firstly coined by a British sociologist, Ruth Glass (1964),⁷ is hailed as a process of upgrading downtrodden neighbourhoods into prosperous places socioculturally and economically by gentrifiers throughout affluent incomers and cultural and creative people relatively. In this regard, overlooked historic buildings in local neighbourhoods are often subject to a financial investment regardless of their grim and dilapidated images, instead of the total demolition. The impression of oldness and history tends to motivate gentrifiers to express their tastes in relation to the aesthetic-cultural appreciation of heritage and to reinforce their identities through romanticising existing character in local neighbourhoods.⁸

Architecturally, this approach instigates “Façadism” publicly as a mechanism by building afresh with the help of modern stores behind the historic façade for conserving heritage values and satisfying new incomers’ preference in market liberalisation.⁹ Outwardly, emblematic significance of historic neighbourhoods seems to be well protected by an adherence to the orthodox conservation principles which give a special attention to historic and architectural authenticity. However, the profound connection between historic places and people has been ebbing away in this standard regulation for heritage conservation in the current planning policy.¹⁰ This critique opens an intense dispute on social and moral issues of eviction process driven by the power of capital and irreparable damage to intangible significance embedded in their memories and activities shared by existing communities. Therefore, identifying the ignored values is fundamental to retain an authenticity of place as a nourishment of sustaining sociocultural identity and the right of community, beyond predominant concepts of heritage conservation spotlighted on physical structure.¹¹ By following this claim, it is necessary to take authenticity of place into consideration in terms of studying the two entangled processes of heritage conservation and gentrification.

UNDERSTANDING OF AUTHENTICITY OF PLACE IN THE POSTMODERN SOCIETY

Authenticity of place is a difficult notion to be simplified, but this ambiguous idea has been exploited for the sake of regional branding and commodification by magnifying heritage values in cities. Primarily, an originality of architectural structure and materials is located in understanding the notion of authenticity rooted in nineteenth century conservation doctrine, which represents historic continuity and aesthetics in the urban context.¹² But the unilateral emphasis on physical evidence of history hinders other evidences which help understand authenticity of place.

Heritage is understood as a cultural and social process from the sociocultural perspective, and this supports the opinion that authenticity is shaped by experiences of everyday people and their rights of living and working in the neighbourhoods.¹³ In short, the presence of existing communities and the continuous progress of their daily lives play a pivotal role in authenticity of place.¹⁴ In the ambivalent theories to define authenticity, connectedness with the past is dwindled at the cost of evicting the underprivileged in old neighbourhoods, and the social diversity is reduced throughout the upscale growth.¹⁵

On the other hand, the concept of authenticity of place is used by the prevailing consumption culture by instilling a sense of uniqueness and belonging as opposed to the perception of a rapidly changing world. Yearning for authenticity reflects our own anxieties about the loss of our origins pushed by a

changing technology of power.¹⁶ These discourses present that pursuing urban authenticity can be interpreted as endeavours to retain historic continuity and accentuate distinctive identity against popular culture, but ironically it leads to homogeneous styles in neighbourhoods. The diverse social character is gradually eliminated thus marking a discontinuity in the neighbourhoods.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADITIONAL MARKETPLACES AS CASE STUDIES

Traditional marketplaces have functioned as social hubs where everyday people congregate to hold various events and interact with other people, while they mainly focus on trading in basic produce between vendors and buyers. Several studies identified the importance of traditional marketplaces as a public retail space conveying a sense of community and sustaining affordability¹⁷. In this regard, Schmiechen and Carls (1999) and Gonzales (2014) asserted that the decrease of traditional marketplaces leads to a fragmented community and weakens the social cohesion as well as the feeling of cultural identity conveyed to the public space.¹⁸ Nevertheless, traditional marketplaces have undergone a precarious state due to increasing superstores in globalised retail context and capitalising on their heritage value.¹⁹

In particular, gentrification has influenced the notion of traditional marketplaces into leisured-experience and speciality markets such as farmers, artisanal, or vintage markets coupled with local high streets selling quality products to target affluent customers. This change is considered as a welcome fillip to depressed high streets by bringing higher profit margins for revitalising local commercial districts, and governments promote this strategy as part of urban regeneration project. This eventually not only intensifies the conflict between communities from unequal social backgrounds with rent and value gap, but also questions the meaning of the authenticity of traditional marketplaces. Nevertheless, it has not been studied in depth how traditional marketplaces have changed and affected a character of local neighbourhoods in the context of gentrification.

Traditional marketplaces feature a relatively flexible structure in the built environment that has a tendency to get vulnerable to urban changes. In this respect, it can be argued that traditional marketplaces are not adequate to study “authenticity of place” which emphasises unchangeable character of place identity. On the other hand, however, their character of space flexibility can help indicate gentrification first and identify how authenticity of place is reshaped in traditional marketplaces and further in local neighbourhoods.

Therefore, this paper will explore how traditional marketplaces are transformed in a gentrification process through two case studies, Broadway market and Barking market [Figure 1], situated in East London that are subject to being gentrified and not gentrified for a comparative analysis. Ultimately, authenticity of place will be reviewed based on architectural and sociocultural analysis.

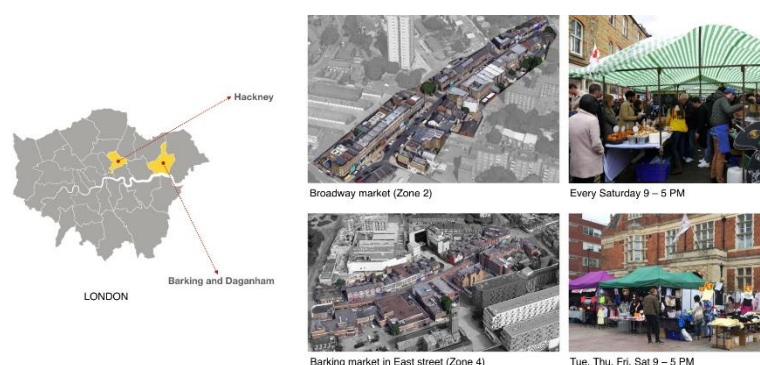


Figure 1. Location of Broadway market and Barking market (Source: Author)

EXPLORING TRADITIONAL MARKETPLACES IN EAST LONDON

Market introduction

Both Broadway market and Barking market [Figure 2] developed as a linear form with other local retail shops and were designated as conservation areas in tandem with urban regeneration projects in 1995.²⁰ The prosperity of Broadway market in the Edwardian era decreased in the mid-1980s because of widespread poverty, squatters and deteriorated streets, but the marketplace was revived as Saturdays farmers' market by the community members in 2004.²¹ However, the revitalisation of the street market which attracts the influx of capital and middle-class gentrifiers epitomises social segregation in gentrification. Meanwhile, Barking market as an ancient market issued between 1175 and 1179 was relocated in East street from late twentieth century from the market hall in front of the Curfew Tower. This marketplace still offers ethnically diverse and affordable goods for local communities.



Figure 2. Historic figure of Broadway market (Left) and Barking market (Left) (Source: Hackney and Barking Local library archives)

Architectural analysis

Conservation areas put emphasis on historic and architectural significance rooted in tangibility that represents how areas were originated and changed by time evidently. To be specific, architectural integrity is of particular importance in terms of conveying a sense of place merged with other values. On this wise, both marketplaces are of group value to cherish local landmarks with protecting historic

buildings and regulating physical appearances such as heights, materials, openings, and architectural details. Accordingly, new buildings in Broadway market follow the same style in the streetscape comprised of Victorian and Georgian styles predominantly in order to get a significant townscape merit. Meanwhile, streetscape in Barking embraces a wide range of architectural styles which characterise Victorian, Edwardian, Georgian, Art Nouveau and Modern style [Figure 3]. Contrary to Broadway market, modern edifices in East street in Barking market do not always follow the dominant styles and building scales are various, but this street also holds historical and architectural authenticity in terms of coherence.



Figure 3. Architectural style in Broadway market (Above) and Barking market (Below) (Source: Author)



Figure 4. Shop typology analysis in Broadway market (Left) and Barking market (Right) (Source: Author)

With regard to shop typology and building uses, it clearly shows the apparent differences between the two marketplaces. Paradoxically, Broadway market is fostered by mix-use retail business and it seems different shops are distributed in the street, but most of shops are homogeneous by focusing on organic and artisanal produce [Figure 4]. There are also trendy cafés and art specialising bookshops to target the taste of hipsters who dominate the gentrified marketplace. This commercial transformation dismissed the existing retail shops for basic needs for existing local communities [Figure 5], whilst Barking high street accommodates commonplace shops with consideration for affordability.

Not only does a shop typology analysis show a contrast of commodities, but the change of building uses also accentuates a discernible trend in gentrification. Analysing planning application submitted between 2004 and 2014 [Figure 6], the majority of applications in Broadway market were for building an extension to create more saleable flats and change of retail uses in accordance with affluent incomers.



Figure 6 Planning application analysis in Broadway market (Source: (1) Hackney Local Library; (2) (4) Google street view; (3) Phil Collins during filming of "buster" [Available in: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/chrisdb1/4327635928/>])

Nevertheless, some applications were refused if they threatened to endanger the architectural unity of the street. Meanwhile, there were fewer applications in East street (Barking market) and the proposals



were mostly about minor changes such as installation of new shopfronts and signboards. Despite that, it is noticeable the refurbishment of buildings with historical value and the proposed conversion and extension of few others. For example, there were attempts to alter “The Bull” and “Magistrate’s court” [Figure 7] which represent an architectural landmark in this street.



Figure 7. The Bull (Left) and Magistrate's Court (Right) (Source: Author)

To sum up, it seems that the conventional planning strategies encourage the tangible assets which enhance architectural authenticity, but has a limit to read only physical character in lieu of considering other issues related to consumption patterns which influence building uses and retail typology.

Selections of goods and cultural barriers

Market products have been spontaneously influenced by the current sociocultural and economic character of local neighbourhoods and they constantly change in response to main customers’ demands. Moreover, what is sold in the street market influences local independent shops and vice versa.

Broadway market [Figure 8] is crowded by stallholders, visitors, different types of handicraft and street foods in a narrow street compared to Barking market. What is sold is largely concentrated in various street foods and high quality, artisanal and organic produce – artisanal bread loafs, cheeses from different European countries, Italian olives and pastas, dairy products and handmade sweets, vintage clothes and LPs, artistic handicrafts etc. Each stalls are advertising where these goods are from and their authenticity. This shows a wide range of market products that target affluent clientele and their leisure time rather than local customers. Accordingly, the effect of Saturdays street market stimulated the increasing number of on-trend shops which contribute to a creative and ‘hipsters’ environment, and price of selling products in this street are soaring.

Meanwhile, selling products in Barking market [Figure 9] are ethnically diverse goods such as exotic spices, and are similar to those featured on local shops. They trade mostly clothes, housewares, cheap accessories, fruits and vegetables, while there are only a few street foods stalls. Instead of representing the uniqueness of goods, cheap prices are much more emphasised.



Figure 8. Spatial configuration study in Broadway market (Source: Author)



Figure 9. Spatial configuration study in Barking market (Source: Author)

Behind the glamorised image: collapse of social diversity

“It’s a shame because it loses a lot of local character through gentrification. And now, you end up with predominantly white middle class area once (while) before we had a whole multitude of cultures and diversity.”²²

Changing the nature of traditional marketplaces socio-economically weakens social cohesion by disenfranchising the low-income residents that are not able to sustain their commercial activities. The upgrading quality of commercial goods benefits the bourgeois and leads to a social cleavage caused by economic and cultural power with the collapse of class diversity at the same time.²³

There was a noticeable protest of anti-gentrification in Broadway market in 2005 and it involved the local Francesca’s café [Figure 10].²⁴ Francesca’s café was the one of longstanding places in Broadway market that used to play a role as a community hub. Nevertheless, Tony, the owner of Francesca’s café, was eventually evicted by proposals to increase property value by creating profitable flats, although a group of local protestors resisted the bailiffs throughout the winter of 2015.



*Figure 10. Change of Francesca's café
in Broadway market in the gentrification process
(Source: (1-3) Battle for Broadway market (2005)
[Available in: <https://vimeo.com/12992826>];
(4) Author)*

A social displacement happened through the gentrification process and the existing local communities were not secured and felt excluded in the process of changing marketplaces. Broadway market today is mainly occupied by young hipsters. Barking market meanwhile is still well rooted in the local community and provides food and other products matching the social-economical needs of the local population. Customers seem to appreciate the character of the market and enjoy the trading as much as the potential of social hub that the market provides.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of these two case studies, in their very different characters, allows a comparison of the impact of gentrification on the built environment and on other sociological aspects. It indicates that a gentrified market distorts the essence of traditional marketplaces by frustrating the original function of providing affordable products and of acting as a social hub for the local users, without restrictions.

This type of market operates as a commercial venture to sell a carefully planned “authentic” experience, for the leisure time more than for basic needs.

Nonetheless, this new type of traditional marketplaces stimulated by gentrification is frequently appreciated in policy literature and media as successful cases of rescuing death local commercial spaces²⁵ and of regenerating communities, while architectural integrity is highlighted in terms of authenticity of its formal exterior appearance. As argued, this approach seems to endanger the

sociocultural character of the areas denoted by cultural and social diversity and to weaken the sense of belonging of the existing (previous) community.

In other words, there seems to be a theoretical gap in terms of evaluating heritage and authenticity of place in the boundary between conservation and regeneration, tangibility and intangibility. It is therefore necessary to assess both architectural and sociocultural perspectives when evaluating authenticity of place, considering all the fundamental values and characteristics. The research will be further progressed to provide a new methodological framework based on the investigation of the case studies highlighted, which can be useful to both planners and policy makers, architects and users.

NOTES

¹ Khomami Nadia and Josh Halliday (2015) “Shoreditch Cereal Killer Cafe targeted in anti-gentrification protests: Paint and cereal thrown at east London cafe in attack owners describe as ‘terrifying’”, *The Guardian*, September 27, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/27/shoreditch-cereal-cafe-targeted-by-anti-gentrification-protesters>.

² Simon Thurley, *Men from the ministry: How Britain saved its heritage* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 218.

³ David Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies”, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7/4 (2001), accessed October 27, 2013. doi.org/10.1080/13581650120105534.

⁴ Edward Hobson, “Value and control: perceptions of conserving the built environment in local planning authority practice” *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 28 (2001), 461; John Pendlebury, *Conservation in the Age of Consensus* (Oxton: Routledge, 2009), 104.

⁵ Pendlebury, *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, 103-123.

⁶ Loretta, Lee, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly. *Gentrification* (New York and Oxton: Routledge, 2008); Sharon Zukin, “From Arts Production to Housing Market”, in *The Gentrification debates*, ed. Brown-Saracino Japonica, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁷ Ruth Glass, “Aspect of Change”, in *The Gentrification debates*, ed. Brown-Saracino Japonica, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁸ Sharon Zukin, “Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13 (1987), 133-135, accessed September 20, 2017. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2083243?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents; Pendlebury, *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, 106.

⁹ Pendlebury, *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, 96.

¹⁰ Pendlebury, *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, 105.

¹¹ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 42; Plácido González Martínez, “Authenticity as a challenge in the transformation of Beijing’s urban heritage: The commercial gentrification of the Guozijian historic area”, *Cities*, 59 (2016), 55, accessed August 8, 2018. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.05.026>.

¹² Thurley, *Men from the ministry*, 131-133.

¹³ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 44-48.; Zukin, *Naked City*, 5-13.

¹⁴ Brown-Saracino Japonica, *The neighbourhood that never changes: Gentrification, social preservation, and the search for authenticity* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 102-103; Zukin, *Naked City*.

¹⁵ Neil Smith and Michele Lefaivre, “A Class Analysis of Gentrification”, in *Gentrification, Displacement and Neighbourhood revitalisation*, ed. J. John Palen and Bruce London (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); Sharon Zukin, “Changing landscapes of power: Opulence and the urge for authenticity” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33/2 (2009), 545, accessed August 17, 2014. DOI:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00867.x.

¹⁶ Zukin, *Naked City*, 220, 545.

¹⁷ Edward White, “Path-Portal-Place”, in *Urban Design Reader*, ed. Matthew Carmona and Steve Tiesdell (Oxford and Burlington: Architectural Press, 2007); Kathryn Morrison, *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); Dave Postles, “The Market Place as Space in Early Modern England”, *Social History*, 29/1 (2004), accessed August 7, 2018; Sharon Zukin, *Point of Purchase: How shopping changed American culture* (New York and London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004); Sophie Watson, “The Magic of the Marketplace: Sociality in a Neglected Public Space”, *Urban Studies*, 46/8 (2009), accessed May 5, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009105506>; Sara Gonzales and Paul Waley, “Traditional Retail Markets: The New Gentrification Frontier?”, *Antipode* 45/4 (2013), accessed April 20, 2014, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01040.x.

¹⁸ James Schmiechen, Kenneth Carls., and Professor Kenneth Carls. *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Sara Gonzales, “What sorts of markets do we want, and who are they for?” (lecture, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, March 31 and April 1, 2014).

¹⁹ Sara González and Gloria Dawson, “Resisting gentrification in traditional public markets: Lessons from London”, in *Contested Markets, Contested Cities: Gentrification and Urban Justice in Retail Spaces*, ed. Sara González (Oxton and New York: Routledge, 2018), 57.

²⁰ London Borough of Hackney, Broadway market conservation area appraisal, 2006:6; London Borough of Barking and Dagenham, Abbey and Barking Town Centre: Conservation area appraisal, 2009:2.

²¹ David Mander, Mander, David. *A Hackney century: 1900-1999* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999); Mission for markets. "Markets and the high street".

²² "Broadway: Behind the market", YouTube video, 4:34, posted by "Eastside," June 13, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fjcXztkw7Vo>.

²³ Phil Hubbard, *The battle for the high street: Retail Gentrification, Class and Disgust* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 40.

²⁴ This documentary film was recorded by Emily James from the first day of the protest to protect a small local café by local communities. This film delineates that the conflicts between old-time residents and the Hackney council and property investors in Broadway market. ("Battle for Broadway Market", Vimeo, 1:11:14, posted by "Emily James", June 30, 2010, <https://vimeo.com/12992826>.)

²⁵ González and Dawson, *Resisting gentrification in traditional public markets: Lessons from London*, 59.

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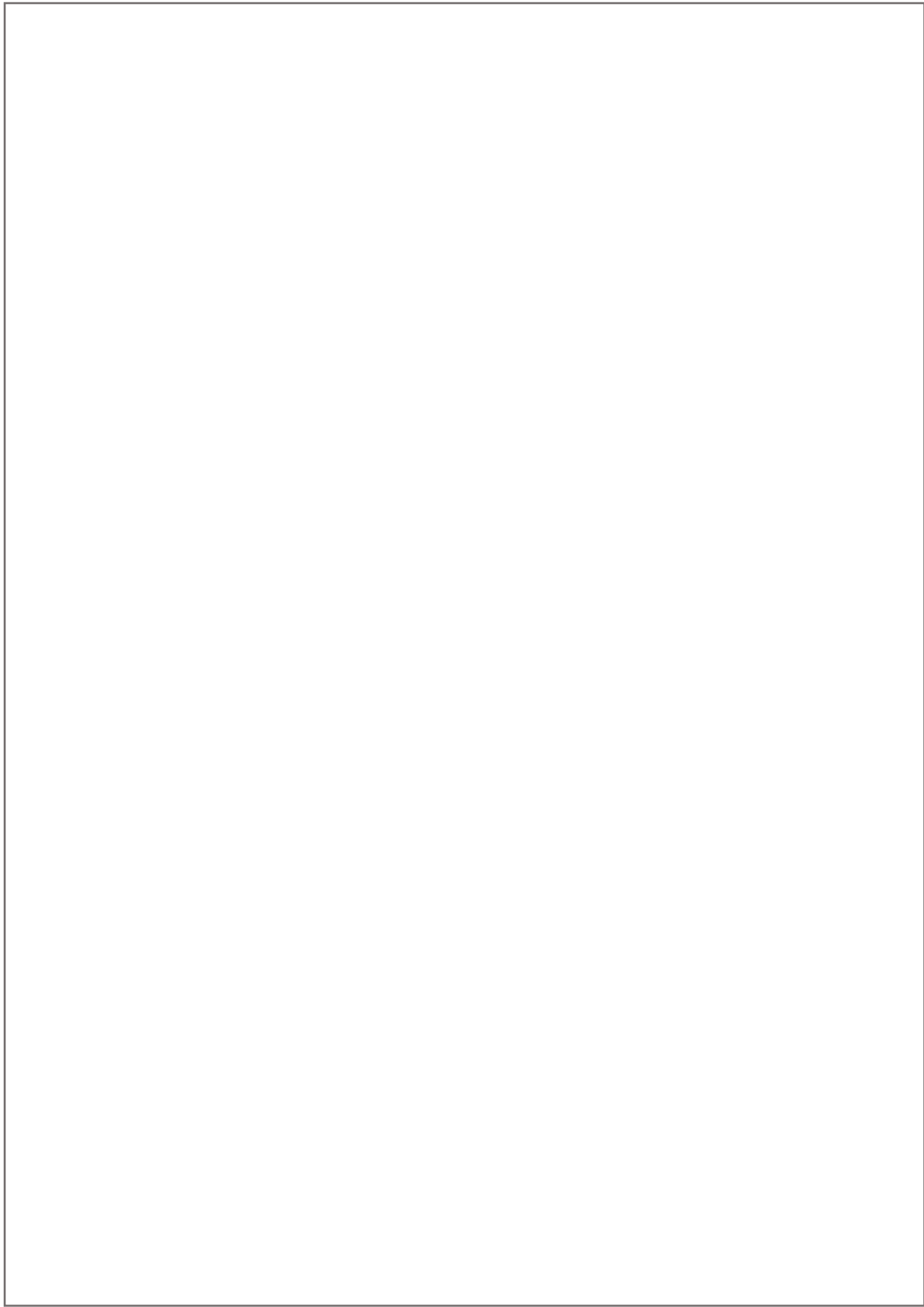
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