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## Editor's Note

This issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is dedicated to the 2012 IASTE conference, to be held in October in Portland, Oregon. As with previous TDSR conference issues, its purpose is to provide individual and institutional members who are not able to attend with detailed information about the conference's content. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing abstracts of all papers that will be presented.

The theme of the thirteenth IASTE conference is "The Myth of Tradition." Participants will examine the role of myths in the creation and endurance of particular traditions of space and practice. In many cultures, narratives based on little more than a story eloquently retold are used to establish and perpetuate traditions that guide behaviors, customs and actions. Through constant repetition, myths become regimes of truth, as well as structures of shared meanings in the making of tradition, with profound implications for the design of human environments.

Many of the myths we hear as children have been passed down through numerous generations, becoming deeply embedded in the landscapes of our imagination. Myths, however, are not stories idly told. They may impart a particular ethos, map out morality, or define the parameters of accepted behavior. Traditions, then, constitute the ways in which myths maintain their hold, and the design of physical space is frequently key to their manifestation and perpetuation.

The analysis and use of myth in urban planning and the design professions has a long history. For the most part, this has focused on urban utopias or religious places such as the mosque, the synagogue, and the cathedral. However, traditions based on myths have also shaped far more profane spaces. For instance, striving to configure places for development and progress, many twentieth-century architects and planners operated under a belief that particular spatial forms could provoke the modern condition. Yet their work often demonstrated that environmental determinism was little more than a myth — a fictitious story masquerading as theory. More recently, the New Urbanism, responding to the perceived failures of modernism, has reinvented the myth of the small town. Contemporary discourses on sustainability are likewise often based on myths regarding efficiency and productivity. Meanwhile, in the Global South the myth of the entrepreneurial slum-dweller, perpetuated by both academia and the popular media, has led to a new transnational tradition of slum upgrading and microfinance. The myths that have justified these traditions all have inherent problems, which, when exposed, raise important questions regarding spatial production.

Hosted by the University of Oregon, the conference brings together more than 140 scholars and practitioners from a variety of backgrounds to present papers structured around three broad themes: "Placemaking and the Construction of Myth"; "Mythmaking and the Politics of Space"; and "The Myths and the Practice of Tradition." We would like to thank our conference sponsors: from the University of Oregon, the School of Architecture and Allied Arts, the Department of Architecture, and the Urban Design Lab; and from the University of California, Berkeley, the College of Environmental Design.

*Nezar AlSayyad*

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## KEYNOTE SESSION MYTHS AND TRADITIONS OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

### FRACTURED FOUNDATION: THE MYTH OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

*John Archer*

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### MYTHS OF AN OASIS TOWN: GHADAMES, LIBYA, FROM ITALIAN COLONIALISM TO THE PRESENT

*Mia Fuller*

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### FRACTURED FOUNDATION: THE MYTH OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

*John Archer*

For the better part of two centuries the American Dream has been a guiding myth in American society, politics and culture. From its roots in Senator Henry Clay's origination of the term "self-made man" (1832) and the Horatio Alger stories (beginning in 1866) that promised success and riches to all who had sufficient determination, the American Dream has maintained a powerful role in American political discourse as well as in the aspirations and everyday activities of the country's inhabitants.

Starting in the 1920s the American Dream increasingly became embodied in, and harnessed to, the production of a specific material artifact: the single-nuclear-family detached house in a suburb. By the 1960s owning such a house commonly was identified as a mark of having achieved the American Dream, and continuing to live the American Dream. The house in suburbia thus served not only as the instrument, or medium, through which the dream was pursued and possessed, but also a status-mark by which others would know that those living inside had "made it."

The identification of the house with the American Dream has necessarily had a long instrumental connection to American capitalism and national politics, ranging from the anti-Bolshevist campaigns of the 1920s to the GI Bill (1944) and the American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003. The "dream house" has thus become a key locus, and instrument, of the American political and economic enterprise.

The precipitous rise in homeownership after World War II at first made the American Dream appear potentially attainable by almost everyone. During subsequent periods of economic downturn, however, housing correspondingly became the bellwether of failure — not only in its own right,

but also with respect to the American economic and political system. More than once the dream has been declared dead, with housing portrayed as the iconic graveyard of that demise. Each time considerable soul-searching has ensued — about the state of American lifestyles, commodity culture, and the political system — triggered in large measure by awareness that a central component of American material culture and daily practice, critical to Americans' identity as individuals, families and citizens, has been transformed into a chimera.

With the most recent economic downturn, however, the stakes have escalated. Not only has the impossibility of homeownership frustrated the aspirations and expectations of much of the population; it has also become an occasion for broader speculation about the future, and the integrity, of America itself. This time, as foreclosures and evictions make visually dramatic, gut-wrenching fodder for the popular press, Americans have witnessed the evisceration of the very fabric of the body social and politic.

As the materiality of the housing crisis reveals all too clearly the crumbling foundations of the myth, the terms of the political debate have correspondingly shifted, and intensified. As those once semi-enfranchised by a mortgage — a foothold in the dream — find themselves instead in possession of a lump of coal, or less, political debate (focusing, for example, on the "1 percent" and the "99 percent") and action (such as the Occupy movements) have become more broad based and intense. Rebuttals of these challenges tellingly confirm the importance of the myth as well as the bankruptcy of its foundations. They do so by renouncing the dream, and trying to redefine its terms retroactively — blatantly denying, for example, that the dream is even "American," and charging that it is in fact just a "myth" (by which is meant "falsehood"), thus not only denying the myth itself but promising to subvert the very capacity of myth to inform and lead a society.

### MYTHS OF AN OASIS TOWN: GHADAMES, LIBYA, FROM ITALIAN COLONIALISM TO THE PRESENT

*Mia Fuller*

An oasis town in mid-southwestern Libya with a long history as a crossroads for the trade of human slaves and ostrich feathers, Ghadames has provided occasional architectural inspiration for designs elsewhere in Libya since the Italian colonial period (1911–1943). A compact agglomeration of earthen and palm-trunk buildings with remarkable thermal properties, strict vertical spatial segregation between female and male spheres, and unusual covered streets, it has been noted above all for its distinctive rooftop corners and colorful apotropaic decorations.

For Italians, Ghadames once represented their own outer-exotic colonial domain, comparable to French-controlled Timbuktu. Under Qadhafi's rule (1969–2011), however, its

difference from the Libyan mainstream (it is largely Berber, rather than Arab) was denied in the name of Qadhafi's instrumentalist myth of an undifferentiated population: "We are all Libyans." However, its architectural distinctiveness was also exploited with the help of UNESCO: Ghadames, its population removed to an adjacent new town, has been on that organization's World Heritage List since the late 1980s.

Today's depictions of the town as a unique site, architecturally unrelated to any other in time or space, are largely fanciful. Moreover, they suppress the town's record as a site of the slave trade, keeping it whitewashed figuratively as well as physically. At the same time, the question of what defines Libyanness — in architecture as much as in ethnicity, language, and/or tribe — is reemerging urgently in the post-Qadhafi era. Ghadames' step-ladder rooftop corners have already appeared on one national building that was refashioned after World War II and independence. To what degree will this remote outpost and its emblematic architecture be harnessed in the creation of "tradition-based" designs for a new, perhaps multiethnic Libya?

## KEYNOTE SESSION THE MYTH OF TRADITION — CONTEMPORARY AND VERNACULAR IMAGINARIES

### FABLED CITIES OF THE EAST

*Nasser Rabbat*

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A.*

### LIVING TRADITIONS: THE VERNACULAR, REVIVALISM AND REURBANIZATION

*Chris Wilson*

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### FABLED CITIES OF THE EAST

*Nasser Rabbat*

Geographical discovery was reportedly one-directional. Emanating from the West, it was supposedly fueled by an adventurous sense of curiosity and a desire to conquer the whole world. Yet the East, or the Orient, which is more a trope for faraway and mysterious lands than an exact location, has been its favorite destination. Explorers, merchants, pilgrims, crusaders, missionaries, armchair travelers, and romantic artists have created an alluring image of the East that is both empirical and fantastical. Nowhere has this paradoxical duality expressed itself more powerfully than in the

image of the fabled cities of the East. Not only did a strange brew of myth, fiction, and real observation mold cities like Babylon, Jerusalem, Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Bukhara, and Samarkand in the Western imagination. It also seeped into the actual makeup of these cities (and many more identified with the same tradition) when they were absorbed into Western empires during the colonial age.

In present times, the cities of the Arabian Gulf — Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Doha, and Manama — have become the contemporary "fabled cities of the East" by design. Having experienced an extraordinary economic boom in the last two decades, they have found their ideal prospect in building emporia of luxury residences, global businesses, and lavish tourism, cultural and entertainment complexes. Architecture at once assumed the role of branding instrument and spectacular wrapping for these new enterprises. This presentation will review the architectural boom in the cities of the Arabian Gulf in order to understand not only how the fabulous became an integral component of their highly manicured image, but also how a literary trope and colonial design tradition were transformed into a marketing tool by a triumphant yet anxious capitalism.

### LIVING TRADITIONS: THE VERNACULAR, REVIVALISM AND REURBANIZATION

*Chris Wilson*

The older idea of tradition as the process of transmitting culture from one generation to the next is more useful than the currently more common one of tradition as something time-honored and little changing. Modernist and cosmopolitan sensibilities often denigrate regional vernaculars, historicist revivalism, and the New Urbanism on grounds of inauthenticity. These types of tradition have important differences, of course; but at their best, they can be considered cultural design languages kept alive and evolving through practice. While revivalism and the New Urbanism are often dismissed as nostalgic, they often have deeper roots than the caricature of them as mere styles — especially when they represent contemporary reinterpretations of historic building and urban design types. The sustainability lessons of vernacular traditions has been kept alive in valuable ways through revivalism and the renewal of typological design over the past generation as part of the ongoing reurbanization of the U.S. (best known, but by no means limited to the New Urbanism). I will explore the interrelation of preindustrial vernaculars with historic revivalism and the New Urbanism through a series of examples primarily drawn from the southwestern U.S.

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## A.1 MODERNISM UNBOUND: MYTHS, PRACTICES, AND POLICIES

### THE SOCIAL FIX: THE MYTH OF PHYSICAL DETERMINISM AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL FACTORS

*Susanne Cowan*

*Syracuse University, U.S.A.*

### HOUSING OPTIONS AFTER PRUITT-IGOE: DISPERSAL POLICY AND SCATTERED-SITE PROJECTS

*Ipek Tureli*

*McGill University, Canada*

### MID-CENTURY MODERNISM: JAQUELINE TYRWHITT AND THE VILLAGE CENTER AT THE 1954 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF LOW-COST HOUSING IN NEW DELHI

*Ellen Shoshkes*

*Portland State University, U.S.A.*

### A “DEMOCRATIC MODERNISM”: NATURALIZING AND NEUTRALIZING ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS IN CAPE TOWN

*Sharone Tomer*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### CAPITAL IN A VOID: MODERNIST MYTHS OF BRASILIA

*Pedro Palazzo and Luciana Saboia*

*University of Brasilia, Brazil*

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### THE SOCIAL FIX: THE MYTH OF PHYSICAL DETERMINISM AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL FACTORS

*Susanne Cowan*

During the height of the Modern Movement, many designers accepted the myth of physical determinism, adhering to the belief that the right design could change society. Traditions of the architectural profession, such as the studio project and individual creative authorship, set the design process outside the realm of politics, and the success of projects was judged primarily in terms of formal criteria.

However, by the 1960s, as protests erupted over many high-modernist projects for downtown redevelopment, high-rise public housing, and regional freeway construction, the consequences of unchecked naiveté about urban social conditions led to a crisis within the design professions. The rise of the civil rights movement in the 1960s further intensified pressure on the design fields to ensure democracy and equality in the design of the built environment. Social research offered a possible fix, serving as a method for measuring the

social problems of the built environment and for improving the ability of designers to predict and shape the effects of their projects. Although social research had already been in use in many modernist planning projects, a new generation of social researchers aimed to make these tools more effective in positively shaping design outcomes for the good of users.

Based on analysis of professional journals, design-methods manuals, and oral-history interviews, this paper will historicize the development of “social factors” as a field of study in design aimed at reversing blind faith in the social benefits of modernist planning. The narrative will expose the struggles researchers faced in integrating these social approaches into the entrenched studio traditions of design schools.

Though social factors gained traction as a research method, its influence ultimately paled in comparison to more formalist anti-modernist critiques; specifically, post-modernism fit much more seamlessly into design myths and traditions. Examining the philosophy and practice of social-factors research will illuminate how this movement unsuccessfully challenged (and, in fact, sometimes reproduced) the myths of physical determinism, scientific rationalism, and positivism in the design professions.

### HOUSING OPTIONS AFTER PRUITT-IGOE: DISPERSAL POLICY AND SCATTERED-SITE PROJECTS

*Ipek Tureli*

The Women’s Development Corporation (WDC) is a nonprofit organization based in a Providence, Rhode Island, which develops and manages scattered-site housing for low-income families with children, persons with physical or mental challenges, and the elderly. Following participatory design meetings with low-income women residing in the city center, the corporation was started in 1979 by four young professional women, three of whom were trained as architects. It has now evolved into one of the largest nonprofit developers of housing in the state of Rhode Island. Recognizing that their success relied on the ongoing success of the units they developed, the founders created a second corporation, Housing Opportunities, to engage in property management. The authors collaborated in the production of a short film that advocates for WDC’s efforts to meet the needs of those at the edge of homelessness.

The shifting agenda of WDC over time and the experiences of former and current residents provide a critical lens on dispersal policies in housing. Until the 1960s the dominant model of public housing in the U.S. was the highrise, high-density project. Perhaps the most famous of these, Pruitt-Igoe — designed by Leinweber, Yamasaki & Hellmuth, and built in the early 1950s in St. Louis, Missouri — was demolished in the 1970s. The highly publicized demolition of the first of its 33 blocks on March 16, 1972, by the federal government became an icon in housing policy debates.

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Within architectural circles, the spectacle of the demolition was glorified as representing the end of modernism and the beginning of postmodernism — most memorably by Charles Jencks in *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. It has since been discussed via references to Jencks in seminal books, such as *The Condition of Postmodernity* by David Harvey. According to the chain of authority established by repeated citations, the failure of Pruitt-Igoe was in its design. However, Katharine Bristol's 1991 article in the *Journal of Architecture Education*, "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth," and the 2011 documentary film *The Myth of Pruitt-Igoe*, by Chad Freidrichs, have tried to "debunk" this myth by showing how the project's operation was plagued by a number of political, economic and social-contextual factors. These included white flight to the suburbs enabled by federally subsidized mortgages, a lack of maintenance, and managerial failure. The original "myth," therefore, is interpreted as serving the architecture discipline, which was trying to legitimize a new direction.

Racial discrimination in federally assisted housing programs led as early as the 1960s to legal measures, such as the Fair Housing Act of 1968, aimed at ending highrise public housing and replacing it with a new policy of scattered-site projects. In the past thirty years, many medium and large public housing authorities (PHAs) have actively developed scattered-site housing as an alternative to the large projects, which concentrated poverty and problems. The impact of dispersal policy has been limited, however. Meanwhile, scattered-site housing has generated its own "myth" of property-value decline.

#### MID-CENTURY MODERNISM: JAQUELINE TYRWHITT AND THE VILLAGE CENTER AT THE 1954 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF LOW-COST HOUSING IN NEW DELHI

*Ellen Shoshkes*

This paper examines the contribution of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–1983), a British town planner, editor and educator, to the creation of a model Village Center at the International Exhibition of Low-Cost Housing in New Delhi in early 1954. Tyrwhitt did this work as a United Nations technical assistance advisor to the Indian Government. As the first woman to serve in that capacity, she also organized a concurrent U.N. seminar on housing and community improvement in Asia and the Far East.

The study illuminates how Tyrwhitt introduced her synthesis of the ideas of Patrick Geddes and modernist planning ideals (as modeled in the layout, design and functioning of the Village Center) into CIAM discourse and then U.N. community-development practice. As a member of the MARS group — the British chapter of CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne) — Tyrwhitt helped define the theme for CIAM's Eighth Congress. This was of the CORE of the city, as "the element which makes a community

of people, whether large or small, a real community (and not an aggregate of people) and the type of physical center which could best express and be the expression of, its nature in village, town, or city."

In the spring of 1951 Tyrwhitt came up with the concept of the "urban constellation," a further development of Geddes's ideas in conjunction with the idea of the CORE, to describe the dynamic relationship — "order within disorder" or "disorder within order" — of cities, villages and towns organized around "a vital city center." At the same time, she was commissioned to write an editorial for the U.N.'s *Housing and Town Planning Bulletin* on the need to integrate community services with large-scale housing schemes — signaling the converging interests of CIAM and the U.N. on the role of civic centers. Tyrwhitt also played a major role in the editing of the CIAM 8 companion book, *Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Urban Life*.

The Exhibition in Delhi in 1954 was conceptualized as a model village that would dramatize improved housing conditions and related community-development actions in the context of daily village life. Tyrwhitt adapted her notion of the CORE — used by CIAM predominantly in reference to Western cities — to improve the living conditions of rural villages in India. Her approach was to integrate rural housing policy and the political and economic revival of village life, "based primarily upon the restoration of responsibility to the village panchayat — a restoration of the self-reliance and pride that made the Indian village of earlier times the real home of thought and culture in India" (*Ekistics* 1985). The creation of the Village Center amid a group of experimental houses — "to show that the two are inseparable" — exemplified this integrated approach.

#### A "DEMOCRATIC MODERNISM": NATURALIZING AND NEUTRALIZING ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS IN CAPE TOWN

*Sharone Tomer*

Modernism arguably first "came" to South Africa in the 1920s. However, after an initially tenuous flirtation with the International Style and the early-modern avant-garde, a more situated version of it became institutionalized within the South African architectural community as an instrument for realizing the apartheid state's spatial program of racialized segregation and control. What may be surprising, then, is that modernism lives on today in the post-apartheid architectural imagination as a tradition I characterize as "democratic modernism." How can this perpetuation be explained? How has modernism been absolved of traces of apartheid and the colonial encounter, to be reimagined as an appropriate means of spatially expressing aspirations of equality and freedom?

Using the case of Cape Town, I argue that modernism has remained palatable for architects imagining a democratic

future because of the particular narratives through which it repeatedly came to be institutionalized in South Africa. This is a two-part argument. First, I demonstrate how modernism only came to be accepted and perpetuated in South Africa through the production of narratives of a context-driven, localized, humanist modernism — a “naturalized” modernism. Second, I argue that these narratives, which have been reproduced in the contemporary democratic moment, rely upon silences and omissions concerning difference and the political economy. Such silences have worked to neutralize difference as the constitutive outside that make it possible to perpetuate modernism as an architectural expression of democratic aspirations.

The paper will trace and connect key moments in the institutionalization of South African modernism, beginning with its initial formations in Johannesburg and Pretoria, then focusing on the multiple forms it took over the course of the twentieth century in Cape Town. The paper will examine the work of key figures through whom modernism took hold — before, during, and after the struggle against apartheid — and the ways in which they integrated their approach to architecture and the city with responses to political and physical contexts.

The paper will address the perpetuation of modernism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and illustrate the silences that accompany claims of humanism in architectural practices. Using the case of Cape Town’s “democratic modernism,” I will argue that architects in service of the utopian desire to transform society through the production of spatial form have continually favored modernism as a form of architectural expression. Yet, as a tradition, these liberating versions of modernism rely on naturalizing myths that argue for architecture’s neutrality as a method of social engagement and a formal spatial language.

## CAPITAL IN A VOID: MODERNIST MYTHS OF BRASILIA

*Pedro Palazzo and Luciana Saboia*

Brasilia, the first modernist World Heritage Site, has been entitled to its own hagiography in Brazilian scholarship. In this paper we shall investigate how preservationist discourses on the city can be understood in terms of a mythical structure comprising a foundational narrative and heroic deeds. As evidenced in the city’s central bus station, this narrative is opposed to an original void and the persistence of this emptiness throughout the city’s evolution. Such mythical structures typically consist of three parts: first, a description of reality as conceived by a certain group; second, an explanation of how it came to be, which forms its narrative core; and third, a ritual reenactment of mythical deeds in order to preserve or fix its order in this world.

The paper first defines the city as a direct materialization of its original design. Not only was the idea of Brasilia

locked into an established discourse centered on the need to bring about this foundational image, but it also gave birth to a rhetoric of absence, inasmuch as the original design, the 1957 Pilot Plan report, even though superseded irrevocably by its very materialization, lived on as a nostalgic narrative.

Second, the paper explores the explanatory apparatus of the Brasilia myth as a heroic achievement — albeit one deprived of the usual topos of the Hero’s fatal flaw. This explanation — comprising, in fact, a long string of narratives and laws regarding the construction of a new seat of government, stretching back to the mid-eighteenth century — stresses opposition between the civilizational act of city-building and the purported cultural void in which it would take place. It is, therefore, an individuated act, of which the major performer is the appropriately heroic figure of President Juscelino Kubitschek.

Third, the paper recounts how this foundation myth is being reenacted today in the form of discourses that attempt to draw from it instructions for the historic preservation of Brasilia. It is by means of this use that the narrative gains actuality, thus fulfilling the operative requirement of the myth. Preservationist discourse formed in this way, however, tends to favor a static view of the city, in which the void — an indispensable asset to begin with, against which the heroic act of city-building took place — ends up being considered a liability. Thus, in the end, the original modernist public space is seen not as a relationship of matter and void, where flows and socio-spatial practices can happen, but as lacunae to be filled in authoritatively. This is enabled by on the fact that the original design is vague enough to be invoked as authoritative while being arbitrarily interpreted by “specialists.”

The central bus station is one case where the void survives as a key factor in the social appropriation of Brasilia. The mythology of the foundational design, however, has resulted in a drive to “complete” the space through a number of urban designs and policy decisions bent on retrieving this elusive original intent. Actual social appropriations of the space are, on the other hand, have been driven into the background by this mythology.

## B.1 RELIGION, PLACE, AND MYTH-MAKING

### CONTENTIOUS MINARETS: INSCRIBING MUSLIMNESS INTO EURO-AMERICAN SPACE

*Saima Akhtar*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### MUSLIM-BRITISH ARCHITECTURAL EXCHANGES IN BRITAIN: DISPELLING MYTHS, REWRITING HISTORY, AND CREATING SHARED IDENTITY

*Noha Nasser*

*University of Greenwich, U.K.*

### THE AYODHYA VERDICT: THE LEGAL SPACE OF MYTH

*Shraddha Navalli*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### OLD TRADITION, NEW APPLICATIONS: VAASTU IN THE CONTEMPORARY BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

*Joseph Aranha*

*Texas Tech University, U.S.A.*

### THE MYTH OF KARBALA: SOCIO-SPATIAL PRACTICES IN CONTEMPORARY TEHRAN

*Ayda Melika*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

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### CONTENTIOUS MINARETS: INSCRIBING MUSLIMNESS INTO EURO-AMERICAN SPACE

*Saima Akhtar*

During the last decade the construction and continued existence of Islamic centers on European and American soil has stirred significant debate about the place of visible Muslim identity in these landscapes. Reactions have included the isolation and rejection of architectural markers, as in the 2009 Swiss minaret case. Others have questioned the existence of entire complexes, not because of their architectural inability to adapt contextually, as in the case of Park 51, a planned thirteen-story Islamic community center in Lower Manhattan, but because of the growing clash between national patriotism and a nebulous “other” that threatens it. What is central to these debates is an emphasis on uniform spatial identity as a way to instill security in a time of uncertainty. In the Muslim-Euro-American case, this translates into targeting diverse architectural traditions that challenge the status quo, manufacturing meanings, and redelivering them in the form of easy, digestible sound bites.

### MUSLIM-BRITISH ARCHITECTURAL EXCHANGES IN BRITAIN: DISPELLING MYTHS, REWRITING HISTORY, AND CREATING SHARED IDENTITY

*Noha Nasser*

This paper aims to dispel myths behind the constructed, and contentious, relationship between Muslim and British culture by focusing on a shared architectural heritage in Britain that demonstrates how the two cultures have borrowed from, influenced, and transformed each other.

The first recorded exchanges between the Muslim world and Britain date to the eighth century, when King Offa of Mercia (757–796) entered into diplomatic relations with the ruler Haroon Ar-Rashid of Ummayyad Spain, minting the first gold coin in Britain inscribed in Arabic with a declaration of Islamic faith. Yet, despite the historic strength of these relations, which extended to trade, exploration and travel, Britain’s connection to the Muslim World is probably better known as an effect of British colonization and post-World War II immigration.

Within the theoretical frameworks of postcolonialism and multiculturalism, prominent narratives have described the mythical hegemonic and contentious relationship between Muslim and British culture in dichotomies of “self” and “other,” “educated” and “barbaric,” “control” and “oppression.” The prevalence of these myths today means that both global and British Muslims find themselves alienated from equitable access to civic participation and democracy. Moreover, since 9/11, the rise of “Islamophobia” has marked many British Muslims, further distancing them from mainstream society. In parallel, Britain continues to play a leading role in the Muslim world, particularly in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. Therefore, the need for the two cultures to understand and communicate with each other is stronger than ever, so that values, beliefs, histories and narratives can be mutually shared and comprehended, and myths dispelled.

This paper questions the way the history of Muslims in Britain is written, and how that history has guided perceptions, actions and meanings in the construction of a British identity. In particular, it examines the politically hegemonic motivations behind the perpetuation of the historical myth and its narratives within multicultural policy frameworks. Building on the concepts introduced by Roland Barthes in his famous semiotic work on “mythologies,” it offers a critical analysis of architectural heritage in Britain to help explain how and why buildings were commissioned and the meaning behind their stylistic preferences. The research will also examine a “lost heritage” of building designs created as a result of historic exchanges between the two cultures that remain archived or hidden from public view, and that disrupt the mythical narratives of British identity.

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## THE AYODHYA VERDICT: THE LEGAL SPACE OF MYTH *Shraddha Navalli*

The fate of a nationally contested religious space, the Babri Masjid (Mosque) in Ayodhya, culminated in 2010 with a court ruling, now known as the Ayodhya verdict. The legal case involved a contest of title rights between an existing fifteenth-century mosque and a historical temple that may have existed on the same site before the time of the Mughals. The verdict provided a consolatory solution, with a three-way division of land — two-thirds to Hindus and one-third to Muslims. However, for the first time in Indian history, the court ruled that, based on the epic narrative the *Ramayana*, the space of the Babri Mosque was also the birthplace of Lord Ram. As a result, the space under the mosque's central dome will be allotted to Hindus. The verdict creates precedence for using mythology as evidence to contest spatial issues through legal channels, a development which may have significant repercussions, and thus deserves to be examined.

The Ayodhya dispute began when approximately 200,000 Hindu fundamentalists gathered at the site in 1992 to claim it as their space, which led to the demolition of the Babri Mosque. The movement was spearheaded by right-wing Hindu organizations whose goal was to build a Lord Ram temple on the disputed site, which was transformed into a “symbol for occupying national space.”

In 2010, after the verdict was announced, debate ensued between scholars, historians, lawyers, and political parties either questioning or supporting its validity. Nevertheless, right-wing Hindu parties selectively appropriated it and unilaterally applied the name Ram Janan Bhoomi (Ram's Birthplace) to the site rather than the much-used Babri Mosque term. This was done as a political strategy to affirm their religious claim to the space. While historical inquiries are channeled through the knowledge of the present, here an actual religious structure (the Babri Mosque), as historical evidence, was rejected to prioritize a mythological narration (the *Ramayana* epic) as a means to establish legal claim to the space.

The paper will examine, through the lens of the Ayodhya verdict, the relation between the narrations of historical and mythological productions in the case of the Babri Mosque. First, it will question the use of legal expertise to resolve spatial and title claims, and explore the far-reaching implication of the verdict on other mosque sites. Second, it will examine the role of “living epics” such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* in the validation and production of a “Hindu” imaginary that denies the Muslim religious landscape. Third, it will investigate the multiple sites that make Ayodhya a sacred place related to a Hindu Lord Rama in Indian mythology, when the small city has little or no historical significance in the world of heritage sites and historic narrations.

Drawing on the body of literature from scholars, recent debates, and the verdict, the paper will demonstrate how

myths as regulating narratives become an integral part of the political and ethnic construction of the nation-state.

## OLD TRADITION, NEW APPLICATIONS: VAASTU IN THE CONTEMPORARY BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA *Joseph Aranha*

In India, the traditional practice of placemaking known as *vaastu* continues to be important. *Vaastu* is an ancient Hindu practice of spatial organization that aligns buildings and built environments with the five elements: earth, fire, air, water and space (or ether). These traditional architectural canons are spelled out in ancient manuals known as the *Vaastu Sastras* and are considered to be part of sacred literature. The rules of *vaastu* are very complex and often contradictory. They are rooted in religious belief and also involve astrology, planetary alignments, and horoscopes. The correct application of the rules of and recommendations of *vaastu* is believed to bring happiness, good health, peace and prosperity to the occupants of dwellings and settlements. Traditionally, the *stapathi*, or master builder, was responsible for applying the requirements of *vaastu* to a building.

Today, traditional ways of life and building traditions are being rapidly transformed in India. The traditional built environment is being replaced by new building types, technologies, amenities and uses. However, in a society where tradition is still highly valued, the practice of *vaastu* not only continues, but is flourishing. While there are no longer *stapathi*, the role of provider of *vaastu* has been taken over by *vaastu* “consultants,” contractors, builders, developers, and even paint manufacturers, all of whom not only advertize their services on the Internet, in print media, and on billboards, but also conduct seminars and give talks to promote the necessity of *vaastu* as a component of an appropriately designed building.

The practice of *vaastu* has become a marketable commodity. Its traditional rules and applications have been reinterpreted, redefined and reborn in order to address and satisfy the new forms and uses of the built environment, as well as the new needs, aspirations and lifestyles of those who inhabit its highrise apartments, single-family houses, factories, and office buildings. Among other claims, *vaastu* is today being marketed as a way to create sustainable architecture. It is likewise promoted as a panacea that can cure anything from household dysfunction and bodily illness to success in business.

The contemporary practice of *vaastu* is creating new challenges for architects and their ability to provide design services. Questions are being raised by architects and educators about the authenticity of the contemporary practice of *vaastu* and whether it should be taught as a subject in architecture schools. Meanwhile, as the traditional architectural canons of the *Vaastu Sastras* are expanded and reinterpreted, and as recommendations and contemporary application op-

opportunities for *vaastu* increase, new myths are being created to validate and authenticate the applications and reinterpretations of this old architectural tradition.

The paper will use case studies from field research in South India to illustrate traditional uses of *vaastu* and its role in determining traditional domestic architectural typologies. It will then describe contemporary applications of *vaastu* in new architectural projects and speculative construction to identify architectural concerns and illustrate and explain the new uses, as well as the abuses, of this tradition.

## THE MYTH OF KARBALA: SOCIO-SPATIAL PRACTICES IN CONTEMPORARY TEHRAN

*Ayda Melika*

In Iranian culture, poetry and narrative play important roles in the formation of civil society. In particular, the story of Imam Hussein in the Battle of Karbala, which has been retold for 1,400 years, has established and immortalized a tradition that has guided individual behaviors, cultural customs, physical structures, collective actions, and even revolutions. Tazieh, the reenactment of the Battle of Karbala, is a traditional Persian theatrical genre, which in Iran is considered the most important part of Muharram, a yearly religious commemoration during which stories of Karbala are retold. *Takias* and *husseinihs* are gathering spaces designed to house Muharram ceremonies, including the reenactment of Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, when Imam Hussein, grandson of the prophet Muhammad, was killed (making this day symbolic in terms of the battle of good against evil). Each of these structures are designed and built by local residents in contextual settings. Both public and private sites are used to build them, ranging from outdoor crossroads, where large audiences can gather, to public courtyards, schools, bazaars, and even historic private homes.

This paper will examine ways the myth of Karbala has shaped rituals, which in turn have been used to structure space and place in Iran. It will examine *takias* and *husseinihs* as urban manifestations of this religious myth, which plays such an important role in Iran's Islamic civil society. The legend of Imam Hussein has affected placemaking processes in Iran for centuries. The paper will examine the role of the myth of Karbala in socio-political and spatial practices in contemporary Tehran.

Furthermore, looking at the relationship between structural conditions, cultural influences, and collective behavior, the paper will uncover how collective identity is manifested in space. At the individual level, selves are comprised of a set of identities, forming a character that people create for themselves and present to others through their actions. Similarly, communities construct themselves collectively through evaluating situations, choosing lines of action, making sense of behaviors, and representing themselves to others through

their built environments. *Takias* and *husseinihs* are physical manifestations of the revolutionary spirit, and demonstrate both the selection and construction of the collective political identity.

Following the formulaic story of Ashura, people construct identities by aligning actions with the virtues highlighted in the Muharram ceremonies. By referencing the deeds of the characters in the Tazieh, people can locate their actions within culturally approved beliefs and norms, and so link themselves to a history of revolt against tyranny that transcends their individual action. The widely circulated myth of Karbala helps people create and perpetuate symbolic codes in their everyday environments. To assist in this process, each year communities get together to build *takias*, temporary structures, to commemorate and reinforce these identities by linking their present experiences and behaviors to a meaningful historic event. The paper will examine the democratic design, building process, and special geographies of these structures as facilitators of effective communication and for making successful claims to public space.

## C.1 MYTHS AND METHODS IN ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

### INSIDERS AS OUTSIDERS: THE MYTH OF “SOUTHERN CULTURE” IN SAMUEL MOCKBEE’S RURAL STUDIO

*Anna G. Goodman*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### THE INFLUENCE OF MAYAN MYTHOLOGY ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF ERIC OWEN MOSS

*Maged Nabeel and Mohammed El-Essawy*

*Modern Academy for Engineering and Technology, Egypt*

### THE MYTH OF THE BAY REGION STYLE IN CALIFORNIA

*Elisa Brusegan*

*University IUAV of Venice, Italy*

### BUILDING FROM THE MYTH: A LOOK AT THE SHILPA SHASTRAS FROM ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

*Julian Garcia and Joaquin Grau*

*Polytechnic University of Madrid, Spain*

### CREATING JAPANESE DISCURSIVE SPACE: THE POLITICS AND MYTHOLOGY OF TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN METABOLIST PROPOSALS

*Harpreet (Neena) Mand*

*University of Newcastle, Australia*

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### INSIDERS AS OUTSIDERS: THE MYTH OF “SOUTHERN CULTURE” IN SAMUEL MOCKBEE’S RURAL STUDIO

*Anna G. Goodman*

Design-build education, as a pedagogical practice, shifts the focus of architectural education from representation to making, heuristic engagement, and belonging. The community design-build studio also questions American architecture’s obsession with high-style design and celebrity through a combination of material reuse, hands-on learning, service, and community engagement. Hands-on education for architects has a longer history than that which began with the founding of the Auburn Rural Studio in Hale County, Alabama, by the architect Samuel Mockbee in 1923. However, the Rural Studio’s highly publicized projects, and its particular combination of priorities, has provided a model for many programs in the United States and elsewhere today.

The Rural Studio engages with real-life clients in an impoverished rural community while experimenting with new ways of building based on both economic and environmental

rationales. High-culture institutions, including the New York MoMa (in its recent “Small Scale, Big Change” exhibition) have featured this seemingly peripheral practice as an exemplar. The juxtaposition of high-culture validation with claims of local rootedness and authenticity contributes to a confusion over whether this is a new kind of practice or just a repackaging of the expert architect’s technological and moral superiority. Yet, as other schools around the country mimic the formula of the Rural Studio, they transplant its logic into different contexts. In so doing, they downplay the controversial nature of interventions in marginalized communities, while narrating design-build education as inherently critical of “normal” architectural production. The humanitarian and populist values of community design-build mask ethical ambiguities and allow educators to leave unquestioned the assumptions of the tradition they perpetuate.

Both academia and the popular media have suppressed the interdependence of the Rural Studio with its regional and artistic context, in favor of a story more in line with existing professional discourses. Rather than a humanitarian or environmental project, I argue that the Rural Studio began as an intentional effort at regional definition and cultural boundary-making. Thus, the writing, artwork and architecture of Samuel Mockbee paralleled both “high-culture” and “folk” art from the region in material, subject, and narrative strategies. Through these references, Mockbee intentionally constructed an ethical and aesthetic position that is forgotten, because he, like the inhabitants he depicted, was assumed to be authentically Southern, and thus without pretense.

The placemaking traditions originating with Mockbee and the early Rural Studio have given design-build education an ethos of educational, moral and aesthetic value, solidifying it into a regime of truth that positions young architects as stewards of both culture and the poor. By tracing Mockbee’s connections to both “insider” and “outsider” art in the Alabama Black Belt, and by borrowing the nuanced frameworks developed to deal with these artistic practices, I will demonstrate that Mockbee intentionally constructed a myth of Deep South “regional culture” through his art, writing and architecture. He also mythologized his own role and the role of architects in general as bearers and protectors of authenticity and localness. This genealogy offers a method for making visible other myths of architectural practice through a local and historical, rather than a theoretical, inquiry into practice.

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## THE INFLUENCE OF MAYAN MYTHOLOGY ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF ERIC OWEN MOSS

*Maged Nabeel and Mohammed El-Essawy*

Throughout history, mankind has produced an enormous legacy of beliefs and myths. Mankind has also learned how to record this legacy: known as the “science of mythology,” it is concerned with collecting and studying mythologies of the ancient world. This science was established at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and generations have since identified myths in various shapes — i.e., orally as stories, physically as scripts on temple walls, epigraphically inside tombs, or even as monuments and fossils. This paper assumes that contemporary architecture may be influenced by this science.

The paper focuses on architects who have chosen mythical sources as guidelines, leading them to create a new phase of architecture. As a detailed case study, it explores the impact of Mayan mythology on the designs of the American architect Eric Owen Moss, who has shown interest in this civilization, its mythology, and its architecture. In order to break his codes, the paper will interpret a number of Moss’s projects in Culver City to identify the mythical sources he has used. The paper proceeds in four steps.

*Vision on an ancient age.* It will identify the meaning of the ancient world and its components, produce a scientific definition of mythology, and identify its relation to architecture.

*Landing on the Mayan civilization.* It will relate excerpts from the Mayan mythology and classify its important buildings.

*What is the architectural metaphor?* It will review explanations by the British architectural theorist Chris Abel.

*Breaking the codes of a smart architect.* It will make a mental journey into the cultural background of Owen Moss to explore his motives, interpret how his architectural language is influenced by Mayan mythology, make an analytical comparison between his projects to reveal the sources of his inspiration, and finally reach a set of conclusions.

## THE MYTH OF THE BAY REGION STYLE IN CALIFORNIA

*Elisa Brusegan*

Lewis Mumford is well known as a theorist of urban regionalism, and as a critic of architecture, he tried to extend its meaning, influencing such other critics as Alexander Tzonis, Lliane Lefaivre, and Kenneth Frampton. Mumford never wrote a systematic exposition of architectural regionalism, and its definition developed only fragmentarily. Yet, beginning in 1924, in many essays and articles, he sought regional examples of American built form to support his theories. In 1947 he identified William Wurster as one of its main

interpreters, including Wurster’s work in a regional movement called the Bay Region Style, of which he gave a sort of definition in a 1947 article in the *New Yorker*: “I look for the continued spread, to every part of our country, of that native and humane form of modernism which one might call the Bay Region style, a free yet unobtrusive expression of the terrain, the climate, and the way of life on the Coast.” Despite the fact that California architects didn’t recognize themselves within such boundaries and that Mumford’s definition was controversial, by the beginning of the 1950s the phrase “Bay Area Style” had become nationally and internationally accepted (Woodbridge 1988).

This essay examines the definition of the Bay Region Style and William Wurster’s writings, focusing especially on two crucial concepts, style and tradition. An analysis of Mumford’s writings highlights how his definition of a Bay Region Style was problematic, and how the choice of Wurster as an example was partially unexplained. The Bay Region Style has an illusory character as a style, but it can be considered a regional approach pursued by some, such as Wurster.

Even if Lewis Mumford’s statements are incomplete, William Wurster’s projects and thoughts were affected by regional properties such as climate, land, and local architectural heritage. Later reviewers, such as Sally Woodbridge, Alan Michelson, Marc Treib, and Thomas Hille, identified specific regional features in his work: linear plans, controlled outdoor space, indoor-outdoor rooms, and an adaptation to natural contours. In particular, the study of William Wurster’s lectures and writings demonstrates that the architectural vernacular tradition is crucial to the definition of regional qualities. Architectural tradition is not evoked as a repertoire of mythical images, but for the value of its principles: adaptation, simplicity and appropriateness.

The lessons that can be drawn from the myth of the Bay Region Style and its relation to the work of William Wurster concern the need to develop a deeper comprehension of style and tradition within the framework of a regionalist method. It suggests further research possibilities, driving us toward a deeper examination of the meaning of architectural regionalism as a design strategy.

## BUILDING FROM THE MYTH: A LOOK AT THE SHILPA SHASTRAS FROM ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

*Julian Garcia and Joaquin Grau*

The ancient artistic traditions of central India were passed on orally from Vedic times, and only began to be written down with the arrival of Hinduism. The surviving written records are grouped together under the name of the *Shilpa Shastras*, a well-known corpus of texts on Hindu art and architecture. The *Shastras* are anything but a coherent set of manuals; they are a widely varying collection of sacred texts



which establish the various rules (most of them concerning iconographic matters and attitudes toward the object) necessary to create in accordance with divine ideals. Specifically, the *Shastras* were sacred manuals, divinely dictated, which could only be accessed by *sthapatis*, or priests. The consensus among current scholars is that they were collectively established in the tenth and eleventh centuries by priests, copyists and transcribers on the basis of the oral tradition passed on for centuries by the *sthapatis*. Reading them allows us to understand the unique mix of technique and magic (which even today are difficult to separate in some regions) that characterizes Hindu architecture.

The organization of work in rural India has its roots in the well-known and rigid caste system. Abolished decades ago, this system lives on in many rural areas; its analysis, which is extremely complex, is beyond the scope of this paper, but a large number of essays have documented its peculiarities (Pavlov 1975), and it forms a fundamental chapter in any history of India (Whitman 1970, Metcalf 2003). In the Anantapur region, the caste system (which is disappearing from many aspects of social organization, particularly with regard to access to public services) continues to be deeply rooted in the organization of work.

With regard to links between industry and tradition, the caste of an individual is determined at birth. It is not possible to change caste in life, whatever the merits achieved. The caste to which individuals belong determines their position in society at all levels, including the range of jobs they are able to do. As a consequence, the individual who carries out a particular task (or, in the construction sector, who is responsible for a specific unit) may not be the person best qualified to do it, merely someone belonging to the caste authorized to perform such a task. It is not a worker's skill that qualifies him to carry out a particular function, it is only his social position that allows him access to it.

This paper seeks to extend the scope of construction history by linking it with the study of myths. A reading from cultural anthropology can extend, very conveniently, understanding of these problems.

## CREATING JAPANESE DISCURSIVE SPACE: THE POLITICS AND MYTHOLOGY OF TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN METABOLIST PROPOSALS

*Harpreet (Neena) Mand*

(Post) colonial Japanese modernity, conceived mainly in cultural terms, arose from a dual need to carve out a distinct identity on the world stage and to establish parity with the West. In this respect, it is useful to be reminded of the question of knowledge and power implied in the discourse of modernity and tradition. What Japan could contribute to the formation of a "universal" culture as an Eastern nation was explicitly addressed during the colonial era by the philosophy

of Kitaro Nishida. But this issue was left unresolved following the country's defeat in World War II. Implied in the concept of universal, however, was the exclusion of the particular as false, unformed, incomplete, or an exception to the rule.

The first proposals to address this issue following the war in terms of architecture and design were published in the booklet *Metabolism: The Proposals for New Urbanism* and presented at the first World Design Conference in Japan in 1960. The Metabolist proposals and writings were influenced by factors both internal and external to Japanese culture. They were also part of a larger critique of Japanese culture, and were thus a means of envisioning an alternative social order. Implicit and explicit in them was a desire to create a lead position for Japanese architecture in the world order, both intellectually and economically.

In the Western discourse of modernity, tradition is considered an opposing force that has to be negated. Likewise, since the colonial period, the question of the "universal" has been central to the discourse of modernity in Japan. Yet it was the Metabolists, with their manifesto, who initially understood and deployed the "universal" as myth-making, as they made their debut on the world stage.

This paper proposes that the Metabolists created a discursive space for Japanese architecture through an understanding of Western modernism as myth-making, and that they had to mythicize Japanese tradition to propagate their visions of modernity. Metabolist proposals, though positing various methods of accommodating change, endeavored to provide universal solutions to the problems of land scarcity, urbanization, and the negative impact of modernization on the Japanese environment. This paper provides a close reading of the Metabolists' creation of discursive space in the architectural arena by deploying postcolonial theory.

## A.2 SPACES AND TRADITIONS OF REMEMBRANCE

### UNSETTLED MEANING: MEMORIALIZING LOST MOBILITY THROUGH A MONUMENT IN ORDOS, INNER MONGOLIA

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### POLITICAL BATTLES DISGUISED AS CONFLICTING MYTHS

*Anne Toxey*

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### THE MULTIPLE LIFE OF ARCHITECTURE: AN INDONESIAN CASE

*Arief Setiawan*

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### CREATING POLITICAL PLACES THROUGH MYTH: THE HYEONCHUNGSA PROJECT IN KOREA IN THE 1960S

*Jihong Kim and BongHee Jeon*

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### UNSETTLED MEANING: MEMORIALIZING LOST MOBILITY THROUGH A MONUMENT IN ORDOS, INNER MONGOLIA

*Rick Miller*

The mobility that is lost, but commemorated in a memorial, is that of Chinggis Khaan, whose death interrupted a life of peripatetic conquest. For centuries, the memorial had been a mobile encampment of eight white tents that annually traversed the Ordos landscape. Indeed, the name Ordos (“Encampment” or “Tent Palace”) derived from their ritual presence in this place. Synecdochically, however, the memorial lost its own mobility when, in a 1950s design by the Chinese government, the tents were “settled” through the construction of a fixed cenotaph. Rituals associated with the mobile tents have since been adapted or reinvented, but the legitimacy of the revised memorial is still questioned by local Mongols, who express a parallel sense of loss. The plight of the monument resonates with their own situation in a landscape, which no longer supports the pastoral nomadism by which they once constructed both livelihoods and identity.

By narrating meaning for the memorial to Chinggis Khaan, different communities construct themselves as integral to the past and present of the landscape they and the monument occupy. Informing this discussion are textual references from recorded Mongolian stories, nineteenth-century

travelers’ journals, and a contemporary Chinese conservation plan for the site. It also makes use of conversations with ethnic Mongols and Han from Inner Mongolia and Mongols from Mongolia and visual analysis of the region’s changing architecture and landscape over the past two decades. Distilling the myths and politics of the Ordos monument provides an intriguing picture not only of local interethnic relations, but also of the entwinement of people, the architecture they construct and interpret, and the landscape they inhabit and claim.

### POLITICAL BATTLES DISGUISED AS CONFLICTING MYTHS

*Anne Toxey*

Steeped in religious and secular traditions, the city of Matera, Italy, is layered with myths that grow from its misty past. This venerable city has archaeological evidence dating to Paleolithic times — and has possibly been continuously inhabited for 100–700 millennia. Some historians claim this to be one of the world’s oldest cities.

The oldest dwellings belong to an area of the city called the Sassi, and are composed of cave habitations carved sinuously into the side of a cliff, often extended forward with additional constructed rooms. These houses were the focus of inordinate scholarly, political and media attention for more than a century, culminating in the 1950s. Due to a post-World War II national campaign of shame, the ancient habitations, the occupants, and their traditional peasant lifestyles were castigated by the nation. From the early 1950s to the mid-1970s, residents were systematically moved to new, subsidized state housing, leaving their ancestral homes, traditions and livelihoods behind. Traumatized as much by decades of caustic censure as by the abrupt move and forced modernization, this population buried its memories and its shame under layers of rubbish, turning the ancient city into a public dump.

Since the 1980s, however, the Sassi have been redeemed by the international community and named a UNESCO World Heritage Site as well as a national monument. Billions of euros from state, regional, E.U., and private coffers have preserved the Sassi, which now house three-, four-, and five-star hotels, restaurants, museums, and chic houses. Accompanying this reclamation of lost heritage has been the development of numerous narratives and myths that simplify the site’s multifarious history according to the objectives and interests of the observer. These include the myth of the Sassi’s peasant civilization, which nostalgically romanticizes rural society as one of solidarity, morality and piety. But this myth ignores negative aspects of this culture — for example, economic instability, the subjugation of women, and the fact that only about 50 percent of the Sassi residents in 1950 were peasants. A second myth defines a prehistoric golden age of the Sassi, in which human society and nature were in sym-

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biotic harmony — the UNESCO designation is based on this interpretation. A third myth conceptualizes the Sassi as the product of class struggle, a space that should never be re-inhabited, but rather left as a memorial to social conflict. All three of these narratives fetishize the Sassi, providing only partial truths about the site's history. They separate the Sassi from reality and the rest of the city and cast this chameleon culture in the shape of their various political motives.

This paper analyses the contemporary political landscape that generates these conflicting narratives and the ruinous state of the Sassi that has allowed for accretions of meanings. The paper invokes the work of Italian social theorists who have studied the Sassi and contributed to some of these interpretations: for example, Manfredo Tafuri, Bruno Zevi, Aldo Musacchio, and Raffaele Giura-Longo. It concludes by broadening the analysis to discuss the roles of government actors and social leaders in the shaping of myth and environment.

## THE MULTIPLE LIFE OF ARCHITECTURE: AN INDONESIAN CASE

*Arief Setiawan*

After World War II, the new nation-states that emerged in Asia and Africa embarked on a project of nation-building. Included in this effort was the formulation of specific national architectures to sustain narratives of national identity. At the beginning, these national architectures often relied on the attitudes of the Modern Movement, exemplified by projects at various scales, such as Chandigarh, Islamabad, and the Parliamentary buildings in Jakarta. However, a change in the perception of identity, to reflect emerging belief on the organic unity of location and form of culture, caused a change in direction for the politics of identity. The nation-building project turned to varieties of local traditions as sources for national identity. Thereafter, particular local traditions were often elevated and codified as national traditions.

This paper explores this issue within the specific context of Indonesian architecture. In line with the general tendency outlined above, beginning in the 1980s, a concerted effort was made to promote specific traditional architectures as Indonesian. This project of creating a national identity relied on a particular formal element — roof shape; and a particular set of traditional roofs was deemed to symbolize Indonesia. The results were often completely nondescript, functionalist buildings topped with roofs derived from traditional architecture. At the same time, a number of architects designed buildings with formal and spatial qualities which related to those of local architecture. Notwithstanding the semblance to traditional architecture, these architects worked from a different premise. While the former used traditional idioms to represent Indonesianness, the latter claimed to work within the Modern Movement.

This case indicates that cultural artifacts, including architecture, hold different meanings and purposes for different groups. However, these meanings and purposes are in constant flux, even within the same context or locale. The paper examines this issue from the point of view of the artifact itself. In a context of competing claims, is the artifact — in this case, architecture — a passive element? What are its potentials to contribute to the production and sustenance of the myth? How do its ideational and material aspects participate in this process?

In investigating these questions, the paper will analyze works that carry semblances to traditional architecture in Indonesia, as representative of the two different premises described above. In particular, it will examine government-sponsored projects as an example of the first and the work of Mangunwijaya, a winner of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1992, as representative of the second. It will analyze the formal, spatial and tectonic aspects of selected projects to investigate the extent of the influences of local knowledge. It will then study the intentions and ideological contexts behind the work. In the end, the paper hopes to contribute to understanding the issue of identity in architecture.

## CREATING POLITICAL PLACES THROUGH MYTH: THE HYEONCHUNGSA PROJECT IN KOREA IN THE 1960S

*Jihong Kim and BongHee Jeon*

This essay examines the use of tradition under conditions of ardent nationalism in the midst of modernization. Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945, but its subsequent development was hindered by the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. Many modernization projects thus only began in the 1960s. The preservation of national culture, which had been interrupted by Japanese colonial rule, was also a significant task. With a fever of modernization, re-created traditional architecture was thus regarded as evidence of outstanding national culture.

The Hyeonchungsa project was the biggest restoration project in the 1960s, built to accommodate national ceremonies. A shrine to Admiral Yi, a hero during the Japanese invasion at the end of the sixteenth century, it was representative of the type of nationalist heritage embraced by the administration of Park Chung-hee. However, it has since been criticized as representing the consolidation of power by a military junta.

Through an investigation of the spatial layout and design of the shrine, this paper reveals the intention of the project to create a national-style building modeled from traditional sources. This was a national memorial established under the guise of restoration. The project claimed to overcome colonial history; yet, ironically, the use of historic sources modified by Japan reveals its postcolonial situation under the influences of colonial history.

## B.2 SPACE, ETHNICITY, AND MYTH

### THE MYTH OF TRADITION IN NEW YORK'S CHINATOWN

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### THE MYTH OF CHINATOWN: HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF CHINESE SETTLEMENTS IN EAST ASIAN OPEN PORTS

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### PLANNING THE IMMIGRANT CITY: INSURGENT PUBLICS AND THE MYTH OF MULTICULTURAL PLACEMAKING IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

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### THE MYTHICAL FORT: THE ROLE OF MYTH IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHIA IDENTITY IN QATIF, SAUDI ARABIA

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### THE MYTH OF TRADITION IN NEW YORK'S CHINATOWN

*Chuo Li*

Following World War II, a remarkable, self-conscious process of community building took place in U.S. Chinatowns, especially after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 led to the abolition of Asian immigration quotas. New York's Chinatown presents a case study of this postwar transformation, which was related to both global geopolitical changes and domestic urban economic restructuring. With the liberalization of immigration laws, the Chinese population in New York has been continuously growing and diversifying. The new immigrants, who come from various regions including mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia, have dramatically reconfigured Chinese settlement in New York. Meanwhile, overseas Asian investments also brought about an economic and social restructuring of New York's Chinatown. Illustrating the way discourses of identity and heritage function to (re)assert spatial identity, the paper will examine the political acquisition of the myth of tradition in the built environment of New York's Chinatown and the underpinning social agendas, and cultural and political implications in the process of placemaking.

Compared with the themed landscape of some other Chinatowns, such as in San Francisco and Chinatown, New York's Chinatown appears very "plain," without much Oriental-flavored embellishment. Thus, within a peculiar narrative of ethnic and localist distinctiveness, city officials and some Chinatown community organizations have called for a series of building projects to demonstrate "Chinese" tradition, which have coincided with the city's efforts at urban renewal and redevelopment. Despite these efforts, most attempts to build a "themed" Chinatown have failed due to particular local economic and social conditions.

Doreen Massey (1994) has argued that places are full of internal conflicts, and the uniqueness of place is continually produced by multiple sources. Thus, instead of the expressive intention of endowing place with unique character, the place and space of New York's Chinatown was largely shaped by a contested process of spatial construction, within which discourses of development and myths of tradition were employed by different social groups to address their competing interests and political ideologies. By examining the encounter of overseas investors/developers and local residents, long-term Cantonese residents and new immigrants from Fujian province, the paper will reveal a story of contestation and context-specific struggle over space and identity. It will also provide insight as to the complex community dynamics and changing significance of ethnicity and tradition in building ethnic communities.

### THE MYTH OF CHINATOWN: HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATION OF CHINESE SETTLEMENTS IN EAST ASIAN OPEN PORTS

*Sujin Eom*

Chinatowns in North America have historically been associated with racially segregated residential and commercial neighborhoods. However, Chinese migrant workers (mainly bachelors who crossed the Pacific to seek employment in the burgeoning mining industry in the U.S.) did not initially reside in these confined neighborhoods. Rather, the creation of "Chinatown" as a confined, segregated neighborhood was an outcome of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which was implemented to cut off further migration from China to the U.S. Thereafter, due to "the first comprehensive restrictive immigration law toward a particular race and class," Chinese communities in the American West were segregated either by means of racially restrictive covenants or by violence, which deterred Chinese residents from crossing racial boundaries. As such, Chinatowns in the U.S. have been studied as racialized enclaves by sociologists and geographers, who have sought answers to urban stratification along racial lines (Nee and Nee 1973, Anderson 1991, Zhou 1992).

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In East Asia, however, where China has long exerted political influence, Chinatowns have been shaped by different forces, and these deserve attention by those attempting to understand the rise of Chinatown developments in the region today. In cities such as Yokohama, Japan, and Incheon, South Korea, Chinatowns were established by political need when the cities were compelled to open their ports. However, these cities are now seeking to articulate the idea of Chinatown as an instrument of urban development. And Chinatowns are also thought of as a platform from which to attract foreign capital and investment. At the time when the Chicago School of urban sociology formulated the theory that industrial cities have distinct spatial patterns, Chinatown was considered one of many ethnic colonies that would be dismantled with the accumulation of capital and the aspiration for assimilation. By contrast, the idea of Chinatown today in East Asian port cities tends to emphasize its capacity to concentrate capital and labor into a confined geography, evincing an expectation for increased links with China.

By examining the origins of Chinese settlements in two East Asian “open port” cities — Yokohama and Incheon — in the late nineteenth century, this paper examines the context in which the idea of “Chinatown” has been mythified by different historical and political circumstances. At the center of the contemporary (re)making of Chinatowns in the two cities is the historical fact that the Chinese settlements were established when the two ports were opened for the first time to foreign commerce. At the time, Chinatowns were believed to serve as a main gate to modern institutions and culture in the two closed-off countries. However, this paper argues that the meaning of “open ports” is being used selectively in contemporary Chinatown-making practices, which represent the aspirations of the cities to become world cities. How are different histories of open ports renarrated? What kind of myths does Chinatown-making play to? This paper also highlights the ultimately unrealizable aspirations of the cities and the disparities created through the act of historical rewriting in the built environment.

### PLANNING THE IMMIGRANT CITY: INSURGENT PUBLICS AND THE MYTH OF MULTICULTURAL PLACEMAKING IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

*Hector Fernando Burga*

Who do planners represent in a city defined by transience and immigration? In this paper I examine how empowered immigrant groups challenge normative planning practices in metropolitan Miami through their cultural, material and economic contributions. By combining archival research, interviews with residents and planners, and participant observations of planning practices, I provide a genealogy of planning “crises” starting in 1980, when the sudden arrival of boatloads of Cuban and Haitian immigrants marked

a period of social turmoil. Since this time, a number of unprecedented new challenges have emerged for urban planners: the redrawing of county commission district boundaries in 1986, a rebellion of municipal incorporations from 1991 to 2003, and the formation of new community councils in Dade County starting in 1996.

In the last ten years urban planners have attempted to reframe Miami’s legacy of immigration through two master plan initiatives: the Dade County Park and Open Space System Master Plan and the Miami 21 Form-Based Code. These measures deploy placemaking techniques, alternative zoning codes, and community participatory process (charrettes) to reenvision Miami’s urban and social space as a metropolis characterized by grand multicultural public spaces and by access to green infrastructure. A planning agenda articulating the myth of multicultural placemaking — the incorporation of diverse publics in the interest of the “public realm” and the “public interest” — has taken shape.

Miami’s case opens an inquiry into two mutually constituted questions. It is not only a matter of what the practice of urban planning should do with immigrants. Plan for them? Assimilate them? Segregate them? Incorporate them? It is also a matter of how to empower immigrants to use urban planning to claim power and control in the city.

### THE MYTHICAL FORT: THE ROLE OF MYTH IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHIA IDENTITY IN QATIF, SAUDI ARABIA

*Wala'a Al Khulaitit*

The site of the historic fort of Al-Qala’a in Qatif, Saudi Arabia, is a space of political contestation and meaning in the production of Shia identity. The memory of and personal narratives about the fort have structured various social, civil and religious activities in the city. This paper seeks to address how, through time, memory practices have become myths that now play a role in invoking traditions in the socio-spatial practices of contemporary Qatif.

From the 1930s through the 1960s the old fortification of Al-Qala’a was a residential neighborhood that functioned as an urban center for the town as well as for neighboring villages, serving as the primary site of financial and municipal activities in the city. However, in the 1980s a Shia uprising took place in Al-Qala’a to support the Iranian revolution and the creation of a Shia state there. Those events evoked political conflict and increased tension between the majority Sunni government and the minority Shia of Qatif. As a result, the Saudi state dispossessed the people of Qatif of Al-Qala’a land, demolished its structures, and transformed it into a large vacant lot. After displacing the residents, the site remained vacant for nearly thirty years. But recently, with the change in Saudi leadership, the government has made efforts to restore its relationship with the people of Qatif. As a

result, it commissioned a project to rebuild the site as a public park that commemorates the old fort. Because Al-Qala'a has become a site of political contestation, many myths have been constructed around its historical value and its physical structure. Those myths have invoked many social and religious spatial traditions.

This paper will examine the collective practice of memory as a social habit, and how “mental images of the past construct the future and the role of the collective body of society in helping produce these images” (Halbwachs 1992). In other words, it will examine how memory of the fort of Qatif has been transformed over time into a myth that produces space. Today, even with the invisibility of the fort, it continues to function as an urban node of the city’s activities. The Qala’a space is associated with particular Shia practices, including the gathering of crowds for religious events and the commemoration of imams of the faith, such as “Ashura.” It is also used as a place to organize public ceremonies and festivals aimed at promoting Shia identity in Qatif. In events related to the recent “Arab springs,” the streets around the fort site were occupied and used as spaces of protest, despite the fact that the site is near the police headquarters and is continuously under surveillance.

The framework of this paper relies on the work of Maurice Halbwachs in *On Collective Memory* and on Paul Conneron’s theory of habitual memory in his book *How Societies Remember*. Furthermore, this paper seeks to understand how the memory of the old city of Qatif is habitually practiced by its people and how, over time, it has become inscribed within their social system and produced urban space.

## C.2 THE INVOCATION OF MYTH IN POLICY AND PRACTICE

### ASSESSING THE PRODUCTION AND MEANING OF AMERICA’S COMMON/VERNACULAR HOUSING

*Thomas Hubka*

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### SELF-BUILDING FOR A NEW EUROPE: WORKERS’ SUBURBS AND THE STATE IN EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT, 1945–1975

*Tiago Castela*

*University of Coimbra, Portugal*

### GREEN MYTHOS: THE LANGUAGE OF SUSTAINABILITY IN THE PRACTICE OF URBAN DESIGN

*Tanu Sankalia*

*University of San Francisco, U.S.A.*

### THE MYTHS OF SLUM UPGRADING: A NEW VISION FOR EGYPT’S SLUMS AFTER REVOLUTION

*Gihan Hannallah and Riham Faragallah*

*Arab Academy for Science, Technology, and Maritime Transport, Egypt*

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### ASSESSING THE PRODUCTION AND MEANING OF AMERICA’S COMMON/VERNACULAR HOUSING

*Thomas Hubka*

The interpretation of America’s common, popular, vernacular, everyday housing is complicated by deeply entrenched ideological assumptions and prejudices about the nature of ordinary houses and their inhabitants. The task of material and cultural interpretation in this case is beset by numerous conflicting academic, professional, and popular orientations, resulting in a lack of consensus about the nature and meanings of the most common housing and its domestic cultures. Many commonly accepted ideas in the field of architectural history, like the emphasis on upper-class housing and the reliance on exterior, formal analysis, are not incorrect. Nevertheless, in their exaggeration, they have distorted the interpretation of the most common/vernacular types of houses. Other misconceptions, like the role of unity and repetition in the making of traditional, popular/vernacular housing, and the contribution of common builders to this process, are far more difficult to unravel and interpret. This is especially true in relation to modern (post-1860s), industrial housing designs and building methods.

This paper will attempt to outline the major problems, or myths, which have inhibited the interpretation of common/vernacular residential environments, both current and

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historic. Three basic strategies will be emphasized: 1) demographic or census analysis to establish the basic range of dominant, standard house types (the most common housing within geographic areas or regions); 2) the persistence of local housing variations within seemingly uniform regional and national types; and 3) the critical role of local builder/developers as carriers of domestic cultural traditions. In terms of methodology, the paper will emphasize plan or user-function interpretation, instead of traditional methods of exterior form or stylistic analysis. It will review previous and existing traditions of common housing nomenclature, classification and interpretation. It will conclude with a recommendation for the inclusion of all housing, including the most common, within the scope of inquiry, as a test for the depth of architectural and cultural analysis.

The hypotheses of the paper are based on detailed, case-study housing research from thirty metropolitan, suburban and rural regions selected from across the United States. Themes from this paper will also be presented in an in-press publication: *Houses without Names: Architectural Nomenclature and the Classification of America's Common Houses*.

## SELF-BUILDING FOR A NEW EUROPE: WORKERS' SUBURBS AND THE STATE IN EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT, 1945–1975

*Tiago Castela*

The state planning of self-help building emerged in the 1940s as part of development efforts in late colonial or postcolonial territories like Puerto Rico and India. And scholarship on the employment of self-help as a spatial-planning technique pertinently foregrounds the histories of postcolonial territories. However, it is important to a global history of the role of self-building in planning to remember that Western Europe was a crucial site for the postwar development project, and particularly for debates on new housing policies.

Complementing the widely known Marshall Plan program, the newly formed United Nations promoted the development of European planning expertise through institutions such as the housing office of the Economic Commission for Europe, publications like *Housing and Town and Country Planning*, and conferences on urban community development throughout the continent. If aided self-building was envisioned as an adequate mode of housing provision for colonies or former colonies, by the early 1960s techniques of popular participation were being discussed as an important element of urban development in Europe itself. However, the extant literature has neglected situated practices of self-help that either preceded the debate on participation, or that were not associated with the discourse of participation as a challenge to modernist public housing. This paper thus examines two time-spaces in Western European postwar development: the emergence of regional self-building cooperatives in the late

1940s in France, and the creation of self-built workers' subdivisions through public-private partnerships in late 1960s Portugal.

In both cases, spatial practices articulated the idea of the self-built single-family housing subdivision as a model space for the households of European workers. Such practices questioned the then dominant discourse of development conducted directly by state institutions, and related the creation of new domestic spaces with a transformation of subjectivities. Nevertheless, self-building workers were managed in contrasting ways by different European states. In France, self-building cooperatives known as the “Castors” (i.e., Beavers) started being created in 1948 by low-income wage laborers, often belonging to Christian labor unions. In 1952 the first Castors subdivision was completed in Pessac, a suburb of Bordeaux, and the central state officially recognized the National Union of Castors. Henceforth, the Castors fostered the formal self-building of single-family housing in most French regions by providing licensing support, technical advice, and insurance policies.

In contrast, Portuguese workers' subdivisions started being created informally from the late 1950s onwards, and were gradually illegalized by the central state, even though their problematization by planners fostered a situated understanding of the discourse of popular participation. In the late 1960s, however, in a moment of limited expansion of the Portuguese state apparatus for housing production, several public-private partnerships were created for the formal planning of self-building subdivisions across Portugal.

This paper argues that in both France and Portugal the contrasting ways in which self-building workers were subject to planning expertise resulted from ideas of hierarchical development toward a new Europeanness.

## GREEN MYTHOS: THE LANGUAGE OF SUSTAINABILITY IN THE PRACTICE OF URBAN DESIGN

*Tanu Sankalia*

Ever since the U.S. Green Building Council was conceived in 1993 and Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) emerged in the late 1990s, “sustainable” design has been naturalized in the language of urban design to the point of triteness. Aspects such as transit-oriented development, walkability, and net-zero are now paired with more specific design features such as wetlands, rainwater harvesting, and permeable landscapes to produce a veritable menu of sustainability, on which large-scale, capital-intensive developments are predicated — and, in turn, justified. In the short span of about two decades this panoply of sustainable design features has created a practice of urban design that is entirely *de rigueur* to such megaprojects as the planned township of Masdar outside Abu Dhabi or proposals for the redevelopment of Treasure Island in the San Francisco Bay

Area. For most practitioners and clients, sustainability culture, or the “greening” of urban design plans and projects, is seen as necessary and entirely “true” — as opposed to contingent, or constructed.

Through the critical lens of Roland Barthes, particularly his writings on the semiotics of mythologies, one can speculate that for much twenty-first-century urban design, sustainability functions as a mythological sign. For Barthes, myth is a kind of speech, both textual and imagistic, that does not “flaunt or hide,” but that distorts. And it is precisely these distortions that become the language of myth.

This paper will examine elements of the Treasure Island Development Plan and the discourse surrounding it to uncover the mythic language underpinning its planning and design as well as the various significations that operate in this language. Slavoj Žižek has called sustainability “the new opiate of the masses,” signaling its popular redemptive and balmy qualities. Yet, new languages tend to be unstable, and this is when they can best be appropriated by certain social constituencies and deployed for various political purposes. In this case, I will examine how the language of sustainability, as Adrian Parr has pointed out, has been “hijacked” in the latest round of capitalist property development and global neoliberal expansion.

In Walter Benjamin’s view of history, the grinding march of human progress is inevitably accompanied by destruction. Sustainability can be considered, then, the antidote to destruction — a practice, a culture, an emerging tradition that will rescue humankind from imminent failure. But the question is whether sustainability is truly an alternative to the idea of progress as destruction, or whether it is just another mythology that distorts urban design to validate the capitalist production of built environments.

## THE MYTHS OF SLUM UPGRADING: A NEW VISION FOR EGYPT’S SLUMS AFTER REVOLUTION

*Gihan Hannallah and Riham Faragallah*

Myths regarding slum upgrading may be thought of as complex strategies. They are important sources of meaning in all societies, providing shared rationales for community members to behave in common ways. These myths also sometimes imagine the demolition of existing slum areas and their replacement with new housing communities for the original slum dwellers.

Informal settlements and slum areas have become the dominant mode of urbanization in many cities, and are an especially explosive problem both socially and politically in the developing world. Such areas account for more than half the urbanized area of cities like Cairo, Dar El Salam, Manila, and Lima. In many cities slums are no longer just marginalized neighborhoods, housing a relatively small proportion of the population; they are the dominant type of settlement. At the same time, such areas are

considered deteriorated or underserved areas that are unplanned and illegally constructed as a result of the continuous degradation of the social and economic aspects.

In Egypt, urban slum areas are now notably concentrated in particular geographic areas. They have emerged in Egyptian cities due to a neoliberal political and economic ideology adopted by the Egyptian government over the previous three decades that has widened the gap between the rich and the poor, making the poor even more poor and the rich more rich. Meanwhile, former President Hosni Mubarak’s government focused primarily on the construction of residential compounds in suburban communities on the outskirts of Cairo for well-off Egyptians; little effort was put into solving problems caused by the deterioration in Egypt’s slums. Furthermore, the myths of slum upgrading have emphasized physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements that take place locally among citizens.

On the other hand, in Egypt, since the December 25, 2010, revolution, new concern has been given to the national utopian dream of constructing new urban communities. This has included proposals for innovative models which integrate multiple sustainable strategies for habitat, including energy, water and sanitation, and that empower the slum dwellers to improve their own housing through the provision of secure tenure. The hope is that these will go a long way toward building sustainable cities in the twenty-first century.

The paper will present an analysis of the main ecological problems that face informal settlements and urban slum areas in Egypt, and it will discuss the myths of urban growth. It will also analyze different case studies in the Egyptian context, presenting their traditional typologies and urban design features. Finally, the paper will focus on new and innovative design techniques that combine slum-upgrading with micro-finance to solve localized environmental problems and create multiple sustainable strategies for new city extensions.

The aim of the paper is to achieve eco-urban communities through the integration of environmental and technological solutions to bridge the deep gap between present conditions and the international ecological codes found in many of the developed countries. In other words, it attempts to create a renewed mythic vision for the transformation of Egyptian slum life.



## A.3 MYTHS, MONUMENTS, AND MUSEUMS

### MUSEUMS IN ARABIA AND THE MYTH OF CULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT

*Yasser Elsheshtawy*

*United Arab Emirates University*

### SUPERSCRIBING HISTORIES: THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIALS IN HONG KONG AND VANCOUVER

*Cecilia Chu*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### COUNTERING NATIONAL MYTHS WITH TRIBAL MUSEUMS

*Anne Marshall*

*University of Idaho, U.S.A.*

### MYTHOLOGIES OF THE IMPERIAL SHRINE AND ITS OUTER GARDEN SPACES IN TOKYO URBAN PLANNING

*Izumi Kuroishi*

*Aoyama Gakuin University, Japan*

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### MUSEUMS IN ARABIA AND THE MYTH OF CULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT

*Yasser Elsheshtawy*

Since the opening of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao the phrase “Guggenheim effect” has been used to denote the extent to which cultural projects can revive derelict and abandoned neighborhoods, and in turn propel their respective cities to worldly and cosmopolitan status. This effect has since been questioned because it relies on various sociopolitical and economic realities which do not always ensure success. Yet the myth, as it were, has persisted; cities and regions throughout the world have found that such projects — from the City of Culture in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, to the Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong — have a certain allure that seems hard to resist. The pristine landscapes of Arabia are not immune from this. Indeed, Doha, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and Muscat have all to varying degrees been involved in adopting this formula. Added to the economic benefit is the myth of “cultural enlightenment.” Thus these projects are seen as a way to modernize their populations and prevent them from sliding toward fundamentalism.

The paper will explore this phenomenon on the Arabian Peninsula, focusing in particular on the urban experiments of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Abu Dhabi, learning lessons from its neighbor Dubai, is currently promoting an urban strategy

that is, on its face, measured, sustainable, and geared toward cultural development. The cultural district in Saadiyat Island and the redevelopment of the existing cultural center offers a prime example of the extent to which cultural policies may be transformed into urban spatial strategies. While Dubai engaged in a similar endeavor, its failed attempt suggests that Abu Dhabi may be moving in a starkly different direction. Yet both, in their articulation of a vision (and ultimately a myth) that is grounded in a top-down notion of cultural development, and by being deeply embedded in a global capitalist system, are promoting social exclusion and urban inequality. Instead of developing policies that emerge from the ground, an elitist vision is articulated that seeks both to be profitable and establish a sense of dominance and superiority in relation to its neighbors. Significantly, both governments are aiming through spatial strategies to create a sense of enlightenment and modernity, which such projects are supposed to nurture. Yet, adding to the tenuous and mythical nature of these efforts is that key projects remain unrealized, held up by economic and political realities. Nevertheless, the pristine models and drawings are still paraded through the media suggesting that the region has emerged from its cultural slumber.

My paper will discuss these issues using the cities of Abu Dhabi and Dubai as case studies, focusing on the Saadiyat Island development and the unrealized Dubai Creek cultural project. This will be contextualized by interrogating their urban spatial policies using a theoretical framework that relies on Frederick Jameson’s seminal writings on the cultural logic of late capitalism, and on an adaptation of Rosalind Krauss’s work to the context of museum-making.

### SUPERSCRIBING HISTORIES: THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIALS IN HONG KONG AND VANCOUVER

*Cecilia Chu*

Over the last two decades, a growing number of memorial sites have been established in different parts of the world by local Chinese communities commemorating the legacy of Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary associated with the founding of the Chinese Republic in 1911. While Sun has been an exceptional figure, revered by a wide spectrum of political leaders (including those on both sides of the Taiwan Straits), the ways in which his lifework are presented in different places evidences competing interpretations of his legacy. Often these highlight how each community emphasizes its own unique affinity with the “father of the nation” and its indispensable contribution to the Chinese revolution. While all of these narratives seek to forge a closer link with Chinese history and culture vis-à-vis connections with Sun, each is shaped by concerns of particular social groups and the ongoing identity politics of the local environments. Meanwhile,

the recent proliferation of Sun's cult, both within and outside China, has been interpreted by cultural critics as a sign of a growing pan-Chinese nationalism, fueled by China's rising economic and political power on the world stage. In this context, the icon of Sun has become an increasingly potent unifying symbol that supersedes those of other prominent political figures.

This paper explores the contemporary resurrection of Sun's cult by examining a number of memorial sites in Hong Kong and Vancouver — cities outside China that have both claimed to have significantly shaped Sun's career, and thereby played important roles in the making of modern China. While historians have criticized the reductiveness of the narratives presented in these sites and their weak historical contextualization (for example, the designation of the home of a Chinese merchant with no connection to Sun as a Sun Yat-sen museum in Hong Kong, and the construction of a public garden in Vancouver supposedly reminiscent of Sun's native home), a more careful comparison of these mismatched and competing narrations of historical events can offer important clues as to how different Chinese communities utilize history to negotiate their identities and advance their respective interests. The endurance of Sun as a national icon embraced by those with different political leanings also suggests that the myths surrounding him are susceptible to continuous revision and modification. This implies a process of superscription through which rival versions of history do not necessarily delegitimize each other, but further perpetuate the mythical quality of Sun's legacy.

## COUNTERING NATIONAL MYTHS WITH TRIBAL MUSEUMS

*Anne Marshall*

Like other Native people in the United States, people of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs experienced deterritorialization as a consequence of national myths of "wilderness" and "Manifest Destiny"; they lost resources as a result of the myth of "Progress"; and they continue to confront myths about Native people perpetuated by film and other media. Yet Native people have developed places that are particularly effective at deploying counter-narratives to colonial myths — tribal museums. This paper will narrate how one Native community in Oregon built up an extensive collection of artifacts and created a museum where they can tell their own story in their own voices using their extensive collection as material evidence. In response to challenges of colonization, the story is one of clever negotiation, persistence of traditions, resilience, and perseverance.

Ironically, events leading to the creation of the museum began at a centennial commemoration of the 1855 treaty leading to the removal of people from their traditional homelands. People wore their regalia at the 1955 centennial, and outsiders

offered tribal members thousands of dollars for regalia and other traditional artifacts. Consequently, the tribal council allocated \$50,000 annually to purchase heirlooms and thus forestall their wholesale appropriation by outside collectors. In 1974 the tribal council created a society and charged it with establishing a museum.

The process of developing the museum followed tribal protocols. Decision-making involved consultation with elders and other tribal members. The entire tribal community voted on a referendum of \$2.5 million to fund the museum, which passed two-to-one after extensive efforts to engage the community. Storytelling was a primary mode of communication. And all important meetings began with a prayer.

The Museum at Warm Springs opened on March 13, 1993. From the outset, it has been a place where tribal members can communicate counter-narratives and reaffirm their identities as members of the three tribes who make up the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The day-long opening celebration included a traditional dedication by the Warm Springs Tribe, a welcome ceremony by the Wasco Tribe, a closing ceremony by the Paiute Tribe, and a feast.

The museum building, designed by Stastny and Burke, symbolically unites the three tribes that make up the community through three roof forms representing the three tribes. The museum's permanent exhibition incorporates the languages, songs and stories of the three tribes, using various media to communicate its anti-colonial messages. The changing exhibitions feature artwork by children and adults in the community, encouraging people to practice traditional arts. The museum hosts dance performances, community meetings, and workshops on weaving baskets and making dip nets.

I asked Beulah Tsumpti, a tribal member who was instrumental in creating the museum, what has been the most important message of the museum. She replied, "That we are still here. We're still here and we'll always be here and we still have our culture, which is important to us, but yet we operate by non-Native American things to better our lives. . . . But still, our traditions and culture are still important to us."

## MYTHOLOGIES OF THE IMPERIAL SHRINE AND ITS OUTER GARDEN SPACES IN TOKYO URBAN PLANNING

*Izumi Kuroishi*

After the establishment of civil society under the Meiji dynasty, the Tokugawa castle in Tokyo was redeveloped as the Imperial Palace. The Meiji Jingu (Shrine) was also constructed as the mausoleum for Emperor Meiji, and Shinjuku Gyoen and Jingu Gaien were created as Imperial Gardens. The redevelopment and construction of these spaces was representative of the new imperial authority based on Shintoism. After World War II, the Washington Heights housing complex was developed alongside the Meiji Jingu, for use by the occupation forces, signifying the defeat of Japan. The Olympic Gymnasium was then constructed nearby in the 1960s to represent the renaissance of the Japanese economy.

The area around Meiji Jingu has long been a focus Japanese nationalism. This essay will examine how these facilities were originally created as symbolical spaces according to modern Japanese urban planning. It then examines how, after they lost their political meaning, they were transformed to have a different mythological meaning with multiple and contradicting characteristics.

The discussion offers four perspectives. The first analyzes how the politics of religious facilities was formalized in the modern urban planning of Japan.

The second perspective is administrative and psychological, concerning the relationship between people and the mechanism developed to operate the facility. In addition to the Imperial Household Agency, the main organization responsible for the operation of facilities on the site was initially the prewar Ministry of Home Affairs. However, in the postwar period this was replaced by parishioners, volunteer organizations, and local government. Activities at the facilities have become daily events for neighborhood residents, and their exceptionally rich nature provides these people with a superior living space and a sense of privilege. People's sense of belonging and community supports the significance of the facility.

The third perspective deals with the historical context of earlier religious facilities, which were obscured by the construction of the Meiji Shrine. However, these smaller facilities still continue to assert their site-specific contexts and to suggest the forceful imposition by Meiji government.

The last point of view concerns the effect of the economic boom on the areas surrounding these facilities after the war. The introduced American culture transformed the surrounding area into a center of consumerism and obscured its symbolic and historical characteristics. Keeping Roland Barthes's concept of myth in *Mythologies* in mind, I show how these phenomena explain the development of multifaceted meanings and contradictions in spatial symbolism in the image of the city, and how this reality effects the practice of people's everyday lives.

## B.3 IMAGINING THE SPACE OF MYTH

### WHEN THE WORLD GREW OLD: SCIENTIFIC MYTHOLOGIES AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MAKING OF DELHI'S HISTORY

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*  
*Pittsburgh University, U.S.A.*

### FOUNDATION MYTHS: MODERN ART AND THE MADNESS OF KARL JUNKER

*Mikesch Muecke and Nathaniel Walker*  
*Iowa State University, and Brown University, U.S.A.*

### KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL: THE NEW "ATHENS-ON-THE-SPREE" AND THE MYTH OF ANTIQUE GREECE

*Jean-Francois Lejeune*  
*University of Miami, U.S.A.*

### CONSTRUCTING CINEMATIC HONG KONG THROUGH TAIWANESE EYES

*Ying-Fen Chen*  
*National Taiwan University*

### WHEN THE WORLD GREW OLD: SCIENTIFIC MYTHOLOGIES AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MAKING OF DELHI'S HISTORY

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*

In 1847 Syed Ahmad Khan, an elite intellectual of Delhi, published a history of his beloved city titled *Asar-us-Sanadid*. Part imperial genealogy and part architectural survey, the *Asar-us-Sanadid* claimed to be the first modern history of Delhi, as it relied heavily on the epigraphic information of the city's many monuments. Although the book was written in his native Urdu, Khan's audience was in fact composed of European dilettantes eager to learn about Indian history and its antique material culture. Indeed, the book received much praise from the members of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and a second edition was published in 1854, which simplified the ornate Urdu of the first edition and included citations and footnotes, once again stressing the scientific nature of the history at hand.

In 1861, shortly after India became a colony of the British Empire, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) was established at the urging of colonial officers such as Alexander Cunningham. Cunningham argued for the duty of British authorities to preserve the colony's antiquities, particularly because India's written and oral histories were often unreliable and hardly distinguishable from myths, and architectural monuments were the only stable texts from which fac-

tual accounts of the past could be extracted. The ASI began producing its first reports in 1862, and Cunningham worked closely with “native” scholars like Khan to collate epigraphic, archaeological and architectural evidence to construct modern histories of India.

This presentation juxtaposes Khan’s 1854 edition of the *Asar-us-Sanadid* with the first archaeological reports of Delhi produced by the ASI. Rather than reading the former as “traditional” history and the latter as a “scientific” production, I explore the myths of urban tradition as well as the urban modernity that both texts shared. Khan and Cunningham were as seduced by urban legends that claimed Delhi was once the capital of a mythical Hindu kingdom as they were with the new science of archaeology, which they believed would reveal inviolable truths about the city’s history. The nineteenth-century construction of Delhi’s history was thus produced at the intersection of various mythologies of place (the city as an eternal center of imperial power, India as an antiquated geography, etc.), as well as mythologies of power (the colonial archaeologist as scientific expert, the “native” scholar as an embodied repository of the urban past, etc.). This presentation thus reveals the foundational myths upon which the modern history of Delhi was constructed, and on which it continues to endure.

## FOUNDATION MYTHS: MODERN ART AND THE MADNESS OF KARL JUNKER

*Mikesch Muecke and Nathaniel Walker*

In 1919 Karl Wilmanns (1873–1945), director of the psychiatry clinic at the University of Heidelberg, sent out a letter to insane asylums all across Germany asking them to gather up a sampling of “artistic productions of mental patients.” Among the many scholars who responded to Wilmanns’s project was Hans Prinzhorn (1886–1933), who had received his doctorate in aesthetics and art history from the University of Vienna in 1908. Prinzhorn had developed a profound interest in both Modern Art and mental illness, and he believed that the art of the insane contained a pure creative spirit uncorrupted by the stultifying influences of culture, history and tradition. Fashioning himself a “revolutionary on behalf of things eternal,” he joined Wilmanns, and in 1922 their project culminated in the publication of *Bildnerei der Geisteskranken* [*The Artistry of the Mentally Ill*]. The book’s success eventually propelled Prinzhorn into both the halls of the Bauhaus and the affections of the Nazi Party.

Among the many hundreds of artworks that filled the Prinzhorn collection were architectural drawings by Karl Junker (1850–1912), an award-winning German sculptor, painter and architect who lived and worked in the small Hanseatic town of Lemgo. His work was extraordinarily strange — even *unheimlich* [eerie, uncanny] — and culminated in his own house, which took him decades to finish. The exterior

of the Junkerhaus resembles a Renaissance villa composed of colorful, roughly hewn, “vibrating” classical orders. But the interior is stranger still: it takes the form of a carved spider’s web, a cavern of whittled, knotted, lacy forms that tell a vaguely ominous story of loneliness, obsession, and the slow drip of a wildly creative mind locked in a wooden cage with nothing but a knife and time to kill.

From the moment Junker died, his work became increasingly shrouded in myth. According to local townspeople, and to those who pulled his designs into the Prinzhorn collection, he was crazy — driven mad by the loss of a wife, a fiancée, or children, or all of the above. The bizarre qualities of his work were a perfect fit for the aims of Prinzhorn, who hoped to demonstrate a way forward for Modern Art by tapping into the “unfettered spirit” of the insane. But regardless of the problems inherent in Prinzhorn’s mythology of “pure creation” (and they are legion), there is at least one problem with the myth of the Junkerhaus: there is no hard evidence of Junker’s madness. Instead, a closer inspection of his work reveals that underneath the surface of eccentricity it exhibits a clear traditional order that ties it to his other projects as well as to his education. While the other artworks of the Prinzhorn collection are, for the most part, clearly the products of disturbed minds — sometimes due to a true lack of order, and sometimes to an obsessive overabundance of order — Junker’s work, while also teetering on the brink in one direction or another, stands apart because of the balance struck between chaos and order.

## KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL: THE NEW “ATHENS-ON-THE-SPREE” AND THE MYTH OF ANTIQUE GREECE

*Jean-Francois Lejeune*

This essay analyses one of Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s “programmatic” paintings of the early 1800s, the *View of Greece in its Prime* [*Blick im Griechenlands Blüte*] of 1825. Schinkel was 44 years old when he completed the painting as a gift to King Friedrich Wilhelm III’s daughter Luise at the time of her wedding on May 21, 1825. Set in front of the Greek landscape that he, like his contemporary German Philhellenes, would in fact never visit, the *View of Greece in its Prime* was dedicated to the Greek polis and propounded the restoration of a culture worthy of admiration and emulation. Celebrated by the poet Lord Byron and by painters such as Delacroix, the Greek War of Independence resonated loudly in Berlin and Prussia because it echoed the War of Liberation against Napoleon I (1813–14). Philhellenism made a notable contribution to romanticism, enabling the younger generation of artistic and literary intellectuals to embrace the idea of a modern regeneration of the spirit of ancient Greece. Schinkel’s breathtaking rendition of the Greek city-state was pivotal in consolidating and extolling the political hopes of the Berlin bourgeoisie. The myth of the Greek polis alluded

to centuries of political decentralization on German soil in contrast to the centralizing tendencies of the French state and its omnipresent reference to imperial Rome. Moreover, his visualization of concepts like the functional vs. the beautiful, culture vs. nature, technology vs. aesthetics, and history vs. modernity made Schinkel's painting a representation of the cultural narratives and political aspirations of Prussia's bourgeoisie during the 1820s.

From an urban and architectural point of view Schinkel did not intend to imitate the Greek tradition, but rather to learn from it and develop a series of new elements from which a new history could be produced. In Schinkel's work and thought, the myth of antique Greece paralleled the myth of modernity that would dominate the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries to come. *The View of Greece in its Prime* was also a visual manifesto for a new urbanism and architecture whose program Schinkel would carry out until his death in an effort to transform Berlin in a new "Athens-on-the-Spree." This included structures such as the Neue Wache, the Altes Museum, the Schauspielhaus, the Bauakademie, the Friedrichswerder Kirche, and (among unbuilt work) the U-shaped Kaufhaus on Unter den Linden. Finally, the issue of the Greek appropriation of nature, with the goal of "elevated quality of life" (*Lebensgenuss*) for the individual and the society at large, was key to the fundamental interests of Schinkel. In 1825, he wrote:

*The landscape allows us discover the full extent of the culture of a highly educated people, which has learnt to make use of the objects of nature, in order to bring an elevated pleasure of life for the individual and for the people in general. Here can the spectator of the painting feel like living with these citizens and follow them in all their unambiguous human and political conditions.*

## CONSTRUCTING CINEMATIC HONG KONG THROUGH TAIWANESE EYES

*Ying-Fen Chen*

The biggest producer of Chinese films has traditionally been Hong Kong, and it is these films that project the image of the city to audiences all over the world. In Taiwan, where the language and culture are similar to the language and culture of Hong Kong, audiences have had many opportunities to see these movies, and as a result images from them have accumulated in the collective consciousness of Taiwanese people. The early construction of cinematic Hong Kong could be analyzed by finanscapes, ideoscapes, and mediascapes, based on Arjun Appadurai's theories about the social imaginary. However, cinematic Hong Kong has bifurcated into two images since the Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (CEPA). As a result, some Taiwanese cult audiences are influencing the

construction process via technoscapes, creating a nontraditional image of the city in their eyes.

From familiar everyday living streets in the 1980s to globalized city images in the 1990s, traditional cinematic Hong Kong was constructed according to three forces that mirror the -scapes of Appadurai: funding, mass audiences, and film companies. Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Asia were the major markets for Hong Kong movies; and since they provided most of the box office return, Hong Kong film companies produced many movies specifically tailored to the tastes of their audiences. This process directly influenced representations of Hong Kong in films. Taiwanese audiences became familiar both with Hong Kong's everyday living streets and with globalized city images through Hong Kong movies. Thus the images that shaped the traditional cinematic Hong Kong for Taiwanese audiences can be grouped into two categories: local and global.

In the post-CEPA period, however, cinematic Hong Kong is transforming. The rise of mainland China as an economic power has given Hong Kong movies a new market, causing a shift in the forces that shape its cinematic imagery. As a result, some film companies have begun to produce China-Hong Kong movies that depict Hong Kong as another faceless, giant Chinese city, while others are constructing a "localized" Hong Kong image, tainted neither by British colonization nor by China.

As a result of this changing imagery, some Taiwanese audiences gather on the Internet and identify themselves as Hong Kong film cult followers. They dislike China-Hong Kong movies for cultural and political reasons, but collect the "localized" Hong Kong movies to announce their identity as fans. Moreover, they travel to Hong Kong to seek out the imagery from their favorite movies in real life. Sharing experiences on the Internet is a way for these Taiwanese cult followers to preserve the original images of cinematic Hong Kong.

Technoscapes thus encourage the Taiwanese cult followers to actively join the cinematic construction process, selectively choosing imagery in such a way that the image of a globalized Hong Kong is no longer emphasized. Their active engagement in constructing the city's image not only challenges the one-directional belief that audiences' thoughts are manipulated by media, but also provides a different route for projecting the brand of Hong Kong.

### C.3 MYTH IN INSTITUTIONAL POLICY

#### FROM THE MYTHOS TO THE “MERE MYTH” OF REFUGE: STRONG BUILT FORMS ARE SUPERSEDED BY INVISIBILITY

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#### THE FLAT AND THE CORRIDOR: THE “IMPROVEMENT” MYTH IN POST-INDEPENDENCE SINGAPORE, 1959–1979

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#### COEXISTING MYTHS IN NEOLIBERAL SPACE PRODUCTION: THE CASE OF THE BUILD YOUR OWN HOME PROJECT IN ISRAEL

*Dikla Yizhar and Rachel Kallus*

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#### FAREWELL TO THE BAD OLD DAYS: ARCHITECTURE’S CURTAIN CALL ON THE MYTHS OF MENTAL HEALTH CARE

*Rebecca McLaughlan*

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#### FROM THE MYTHOS TO THE “MERE MYTH” OF REFUGE: STRONG BUILT FORMS ARE SUPERSEDED BY INVISIBILITY

*Robert Mugerauer*

Refuge, sanctuary, asylum: myth or reality? What is the basis for positive social-spatial practices such as those manifest in battered women’s shelters, refugee centers, and political asylum? Why do they so often fail? The presentation examines three foundational myths hermeneutically (Gadamer). The goal is, first, to retrieve the primal mythos — originally the “true” model of how we are supposed to act (Eliade) — and, second, to trace the inversions and abandonments that have led to today’s “mere myths” — unjustified beliefs (Foucault).

*Law of hospitality.* This was an ancient religious obligation toward travelers, who were considered divinely protected. Social codes for providing shelter and nourishment operated in the Greek, Roman, Hindu, Jewish, Christian, and Islamic worlds. Gradually, networks of inns developed, and monasteries institutionalized hospices — which developed into the hospital and the hostel. Of course, travelers often were abused, and guests took advantage of their hosts, who increasingly limited hospitality (Byzantine monasteries allowed only a three-night stay).

*Claiming sanctuary.* In ancient Jewish, Greek, Roman, and Christian worlds, criminals could claim refuge in sacred places where the shedding of blood was prohibited. English common law recognized ecclesiastical sanctuary, whereby a fugitive could delay prosecution by reaching a churchyard or altar. Contrary to common belief, this protection was not total: it did not cover sacrilege or treason, nor did it eliminate the prospect of a trial (punishment could follow a “guilty” verdict). Because of abuses by both petitioners and prosecutors, Pope Innocent VIII reduced the number of towns providing ecclesiastical sanctuary, and Henry VIII reduced the number of those that could offer secular sanctuary. The authority was subsequently abolished altogether in regard to criminals (1623) and for civil cases (1723).

*Right to (political) asylum.* In the modern age the nation-state commandeered the power to grant asylum. Popular belief holds that if one makes it to the “shore” of another land one cannot be turned back. But this convention is legally delimited. The United Nations Conventions Relating to the Status of Refugees and the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 require that one be fleeing war or active persecution and be subject to demonstrable threat of harm if returned. Opposing the government’s systematic denial of political asylum to refugees fleeing war-related violence in Guatemala and El Salvador in the 1980s, six churches in Tucson and San Francisco declared their own sanctuary, though this Sanctuary Movement led to arrests of the citizens involved.

*Strong practices and built forms fade away.* The hopes of those needing refuge today are misguided — “mere myths” — if based on a vaguely understood foundational mythos, since the protections of the latter have been reduced significantly or eliminated altogether. Originally, strong sacred and civic mythos were manifest in strong built forms and social-spatial practices. But they have been superseded by weak, empathetic actions of individuals or small groups, whose effectiveness — in another reversal — depends on invisibility. Some alternative compassionate practices are minimally visible (neighborhood refugee centers, halfway houses, or Catholic Workers’ Hospitality Houses); most, however, have operated by being invisible to those from whom people need protection: the underground railroad operated against slavery, the hiding of Jews in attics, or battered women’s shelters that conceal the abused from vengeful spouses.

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## THE FLAT AND THE CORRIDOR: THE “IMPROVEMENT” MYTH IN POST-INDEPENDENCE SINGAPORE, 1959–1979

*Eunice Seng*

This paper examines how the success story of public housing in Singapore was predicated on the notion of improvement. In particular it focuses on how the development of the flat and the corridor were narrated through national and international housing exhibitions and actual built demonstration flats.

In Singapore, the case for planned modern housing began with the nineteenth-century formulation of a contrast between the congested unsanitary living conditions of “the locals” and the alleviated environment offered by new residential forms (as in Britain, France, and elsewhere in “the West”). But in the transition from colony to nation these forms underwent a discernible alternation between experimentation and normalization. While the parameters for the former enterprise were reconfigured in Singapore during the transition, the recurrent tropes of the “new” and “the people,” as well as their corresponding aesthetic and spaces, persisted. Embedded in subsequent national housing exhibitions was the idea of the citizenry as “worth instruments for the development of the society.” The building of “homes for the people” manifested this logic of improvement.

“Improvement” was already the key word behind the formation of the Singapore Improvement Trust, which undertook the task of housing the lower classes in the colony. From the onset, the word contained social, economic and political dimensions that underlined colonialist attitudes toward the “poor, ‘slumming,’ colonized peoples.” Under the state housing authority (HDB), established in 1960, such polarizing notions of improvement were not eradicated but, instead, deepened, spatialized, and given further formal definition. The technocratic imperatives of the nation necessitated that the HDB develop a seemingly reflexive working methodology predicated on the idea of “improvement.” This extended from the nation to the housing estate, the flat, and even the HDB-domesticated bodies of the occupants. The idea of “improvement” was demonstrated through floor plans and sold to potential occupants of HDB flats as full-package deals, complete with social (education, proximity to schools) and economic benefits (proximity to work).

This paper contends that prior to the release of government-built flats to the free market in the 1980s, the public flat was conceived as a unit within a latter-day phalanstery (the housing estate), and that its occupants were the laboring population of industrial workers and civil servants employed by the national corporation. With the developmental approach toward housing design through perpetual improvement, a disciplinary split arose between a technocratic housing discourse laced with socialist rhetoric and the pursuit of architectural aesthetics that referenced the work of the post-war avant-gardes in Europe, the U.S., and Japan. This split, which was already in motion when the state took over the

construction of housing from private enterprise, resurfaced within the HDB when key officials left to go into private architectural practice. Whereas the HDB’s efforts were worked out horizontally in plan, those very same architects, many of whom were working on private commissions as a result of Urban Renewal Authority land sales, were rethinking the flat and the city through sectional schema.

## COEXISTING MYTHS IN NEOLIBERAL SPACE-PRODUCTION: THE CASE OF THE BUILD YOUR OWN HOME PROJECT IN ISRAEL

*Dikla Yizhar and Rachel Kallus*

Myth is the unspoken cultural agreement that constitutes social order. Myths generate particular practices that constitute traditions of spatial practice and professional knowledge, and can be conceived as a cultural mechanism. Conditions of neoliberalism call for rethinking these mechanisms. Neoliberal governance involves multiple actors representing different ideologies, ambitions and desires, using varying forms of practices. This multiplicity constitutes different, sometime conflicting, myths and forms of traditions. Following Barthes’s (1972) poststructuralist mission to unravel the mythological code of society, the paper suggests a new course of analysis that reveals the existence of myths that organize space under neoliberal conditions. The paper discusses the various traditions of spatial production and how the various cultural agreements coexist.

The Build Your Own Home project (BYOH) is a housing strategy that has been implemented in Israel since the 1970s, which marks a turning point in the adaptation of public housing to the neoliberal transformation of the nation-state. It was advanced by the state to allow self-building of private, detached houses on state-owned land. After two decades of public housing based on the development of large-scale multifamily apartment buildings, the project provided an opportunity for dwellers to improve their lot and express their preferences. The paper will discuss the BYOH project through three analytical fields: the state, the architectural profession, and active residency. This analysis will reveal the different myths constituting the fields and their particular traditions of placemaking.

The establishment of the state of Israel was embedded in the nineteenth-century mythical revival of communities as national entities within distinct territories. This myth remains valid today. Within the contested area of the Middle East, the state of Israel took on the modern traditions of central planning. However, in meeting the neoliberal transformation, state institutions have generated new practices of spatial production to complement national goals. As more than 90 percent of Israeli land is state-owned, initiating the BYOH as a central housing-development strategy has meant splitting spatial production in two: land planning and dwell-

ing construction. According to this split, the state has been able to retain control of planning within its national priorities while passing responsibility for the construction of private house to the residents. In the face of these processes, Israeli architects are searching for “the Israeli place” — for which, following late-modern myths of the ontological place, they have recruited traditions of placemaking from Mediterranean to Palestinian vernacular study.

The BYOH project has inserted a wedge between the state and architects. It has created a widening arena of home-building and established the resident as an active player in the system of space production. It thus constitutes and emphasizes the neoliberal myth of the capable individual, as a self-fulfilling subject, having autonomy over his/her life. Home-building as a self-construction practice in Israeli-Jewish society, lacking a local tradition of home-building, is, however, difficult. The paper, based on qualitative fieldwork and in-depth interviews with residents, discusses how the developing home-building tradition in Israel negotiates between state and professional myths and traditions.

## FAREWELL TO THE BAD OLD DAYS: ARCHITECTURE’S CURTAIN CALL ON THE MYTHS OF MENTAL HEALTH CARE

*Rebecca McLaughlan*

In the 1950s the Publicity Department of the New Zealand government was assigned to help the Mental Health Division put distance between itself and the bad old days of asylum care. Architecture became the vehicle of choice to achieve this, and a media campaign was constructed to reframe public perceptions of mental hospitals by juxtaposing longstanding myths with a new architecture that visually contradicted them. Straitjackets, padded cells, and locked doors were soon pitted against such architectural features as natural light, spacious interiors, extensive glazing, and modern styling.

The Cherry Farm villa type, designed in 1948, ultimately became the new face of mental health care in New Zealand. But the timing of the media campaign that accompanied it suggests a post-rationalization of design intent. As I suggest, the Publicity Department’s deployment of stereotypes to heighten the appearance of progress could only have been possible with an architecture deliberately constructed to deny traditional myths. Yet this architectural response extended only to representation; interior planning continued to be shaped by traditional fears that patients were untrustworthy and likely to cause harm to the public or themselves.

The media campaign answered longstanding desires within the mental health community to change the public perception of mental hospitals. The general view was that the asylum was a place of last resort, not an essential first step toward recovery. And stigmas associated with it not only affected the professional standing of psychiatrists but also dissuaded general hospitals from sharing resources and impeded nursing recruitment. The Mental Health Division was acutely aware of the myths that limited the functioning of asylums — stigmas closely tied to the grand Gothic edifices of the late nineteenth century. According to Dr. Theodore Gray, Director-General of Mental Hospitals from 1927 to 1947, these myths also derived from the depiction of nineteenth-century asylum abuse in popular literature.

The paper examines departmental press releases, newspaper articles, and documentary films (1954–1977) to establish that the Cherry Farm villa was deliberately positioned to counteract traditional myths of asylum care. In this case, the media’s post-rationalization can also be used as a tool for understanding design intent.



## A.4 POLITICAL PLACEMAKING AND URBAN MYTHOLOGY

### “LIVING THE NEXT LAP” IN “THE CITY OF TOMORROW”: TELEOLOGICAL MYTHS IN SINGAPORE’S NEW DOWNTOWN

*Imran Bin Tajudeen*

*National University of Singapore*

### PRESERVING OR REINVENTING THE CITY? DEMYTHOLOGIZING HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN TAIPEI

*Jeffrey Hou*

*University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.*

### COSMIC URBAN FORMS: GEOMETRY, RITUALS, AND THE SPIRIT OF PLACE

*Luna Khirfan*

*University of Waterloo, Canada*

### BELGRADE’S SECURITY AND SURVEILLANCE: CIRCULATING VIOLENCE THROUGH INFRASTRUCTURE

*Nikolina Bobic*

*University of Sydney, Australia*

### EXPLORING THE ROOTS OF THE VILLAGE AS A MYTH AND AN IDEAL FOR URBAN RENEWAL

*Eeva Aarrevaara*

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### “LIVING THE NEXT LAP” IN “THE CITY OF TOMORROW”: TELEOLOGICAL MYTHS OF REMAKING IN SINGAPORE’S NEW DOWNTOWN

*Imran Bin Tajudeen*

The years 1989 to 2009 witnessed a slew of plans, with several important revisions, for Singapore’s new downtown, which was being built on reclaimed land around an artificially created body of water known as Marina Bay. The changes, including several phases of further land reclamation and highway realignment, have been reflective both of changes in planning philosophy as part of a change in the Singapore government’s desired image for city branding, and of a radical financial reorientation of great symbolic and visual import purportedly necessitated by new economic realities of the Asia Pacific region in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 1997 and the meteoric economic rise of China. Thus, between 1992 and 1997 the projected look of the completed Downtown consisted of axial-oriented symmetrical streets

flanked by rows of twin towers for offices and residences in a carefully orchestrated skyscraper landscape. In contrast, renderings from 2003 revised the image of the future city to one that deemphasized formal harmony and symmetry and instead indicated the desire for variety.

An increasingly common refrain was invoked when, during the 2005 National Day rally, plans were announced for a casino and entertainment complex on parcels formerly slated for waterfront highrise residences that “would be home to Singaporeans.” At that time, the nation was told that it was necessary “to remake our city” in order “to remake the economy and attract talent.” Earlier, the first substantive plans for what is today Marina Bay, issued by the Urban Redevelopment Authority in 1992, had lauded Singapore’s “successful, efficient and attractive [existing] Downtown” as a pretext to launch into didactic rhetoric: “just to sit back and admire our handiwork” would be unthinkable — “that is not Singapore’s way.”

Singapore’s myth of remaking claims congruence between the profit motive, spatial-planning determinism, and public good. The plans and current developments at Marina Bay, as well as previous changes involving overhauls of the project’s morphological, social, economic and ecological composition, are justified by purported monetary gains for the nation. Yet, since 2005 icons by “starchitects” have come to dominate Marina Bay and elsewhere in the city-state. These are epitomized by the Marina Bay Sands casino complex by Moshe Safdie, completed in 2010. And extensive landscapes of leisure and entertainment have substituted for the financial district of yesteryear’s plans as the driving force for the area’s physical growth and economic viability. For example, not content with cultivating an image of “a city that appears to have sprung from nature,” the state has now approved the conversion of a city park on reclaimed land into a themed display of techno-scientific gadgetry. Its elements include steel “super-trees” and greenhouses for temperate flora, as part of the winning proposal by the British firm Grant Associates. Given that Singapore’s current regime is the city-state’s single largest landowner and its major developer, the notion that unceasing remaking is the essence of a Singaporean ethos emerges as a convenient self-perpetuating myth for speculative license in the real estate-oriented management of the city and its environment.

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## PRESERVING OR REINVENTING THE CITY? DEMYTHOLOGIZING HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN TAIPEI

*Jeffrey Hou*

Since the late 1980s historic preservation has emerged as a powerful discourse and movement in Taipei, aimed at protecting the city's diminishing cultural landscapes after decades of development and political projects. Activists and scholars have argued that preservation is needed to protect the history, memories and identity of places against the placeless development that often prevails over the city's historic or vernacular urban fabric. This argument has appealed to a growing desire to express local identity after decades of China-centric authoritarian rule.

Over the past twenty years the preservation movement has had a strong impact on the city government's policies and planning. Through protests, grassroots organizing, and professional advocacy, activists have, in many cases, successfully persuaded the city authorities to reconsider their actions, and sometimes stopped development projects on their track. To this day, dozens of preservation projects have been completed throughout the city. Collectively, these represent the fruits of the early activism and the effort of generations of preservation activists. The projects include the preservation of historic streets, market buildings, industrial facilities, and other historically significant landmarks.

Examples include Dihua Street, one of the most historic commercial streets in the city; Bopiliao, an old street once destined as the site of an expanding elementary school; Ximen Market, a public market structure constructed during the Japanese colonial period; the Huashan Art District, a former winery developed also during the colonial period; Sisinanchun, the former military living quarters under the shadow of Taipei 101; and Baozanyen, a squatter settlement built by refugees who arrived in Taiwan after in 1949. Once shunned by city officials and planners and even local residents, several of these projects have become popular tourist sites and symbols of a renewed interest in local culture and heritage. However, with a few exceptions, these preservation projects have mainly addressed only the built structures; meanwhile, former users and activities have been displaced, leaving behind memories and meanings that are barely recalled on the sites. On Dihua Street, for example, the number of original merchants has been in steady decline in recent years. In their place, new businesses have moved in that cater to tourists. Newly restored buildings now house art galleries, cafes, and offices of nonprofit organizations.

This paper is intended to provide a preliminary assessment of the results of more than two decades of historic preservation in Taipei. By comparing the approaches and outcomes of the different projects with the predominant discourse of historic preservation, it attempts to demythologize the discourse of preservation and uncover its actual

practices, operation and challenges. The paper argues that, contrary to the goal of preservation, most projects have been subsumed by urban redevelopment. As a result, most of the cases reflect efforts to reinvent the historic fabric of the city rather than protect memories, identity, and cultural practices. Meanwhile, the outcomes of these projects suggest a critical question concerning "rights to the city" that local preservationists have only begun to address in recent cases.

## COSMIC URBAN FORMS: GEOMETRY, RITUALS, AND THE SPIRIT OF PLACE

*Luna Khirfan*

Throughout history, cities that were imbued with mythology eventually acquired cosmic status, which was expressed through their morphological and spatial arrangement — their street network, civic spaces, and structures. For example, the spiritual character of such cities was conveyed through their dominating monuments, organizational hierarchies, polar symmetries, axial processions, and mythical relations. But, most importantly, it was the urban religious rites and rituals that were contained within such a morphology that fostered a collective experience of the urban landscape. As the links between these collective experiences and their urban containers intensified, they bestowed a distinctive spirit on the city, at which point the city acquired a cosmic status.

By focusing on an array of contemporaneous Mediterranean cities, this paper offers a multilayered longitudinal and intercultural investigation of the interactions between urban morphology and urban rites and rituals. The comparison begins with the Greco-Roman era (ca. 330 BCE) and ends with contemporary times. It includes cities such as Athens in Greece, Alexandria in Egypt, and Amman in Jordan, among others. The comparison seeks to elucidate the relationship between urban morphology, rites and rituals, and the city's spiritual, cultural, political and/or economic identity. This paper therefore asks: How can spatial arrangements and urban morphology be conducive to collective experiences? And how do such experiences contribute to the city's identity and, eventually, to its cosmic status? How have these spatial, experiential and spiritual relationships been reconfigured throughout history with the transformation from religious to secular collective experiences? And what are the implications on the notion of "cosmic urban forms"?

By adopting a methodology that combines town-plan analysis and Geographic Information Systems (GIS), this paper compares Athens, Alexandria and Amman at three contemporaneous points in their history: the second century BCE when their classical urban form matured; the nineteenth century, when they acquired new urban forms following their emancipation from Ottoman rule; and finally, as they currently transition into the twenty-first century

and attempt to reconfigure their urban form and reinvent their identities. The comparison will strive to decipher the changes that occurred to their street networks, urban blocks, landmarks, and physical landforms and how these changes interacted historically, and continue to interact, with their spiritual, cultural, political and economic identities.

### **BELGRADE'S SECURITY AND SURVEILLANCE: CIRCULATING VIOLENCE THROUGH INFRASTRUCTURE** *Nikolina Bobic*

This paper deals with infrastructure and security measures entwined to facilitate surveillance. During and after NATO's bombing of Belgrade during the 1999 Kosovo War, infrastructure became a means to survey and control Belgrade's territory. The broader political purpose of this effort has been to establish an omnipresent network of surveillance in a Global South country. The paper argues that the reformation of Belgrade's urban infrastructure after NATO's 1999 bombing campaign has been an attempt to achieve absolute aerial and optical domination, and make all information known by establishing a global cartography as part of the alleged U.S. Global World on Terror (GWoT).

### **EXPLORING THE ROOTS OF THE VILLAGE AS A MYTH AND AN IDEAL FOR URBAN RENEWAL** *Eeva Aarrevaara*

The aim of this paper is to examine modern residential areas and design solutions for them that are seemingly influenced by traditional village environments, both from the viewpoint of spatial structure and the social and cultural identity of place. The paper focuses on the features and phenomena of traditional villages in Western cultures. It explores several new residential areas that illustrate features or ideals that were originally myths derived from the traditional building culture. One contemporary evaluatory viewpoint is the meaning of sustainability in urban contexts (e.g., Wheeler 2004). By what criteria and means is it realized in modern settings?

Villages, as built settlements, have long provided safety and security for residents and their property from a variety of external threats, such as wild animals and strangers in restless times, and even attack by other groups. For example, Nordic enclosed courtyards are frequently described as resembling a castle in the sense of form and security. The social model of castles was also the ideal according which the courtyards were built. The rules of living in a village were quite strict, and a hierarchy governed social life. Villages were also economic units; working together in agriculture or preindustrial activities unified the villagers. The collective

way of living guaranteed a certain level of support to all its members.

Obedience to common rules was later confronted by the need to express individuality. "My home is my castle" was a slogan in the 1960s that described the contemporary ideal of living — finding protection and peace in one's own private environment. It also created an image of a certain distance between neighbors, not being too close to one another.

Traditional environments are often considered to be "tested models of sustainable development" (Norberg-Hodge and Goering 1996, Wheeler 2004). Cities like Freiburg in Germany established world-famous reputations by realizing sustainable principles in urban planning. For example, the possibility that future inhabitants might build a group of houses or apartments together created a shared attitude toward the environment and enhanced social cooperation within a neighborhood. Today, however, people are forming different types of "tribes" — for example, groups whose identity deals with lifestyle.

It has been argued that because the city represents a different economic entity (compared with the village) the ideal model of the village cannot be transported to the city without mystification (Lapintie 1995). Yet village ideals were already used for the Garden City movement starting in the late nineteenth century. Still, a challenging question remains as to whether the ideal of the village may be brought to new contexts. Is it merely an illusion from the past realized by similar physical scale and structure, or are there other processes or activities that have been brought alive in recent urban projects?

## B.4 URBAN FANTASIES AND THE MYTH OF THE CITY

### THE MYTH OF URBAN RESURRECTION: AMSTERDAM, ITS FOUNDER, AND ITS ICONIC PLAN

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### EARLY LAS VEGAS AND THE MYTH OF THE WILD WEST: THE PROFITABLE CONFLATION OF “WESTERN” LIBERTARIAN REGULATION AND IMAGE

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### CATALAN NATION-BUILDING AND BOTTOM-UP PLACEMAKING: REDEVELOPMENT IN THE 22@ DISTRICT

*Philip Speranza*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

### FROM MYTH TO MEGACITY: TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF MEXICO CITY

*Moises Gonzales*

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### CHINA’S RECENT URBANISM: MYTHOLOGIES AND THE SPATIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL CULTURE

*Huijin Li*

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### THE MYTH OF URBAN RESURRECTION: AMSTERDAM, ITS FOUNDER, AND ITS ICONIC PLAN

*Nancy Stieber*

While foundational myths of cities often posit a heroic figure who earns merit by establishing a new settlement in a new world, Amsterdam in its heyday as the capital of a mercantile imperium generated a hero exiled from the city he founded, the city itself devastated and ruined. Dramatically evoked by the Dutch Shakespeare, Joost Van Den Vondel, this princeling founder — half mythological, half historical — became the main figure in a play performed annually in the city for three hundred years. The *Gijsbrecht van Amstel* showed its hero, Gijsbrecht, with Amsterdam burning behind him, as he leaves it to carry out the rest of his life in exile. He is then confronted by the angel Rafael who reveals to him a vision of the city once again flourishing with untold riches, predicting the contemporary Amsterdam of the seventeenth century. The trope is one of cyclical time. The myth warns about the ephemeral nature of urban wealth. Greatness is destroyed,

but it will rise again. The message is the surprisingly modern one of continuous destruction and rebuilding.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when Amsterdam was once again growing after a long hiatus, a group of artists, both politically and aesthetically progressive, joined forces to bring out a new edition of the *Gijsbrecht*. Lavishly produced, the book not only incorporated stage sets by the architect H.P. Berlage, but included an introduction that clearly drew the parallel between the contemporary city and its seventeenth-century antecedent. Written by the critic Leo Simons, the essay reflected a vision of Amsterdam as the guardian of the city’s cultural heritage and reputation. The urban resurrection myth had been reinvested with a meaning related to tradition, in stark contrast with the seventeenth century’s forward-looking confidence.

When Berlage produced his 1915 plan for the extension of Amsterdam, he viewed it as an answer to the seventeenth-century extensions of the city. These had by this time been mythologized themselves. The typical plan of concentric rings and radiating canals had become identified with the city’s identity. The physical form of the city was reified — its forms ascribed with a monumentality that Berlage contrasted with the picturesqueness of the old city. For Berlage, his new extension would have to surpass the iconic plan by evoking that monumentality without copying it. There is no irony in the fact that the leading political cartoonist cast Berlage in the role of Rafael, predicting the rise of a new resurrection of the city as he lays out his plans for his extension.

That the power of a centuries-old myth could be extended from its seventeenth-century origins and put to use at the start of the twentieth century demonstrates the force of cultural continuity, while at the same time revealing the way myth operates to reconcile contemporary actions with historical consciousness. Urban myths provide the armature for narratives about change and its contemporary justification; they are malleable means for making sense of the city.

### EARLY LAS VEGAS AND THE MYTH OF THE WILD WEST: THE PROFITABLE CONFLATION OF “WESTERN” LIBERTARIAN REGULATION AND IMAGE

*Stefan Al*

Along a pothole-filled road that was not yet known as “The Strip” once stood the first two of Las Vegas’s casino complexes, cloaked in the theme of the Wild West. However, the image had been unashamedly invented at a time when the days of the Wild West had been gone for half a century. I claim that the myth of the American West fit symbolically with the laissez-faire attitude of Las Vegas at the time. This encompassed aspects of loose regulation, jurisdictional fragmentation, and the statewide legalization of “frontier” practices considered dubious in other places, including quick and easy divorce and gambling. In a time of puritanism, banking

on a nationwide nostalgia for the vanished days of the Old West, Las Vegas's "otherness" was lucratively camouflaged in Western imagery.

### CATALAN NATION-BUILDING AND BOTTOM-UP PLACEMAKING: REDEVELOPMENT IN THE 22@ DISTRICT

*Philip Speranza*

This paper will present research on the shaping of urban spaces in Barcelona's coastal redevelopment leading to the new 22@ information activities district. It will explore how traditions of neighborhood semi-autonomy, political interests in socialist objectives, and the myth of localized placemaking intersect with the political and private interests of Catalan nation-building and the tourism-driven construction industry.

In the 1980s city planning in Barcelona shifted from the Lapiz de Oro (Golden Pencil) bottom-up strategy of improving small spaces in many neighborhoods for the political interest of touching the lives of many Catalans, to strategies of large-scale urban renewal along the coast. These started with the 1992 Olympic Village development, which was based on a tabula rasa, top-down urban plan that demolished large expanses of the city, leaving it with little Catalan identity. It continued along the coast to the Diagonal Mar development by American real estate developer Gerald Hines in the 1990s, the 22@ information activities district in 2000, and the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. While bottom-up planning for 22@ attempted to use existing industrial and historic fabric to create a local place identity, its four districts were respectively developed as placeless superblocks by local award-winning architects, residential towers in the park, iconic corporate office towers, and a collection of speculative projects by international architects. There was little acknowledgement of the local residents of owner-occupied residential apartment buildings, nonconforming residents in industrial zoned buildings, or the *favelas* of the older industrial workers.

While the ethos involved in planning the city of Barcelona, as far back as the thirteenth-century Consell de Cent (City Council of 100), has been to support its people — in contrast to the centralist ethos of Madrid — local citizens have been increasingly disenfranchised. Yet a curious pattern, evident in the 15-M Movement in the summer of 2011 in Spain (driven by the highest unemployment rate in Europe) was the movement from Plaza Catalunya in Barcelona and Plaza del Sol in Madrid to local neighborhoods, including the Poblenou neighborhood in 22@. The people want to believe in the myth, based on tradition, that life and power lies in the previously autonomous village neighborhoods of Barcelona.

This paper questions whether placemaking in Barcelona's 22@ district, driven by a mix of interests who want to diversify Catalan industry and by the city's role as developer, can indeed integrate business interests and local residents in dynamic urban spaces that are the traditional places of local

identity. The rate of increase of real estate values in 22@, despite the economic downturn, has surpassed the projections of the ten-year mark, and gentrification, which has forced an exodus of original residents, is being matched with subsidized housing. The City of Barcelona and regional government of the Generalitat de Catalunya reinforce this myth of localism despite the reality that market-driven interests are benefitting at the expense of the greater social good.

This paper will assess connections between traditions, politics, and myth, and investigate the role of market interests on the built urban morphology and placemaking of urban spaces in the 22@ district and other coastal areas of Barcelona.

### FROM MYTH TO MEGACITY: TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF MEXICO CITY

*Moises Gonzales*

This paper examines the evolution of the landscape of Mexico City over the course of its urbanization during the last seven hundred years. The original settlement on the site of the city, the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, was based on a migration myth: the Aztecs are believed to have acted on a prophecy in which the god Huitzilopochtli, the hummingbird spirit, instructed them to build a settlement at the place where an eagle would appear and be seen perched on a cactus holding a serpent in its mouth. The place of this prophecy, Lake Texcoco, became the birthplace of a megacity.

The site of Mexico City is located at an average elevation of 2,236 meters (7,336 feet) and is surrounded by mountain ranges whose highest peaks reach an average elevation of 17,000 feet. The lake had a history of settlement dating back to the Toltec civilization of the eleventh century. However, in 1325 the Aztecs developed a city there by building on a series of *chinampas*, small artificial islands. These sophisticated engineering modifications allowed Tenochtitlan to endure as the capital of the Aztec empire for two hundred years. All changed with the onset of the Spanish colonial period, however, which initiated the intense urban development to the site, which has continued into the twentieth century. Continued growth in the city as a result of migration and the demand for more housing has today resulted in an informal settlement pattern which now defines a majority of its spatial form.

This article examines the landscape and urban form of Mexico City from its precolonial condition to its current status as one of the largest cities in the modern world. The paper discusses the historical transformation of Mexico City's landscape from a natural lake to a city with a 600-square-mile footprint. The paper evaluates contemporary housing and infrastructure strategies that have been attempted to improve urban conditions within Mexico City's sprawling informal settlements. In the end, the migration myth of the Aztecs has been dissolved by the overwhelming pressures brought by industrial urbanization, which have led to the erasure of Lake Texcoco.

## CHINA'S RECENT URBANISM: MYTHOLOGIES AND THE SPATIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL CULTURE

*Huijin Li*

Although the era of myths passed long ago, every local culture keeps its consciousness of them deep inside. Myth embodies thinking about history and the aim of being, about introspection and detailed inquiry as to the value of belief. After thousands of years of evolution, differences still exist in myths and the modes of culture derived from them between East and West, country and country, individuals and collectives, individuals and individuals. The intersection of different consciousness of myths and cultures has likewise allowed world history to be constructed in conflicting ways. Even within a single culture, the conflict between new and old myths, leads to periodic revolutionary reconstructions of space.

For example, from the perspective of contemporary Chinese urbanism, the author has categorized the last one hundred years into three phases of revolution influenced by myths. The first phase, from 1919 to 1949, involved revolution based on thirty years of war, as the Communist Party defeated “the Three People’s Principles” with Soviet beliefs, and reunited a disintegrated country. The second period, from 1949 to 1979, involved thirty years of revolution in politics. Personal myths replaced collective myths, and Mao stepped onto a pedestal, launching ten years of a “grand cultural revolution” that brought tremendous ruin to China, whose effects still endure. The third period, from 1979 to 2009, marked thirty years of economic revolution, during which marketization instilled new myths but destroyed the cultural foundation which had been fractured by the previous two revolutions. In the space of one hundred years, foreign mythologies have fragmented and destroyed previous, traditional, local worldviews and values in China. From 1911 to 2011, the Chinese imagination has embraced Western myths of modernization, Soviet myths, and finally myths of the market economy.

Comparing how cities and their cultural characteristics have been regarded during these three revolutionary phases, the author indicates how foreign myths have reconstructed local culture in China. However, the urbanism of contemporary China has now come to a puzzling and paradoxical time: the old mythological system has been destroyed once again, but a new system is not yet ready to be reconstructed. Perhaps we won’t need myths in the future? But, without belief in another shore, where should human beings go?

## C.4 INTERROGATING SUSTAINABILITY: BEYOND THE GREEN MYTH

### ETHNOENGINEERING

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*University of Massachusetts, Amherst, U.S.A.*

### MYTHS OF KNOWLEDGE CREATION IN SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE

*Brook Muller*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

### GREEN MYTHS: A VIRTUAL ODYSSEY OF ECOCITIES

*Diane Valerie Wildsmith*

*University of Indonesia*

### MYTHOLOGICAL REGISTERS IN THE ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE OF SUSTAINABILITY

*Allison Earl*

*University of Sydney, Australia*

### ETHNOENGINEERING

*Gabriel Arboleda*

“Ethnoengineering” is a self-described, culturally appropriate building method that the Ecuadorian government tested with traditional peoples between 2002 and 2010. The government used this methodology to build public infrastructural works in scattered and distant villages mostly settled by underprivileged ethnic groups. Ethnoengineering proposed an alternative to the limitations of modernist interventions — which had previously been based on a functionalist paradigm of top-down, centralized planning and design. Ethnoengineering instead proposed to focus on community participation and the use of traditional building processes and materials. On the basis of the methodology’s main principles, structures were designed that observed local, traditional building practices. These were then reengineered with the addition of modern building technologies. Thus, the term “ethno-engineering”: engineering that involved an ethnic building component. The main premise underlying the method can be summed up in the equation modern + culture = sustainable, or in the notion that an alternative modern, one that absorbs the cultural identity of a place, will result in dwellings and environments that are sustainable for local users.

As a theoretical premise, the logic of the method makes sense. However, ethnoengineering met stern opposition in the very same communities it was intended to benefit. The opposition was massive. The Ecuadorian government

proposed the approach to 196 communities. Of those, 165 refused, and opposition to ethnoengineering still existed in the 31 communities that finally, yet hesitantly, accepted testing the approach. Among the arguments for rejection were that conventional modernist structures are easier and faster to build, that they are more structurally sound, and that they inherently last longer. But the principal criticism was that modernist structures are more affordable, which makes them especially fitting for the poorest settlements in the country. Thus, community concerns were largely economic, and reflected the generalized and increasing poverty people were enduring. In these communities, then, “economic” was far more relevant than “green.” Besides, people’s economic necessities were so immediate that they were wary of the promise that green would translate over time to economic.

This paper analyzes a critical myth that community rejection of ethnoengineering makes evident. The myth is that traditional communities are invariably willing and ready to keep their “culture” and oppose modernist interventions, and that they are as interested as outside practitioners and institutions in global environmental sustainability. This is the myth of green Orientalism: the creation of an ideal narrative of difference, a tale of greenness in which other people are represented as environmentally conscious, harmonious, and unable to harm Mother Earth. Simply put, according to the green Orientalist narrative, traditional peoples are “sustainable,” while modern ones are not.

The fate of ethnoengineering makes evident how immediate subsistence, a great priority among impoverished traditional communities, can be deeply at odds with the notion of putting nature first and expecting an economic benefit later — an idea usually pressed on these communities by more privileged segments of the society.

## MYTHS OF KNOWLEDGE CREATION IN SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE

*Brook Muller*

*Laws control our lives, and they are designed to preserve a model of society based on values learned from mythology. Only after re-imagining our myths can we coherently remodel our lives, and hope to keep our society in a realistic relationship to what is actual.*

— William Kittredge, *Owning It All*

This paper argues for the importance of disclosing prevailing myths of architectural knowledge-creation, as the profession strives to create more sustainable environments. It focuses on obligations in architectural education to transmit knowledge as well as invite critical perspectives as to how narratives of knowledge-production thwart or abet innovation. Lastly, it explores methodologies in ecological restoration and affiliated domains of inquiry that embed uncertainty

into processes of design, and that might influence a reflexive, fluid manner of generating and applying architectural knowledge.

Paradigmatic metaphors for the creation of knowledge in “green” or sustainable design perpetuate many of the myths of the movement’s predecessors. Building metaphors figure prominently: for instance, notions such as creating a foundation and adding to it, constructing an argument, erecting pillars and edifices, establishing frames of reference and frameworks of understanding, providing a window to shed light on certain conditions, and meeting critical thresholds. Architects utilize “toolkits” of design strategies in order to achieve greater efficiencies in the application of knowledge. These conventions presume a stable context that new knowledge “builds upon,” and that designers can apply well-honed tools that adjust to and match up optimally with relatively finite questions of design.

Missing from this discourse is an acknowledgment of “outlier” events, unforeseen interventions and paradoxes that characterize architectural inquiry (and that often stimulate design positively). In addition, designers are poorly equipped to discuss the role of knowledge in a time of rapid ecological degradation, when the environment can no longer be viewed as a neutral backdrop to human affairs. Perhaps most critically, these ways of speaking about buildings and knowledge fail to account for new forms of ignorance generated by new understandings:

*The contemporary explosion of knowledge or the observation that our current age is the beginning of a knowledge society thus has a little remarked on corollary: new knowledge also means more ignorance.*

— Matthias Gross, *Ignorance and Surprise*

With the goal of inviting more ecological approaches to design, this paper explores linkages between complex uncertainty and more stable aspects of architectural knowledge. It examines the ethical role of architectural narratives formed in the gap between the presumed and the uncertain, the existing and the desired. It argues that deeper intentions underlying the use of knowledge unfold from these narratives and imply a vision of the future. These myths of the future, evident in the conceptual origins of even modest architectural undertakings, have ideological dimensions that shape how knowledge is appropriated. If architects honor the futuring inherent to design inquiry, they are likely to invite adaptive ways of utilizing knowledge, and as a result, they may be better poised to realize positive transformation in the built environment.

## GREEN MYTHS: A VIRTUAL ODYSSEY OF ECOCITIES

*Diane Valerie Wildsmith*

The transformation of the hypermodern city into a twenty-first-century ecocity requires economic means and political will to support technological innovations in carbon-emissions reduction, urban agriculture, infrastructure, and socially based urbanity. Airborne and floating cities, disconnected from terrestrial cartographies, have yet to be realized as sustainable megacities. But a balance between urbanity and the environment is apparent in the proliferation of ecocity prototypes under construction, ranging from Masdar City in Abu Dhabi to the Songdo International Business District in Incheon, South Korea. The methodology of this paper is to compare virtual ecocities with aspiring ecocity developments such as Kemayoran Green International Business District and Sentul City in Jakarta to define the emergence of green spatial traditions and ecological urbanism.

Ecological urbanism centers on a discourse between science and philosophy. The United Nations Environment Program report “Towards a Green Economy” (2011) presented the measurable, scientific hypothesis that ecocities will be compact and densely populated with mixed-use urban forms whose economic output is resource efficient. Resource efficiency connotes replicable business models to balance ecotechnological and eco-social spatial traditions.

Plato’s myth of Atlantis is an antecedent for such imaginary ecocities. The mythologies of Atlantis perpetuate notions of a virtuous civilization, whose supposed location varied widely from Santorini to Sumatra. The volcanic explosion of Krakatoa fueled the nineteenth-century imaginary and transformed the myth into global reality across transcontinental telegraph lines.

Prescient of ecotopias, Henri Lefebvre’s *The Urban Revolution* [*La Révolution urbaine*] (1970) analyzed the image of the nineteenth-century city as it is discovered through myth, ideology and utopia, culminating in an “illuminating virtuality.” Global warming facts about the apocalyptic inundation of coastal cities similarly inspired Vincent Callebaut’s floating ecopolis design, “Lilypad” (2008), for climate-change refugees. The odyssey of virtual ecocities unfolds from a green imaginary and ecological hypothesis based on technological and social ideologies. Transforming ecotopias from myth to reality, however, the Asian Green City Index provides a number of environmental performance indicators: energy and CO<sub>2</sub>, transport, water, land use and buildings, waste, and sanitation. Emergent ecocity projects under construction in Masdar and Songdo also contain universities as key spatial nodes. The UI Greenmetric World University ranking system (2010) and the “Crystal of Knowledge Library” at the University of Indonesia (Denton Corker Marshall Indonesia, 2011) are tangible evidence of the correlation between academic research and the knowledge-based urban development.

Consequently, this paper tests the UNEP ecocity hypothesis using transduction as a methodology to construct a possible “object” from reality and then critically assess the problems associated with the reality of ecocities. The paper is divided into five sections. An introduction to ecocities is followed by discussion of the mythologies of Atlantis to assess and analyze the interaction between eco-myths, spatial ideologies, and the morphology of ecological utopias. Transforming ecotopias from myth to reality then requires the development of environmental performance parameters and comparative analysis to shape emergent ecocity spatial traditions. Kemayoran Green International Business District and Sentul City are then examined as case studies of the aspirations for green buildings within future pedestrian-oriented, energy-efficient communities. Emphasis is placed on renewable resources, social networks, public transport, and green spaces to shape emergent spatial traditions for ecocities.

## MYTHOLOGICAL REGISTERS IN THE ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE OF SUSTAINABILITY

*Allison Earl*

Since its emergence in the field of architecture, the language of sustainability has thoroughly infiltrated architectural discourse and practice. However, the term is not used in a unified or univalent manner. Both the concept and meaning of the word are contested, creating a multiplicity of meaning, and ambiguity. The diversity of approaches invites investigation into the language of sustainability, its multiple meanings, uses, and conceptualizations in architecture (al discourse).

My research tracks the language of sustainability in contemporary Australian architectural discourse through the metaphor of weaving, allowing multiple threads to proliferate — to become productive in the writing of new hi(stories) for sustainability. Using Corpus Linguistics methods as a tool to survey language in use and analyze emergent language patterns, the research tracks a series of narrative themes. Not necessarily explicit, or foregrounded in the discourse, these linguistic patterns are driving multiple conceptualizations of sustainability in architecture — a multiplicity of meanings and metaphors, mythologies, metanarratives, and particular worldviews.

By identifying and unraveling particular narrative threads found in the language of sustainability, my research has uncovered a distinctive mythological register in architectural discourse. This paper foregrounds those mythological narratives hovering within the conceptualization of sustainability and finding expression through language in at least three different ways: the architect as demiurge; the traditional ethics of authenticity; and the modern faith in technology and processes of greening.



The language of sustainability may be severely criticized; however, it is perhaps more interesting, and more effective, to explore these narratives for their potential productivity. Such mythological perspectives are clearly contestable, but they can also be perceived as potential drivers of new stories and histories that can reimagine the concept and practice of sustainable architecture in a proliferative manner. Through a multilayered creative work these mythological threads will be rewoven into new stories. These will be utilized as lenses through which to read, or further unravel, the architectural artifact itself, to offer new perspectives on the material reality of sustainable architecture.

## A.5 MEMORY, MYTHOLOGY, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

### THE MYTH OF “PEACEFUL COUNTRY”: ON COMMEMORATIVE SPACE IN MODERN JAPAN, FROM YASUKUNI TO HIROSHIMA

*Thomas Chung*

*Chinese University of Hong Kong, China*

### ALLUSIONS TO ANTIQUITY IN COLONIAL, CATHOLIC AND POSTCOLONIAL TUNISIA: A SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS IN THREE PARTS

*Daniel Coslett*

*University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.*

### THE GREAT PORTUGUESE WORLD EXHIBITION AND THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF TIES WITH BRAZIL IN A WORLD AT WAR

*Marianna Al Assal*

*University of Sao Paulo, Brazil*

### THE UNCONQUERED CITADEL: POST-COMMUNIST MYTHS AND THE PALACE OF THE PARLIAMENT IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA

*Andreea Mihalache*

*Princeton University, U.S.A.*

### THE CONTESTED MYTH: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS IN TURKEY

*Ozge Sade-Mete*

*University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.*

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### THE MYTH OF “PEACEFUL COUNTRY”: ON COMMEMORATIVE SPACE IN MODERN JAPAN, FROM YASUKUNI TO HIROSHIMA

*Thomas Chung*

This paper examines “commemorative space” in relation to architecture, urban setting and landscape. Its points of focus are two examples from modern Japan: the Yasukuni Shrine in the Kudan area and the Imperial Palace in Tokyo (1869), and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Hiroshima city (1955).

Commemoration (in particular, that of war remembrance) was central to nation-building in early modern Japan. In the lead-up to World War II, it continued to be a powerful contributor to Japan’s cultural and socio-political identity, fusing with invented traditions of the emperor cult. After Japan’s defeat in the war and rapid subsequent economic post-

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war modernization, the problematics and ambiguities of commemoration resurfaced in the mid-1980s when the “memory boom” dovetailed with quests for cultural identity borne by theories of Japanese uniqueness (*nihonjinron*) and emphasis on the spirit of *wa* (peaceful/harmonious cooperation). In the late 1990s debates on cultural and social memory centered on the historical revisionism of the textbook controversy and the escalation of the “Yasukuni problem” from visits by the prime minister.

The two high-profile, controversial sites examined in this paper are both highly charged with iconographic meanings, yet they have seldom been studied in terms of architecture or urbanism. Yasukuni, which can be translated as “Peaceful Country,” aspired to symbolize prewar national unity and wartime expansionist pan-Asianism, or *hakko ichiu*. It remains Japan’s fountainhead for venerating war dead. By contrast, Hiroshima, the A-bombed city, has symbolized extreme human suffering. The rebuilt city, with its Peace Park and museum, thus defined postwar sentiment, with its absolute value of “world peace” and internationalism.

Both sites appeal to “peace” rhetoric, though they appear poles apart. But there is more complexity to them sites than this initial reading might suggest. Yasukuni is notorious for unrepentant militarism; but an interrogation of its urban history yields a much more nuanced reading of Japanese self-understanding. On the other hand, if Hiroshima’s nuclear victimhood seems beyond controversy, earnest scrutiny of the urban architecture of its peace park divulges dubious secrets. Considered in reciprocity, these two sites arguably bracket the trajectory of modern “commemorative space,” bringing out persisting paradoxes on themes of death, remembrance and peace.

This paper examines “commemorative space” as a combination of monuments, architecture, urban setting and landscape, contextualized within their socio-political histories and politics. Through architectural and urban interpretation the paper will reveal how the two sites embody legitimizing narratives of modern Japan — prewar “Yasukuni” (peaceful country) and “pan-Asianism,” continuing as postwar “peace” and “internationalism” — and how the narratives differ or connect, materially and symbolically. The paper’s broader ambition is to speculate on how such “memoryscapes” can be refined to contribute to a more profound process of inclusive remembering. Can such “places of memory” go beyond present antagonisms and political deadlock in East Asia in light of the twentieth century’s experience with war, contested histories, and resurgent nationalism?

## ALLUSIONS TO ANTIQUITY IN COLONIAL, CATHOLIC AND POSTCOLONIAL TUNISIA: A SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS IN THREE PARTS

*Daniel Coslett*

That fascist Italy invoked the name of an ancient imperium while attempting to expand its reach across the Mediterranean is well known. Likewise, many cities have openly declared themselves “new” Romes since the fall of the original. Yet unlike Constantinople, Paris, Berlin or Moscow, Tunis, though set amidst impressive Roman ruins, has never explicitly proclaimed itself as such. Nevertheless, since the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1881 both foreign and native rulers have exploited various connections, real and imagined, to a mythic past to legitimize architectural, academic and touristic activities throughout Tunisia. Images of ancient Rome, Christendom and Carthage have been deployed as formal models, socio-cultural rallying points, national-identity components, and marketable attractions, all by means of particular elements of the country’s built heritage. Exploring the sustained appeal of a reimagined antiquity, this paper will seek to further consider intersections between politics, national identity, history and myth by addressing erstwhile marginalized material from French-colonial and postcolonial Tunisia.

Based on both fieldwork and archival research, this study of different official efforts to exploit a mythical antiquity will apply semiotic analysis to both historical and contemporary materials in three particular episodes. In planning Tunis and designing its earliest European-style structures, colonialist architects not only made use of straight streets and grand Neoclassical facades that represented a link to contemporary Parisian aesthetics and urbanism, but they also attempted to revive an idealized image of prosperous Roman Africa Proconsularis, the historical breadbasket of the ancient empire. For Catholics in protectorate-era Tunisia (1881–1956), links to the early Christian history and religious associations with contemporary Rome remained significant. The architecture of Tunisia’s two neo-Byzantine cathedrals betrays this interest in both spiritual and physical continuity. Decades later, however, independent Tunisia foregrounded its pre-Roman Carthaginian history, highlighting the uniqueness of ancient Carthage, Queen Dido, and its native Hannibal, hero of the Second Punic War (218–203 BCE). In postcolonial Tunisia, Hannibal was celebrated on currency and elsewhere as a defiant figure of considerable talent who nearly defeated a growing Mediterranean superpower. Further confirming the appeal of Hannibal and his elephants, a decade-old Carthagelands theme park in the resort town of Hammamet now provides fanciful interpretations of Tunisia’s mythical pre-Islamic past in an effort to attract tourists.

Substantial efforts notwithstanding, none of these three myths seems to have been particularly successful in legitimizing administrative and aesthetic acts in Tunisia, though

associated structures remain. This study of efforts by both French and Tunisian administrations to exploit mythical antiquities will conclude with informed speculation as to why they may have struggled so hard to articulate these connections. Finally, the paper will explore the continued embrace of Western modernity as a signifier of socio-cultural achievement, as demonstrated by the recently elected Islamist party's explicit dedication to political moderation and social tolerance. Recognizing the relative success of modernity as a myth in contemporary Tunisia will perhaps help observers more fully understand the complexities of globally significant current events there.

### THE GREAT PORTUGUESE WORLD EXHIBITION AND THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF TIES WITH BRAZIL IN A WORLD AT WAR

*Marianna Al Assal*

On June 2, 1940, in Lisbon, the great Portuguese World Exhibition (*Exposição do Mundo Português*) was officially inaugurated. Opened in a European context dominated by the events of World War II, the exhibition had been planned some time before and was intended to celebrate the eight centuries since the foundation of Portugal in 1140. It was also an effort by the dictatorial nationalist government of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar to exalt the past and present in Portuguese history to constitute a testimony and apotheosis of national consciousness. The exhibition thus focused on celebrating the history of Portugal, highlighting the development of empire as a natural vocation of the Portuguese nation and people.

The political and diplomatic issues involved in the exposition — if viewed in methodological terms as a field of negotiation between social forces — provide a focal point around which to gain analytical perspective on the event. This implies understanding the exhibition space as a logical result of the construction of myths that could operate as a discourse of ideological persuasion and support for the dictatorial regime. But it also involves an effort to replace the role of Portugal in the international arena. Particularly interesting in terms of this second aspect was the Brazilian participation at the exhibition, which featured two pavilions dedicated to the colonial period and the present.

This paper aims to investigate some of the aspects involved in the creation of myths surrounding national identity in the Exhibition of the Portuguese World. It also analyzes the importance of the (re)construction of relations with Brazil in this process.

### THE UNCONQUERED CITADEL: POST-COMMUNIST MYTHS AND THE PALACE OF THE PARLIAMENT IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA

*Andreea Mihalache*

Allegedly the second largest institutional building in the world after the Pentagon, the Palace of the Parliament in Bucharest is founded on a history of urban destruction and social trauma. The gigantic building was begun in 1984 in the aftermath of a demolition campaign that erased several neighborhoods in the Romanian capital and displaced thousands of people. Originally called the House of the Republic under the regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu the building was envisioned as the center of political and administrative power of the Romanian Communist Party. But it has been gradually appropriated by the post-Communist establishment so that today it glorifies a past that has been rendered innocent and unproblematic. Official discourses now largely obliterate its troubled history and present it as the architectural masterpiece of the Romanian people (whose strength, resilience, talent and dedication were made manifest in the lengthy process of its construction). This has allowed the Palace to become a product to be sold to and absorbed by local and foreign visitors.

Reflecting on the recent history of the Romanian Palace of the Parliament, this paper argues that contested architectures in areas of past conflicts often stay at the core of urban and political myths. These necessarily alter the character of these very places from serving as potential vessels of critical memory to becoming objects of consumption destined to satisfy the appetite of the contemporary world for spectacle and the extraordinary.

The paper will explore three strategies that solidify the Palace of the Parliament as a marketable product: the myth of numbers, the myth of national identity, and the myth of transparency. First, while the building is generally described through numbers (themselves inconsistent across various sources), these same numbers render it incomprehensible. Second, as an alleged symbol of national identity that purportedly represents the essence of “Romanianess,” in fact, the building silences the history of Communist trauma. Third, the two glass elevators added on the western facade to mark the presence of the National Museum of Contemporary Art (included in the Palace since 2004) do not achieve the intended desire for transparency and openness. Instead, they inadvertently reinforce the panoptic gaze that the House of the Republic originally conveyed.

Building upon Andreas Huyssen's notion of “present pasts” that have replaced twentieth-century fascination with the future, this paper will investigate the transformation of architecture from a critical tool in negotiating the relation between past and future, to an object of consumption that serves political agendas and facilitates the manipulation of the past.

## THE CONTESTED MYTH: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS IN TURKEY

*Ozge Sade-Mete*

This paper analyzes the phenomenon of archaeological and/or ethnographic museums in relation to the myth of Anatolia in the memory of modern Turkey. Unlike existing scholarship, which has been focused mostly on central museums, viewing them as the direct representatives of dominant historical narratives, this work will draw attention to peripheral structures as betrayers of memories left out of official histories.

One strain of Turkish historiography has been built on the idea that the Turkish race was the origin of mankind. It pursued the idea that the racial characteristics of Turks were perpetuated in a pure form throughout the ages. The idea did not find scientific basis, however, and it eventually declined. Nevertheless, the myth of pure identity remains in the nationalist politics of Turkey, even today.

On the other hand, rather than being clear and decisive, the display of official Turkish history in museums has been highly contested. The basis for a national museum was first established in the 1920s through the collection of ethnographic objects (largely Islamic artifacts and traditional items of Ottoman everyday life). But in the 1930s the new historiography, looking for the pre-Islamic origins of Turkish culture, put greater emphasis on archaeological collections as representative of national identity. The tension between the Islamic and the secular within the modernization processes was reflected in the opposition of archaeology and ethnography — the former representing the secular ideal, the latter standing for the Islamic past. Yet, despite this tension, archaeology and ethnography coexisted as the main themes in Turkish museums.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, more than forty museums were constructed throughout Turkey. The production of such modern museums had been part of the vision of the national committee of ICOM (the International Council of Museums) in the 1950s. Its idea had been to build regional museums at urban centers throughout Turkey. However, this project was later contested; for example, it raised the possibility that the museums might operate on their own and emphasize local memories and the particular cultural themes and identities of their regions. This created the possibility of divergence from the centralized axis of archaeology and ethnography. While more than forty archaeological and ethnographic museums were eventually constructed throughout Turkey, they were subsequently marginalized by the state, and only minor attention was given to the quality of their displays and conservation work.

This paper shows the significance of these museums, which were peripheral to the cultural scene. Through analysis of them and their collections, it argues that the fragmented character of museums in Turkey is evidence that memories are complex and that cultural heritage consists of layers of traditions and identities.

## B.5 HOUSING, THE VERNACULAR, AND MYTH

### THE VALUE OF MYTH AND TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY WELSH DWELLINGS

*Heidi Day and Wayne Forster*

*Cardiff University, U.K.*

### MYTHS OF THE HANDMADE: SIMONE KOSREMELLI'S CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR HOUSES

*Sylvia Shorto*

*American University of Beirut, Lebanon*

### THE TIMELESS AND THE TIMEFULL

*Laurence Loftin III*

*University of Colorado, Denver, U.S.A.*

### EXPLORING THE MYTH OF FOUR IN PERSIAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

*Hesam Kamalipour*

*Iran University of Science and Technology*

### IS THE LAWEYAN STILL "THE LAWEYAN"?

*Triatno Yudo Harjoko and Putri Nurul Probowati*

*University of Indonesia*

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### THE VALUE OF MYTH AND TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY WELSH DWELLINGS

*Heidi Day and Wayne Forster*

This paper explores the means by which myths have shaped traditional dwellings in Wales by studying the vernacular Welsh house in its various forms.

Welsh customs have derived from myths relating to the built form and the surrounding landscape. The paper identifies and analyzes the ways that myth has influenced the creation of space and place in the Welsh house. The paper focuses first on the primary elements — the hearth and thresholds — where myth can be seen to have had a strong significance in the home. Second, the paper surveys and interprets objects placed within the house, marks made on its surfaces, and colors applied to it. Finally, and most significantly, it discusses traditions relating to the environmental landscape of the Welsh house, where myths surrounding trees and plants, landscape features, and place names appear to be intrinsically connected spatially and formally to the dwelling. This interconnection between the house and landscape is signaled as significant.

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The research shows that myths are associated with practicalities, comfort and security in the home. They appear to revolve around key foci, consisting of distinct functions and objects. The elements that function as foci may be seen as practical and/or symbolic. They predominantly concern the hearth and thresholds. Everyday routines and habits revolved around them, together with spiritual rituals. People developed associations and myths around these elements, which were critical to their daily lives. Some elements of original characteristics formed through myth can still be found in dwellings, even though their initial significance has diminished.

The role of myth throughout the centuries in Wales may be seen as reinforcing local identity during periods of change when elements of culture appeared to be diminishing in the design of the house. Today there is opportunity to reintroduce and reinterpret these lost traditions through contemporary design in order to create an architecture that is locally distinctive.

The paper explores ideas related to identity and place, and to traditions formed by myths, and makes suggestions as to how these conceptions could be translated into the design of the contemporary home. Design is considered in terms of place and inhabitation.

The research, conducted through the medium of graphical analysis and design, explains how these myths have been used in the placemaking process, and suggests ways they could be incorporated in contemporary design that is rooted in its place and of its own time.

## MYTHS OF THE HANDMADE: SIMONE KOSREMELLI'S CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR HOUSES

*Sylvia Shorto*

In the mid-nineteenth century the critic John Ruskin and his followers championed the pre-Raphaelite movement, establishing a nostalgic and value-laden way of thinking about a past which privileged things locally made and made by hand. Ruskin's ideas, which constituted a fundamental critique of industrial capitalism, set in motion a reaction that lasted through the Arts and Crafts movement, into the modern period, and up to the present day. One of its effects was the generalized differentiation of architecture from vernacular building, and of design from workmanship. The resulting false dichotomies were cemented in the literature that interpreted architectural history from the 1930s, contributing to a skewed perception of the true role of the machine in the making of things, and of the real relationships between designer and craftsman.

My paper will question meanings of the term "handmade," arguing that it is a socio-historical term rather than a technical one. As a case study, I look at contemporary stone

houses built by the Lebanese architect Simone Kosremelli. Kosremelli's houses can easily be linked to local vernacular traditions and can be seen in a lively dialogue with their own roots. Yet, even though they are based on the cube, a form proper both to the vernacular and the modern, they fit uncomfortably into most historical narratives. One reason is that Lebanon has thus far been omitted from the dominant histories of modernism, and even from recent explorations of modernism's debts to the vernacular. Despite the advent of globalization, the illusion still persists that it is European culture that is, in Paul Ricoeur's definition, the "universal civilization." In a postindustrial age, this, of course, can no longer be true. However, to incorporate a new regional architecture into existing narratives, after the modern period has passed, and when vernacular-inspired building is open to charges of facade-ism, is a challenging task.

I suggest in the paper that one approach to this would be to examine meaning in making. Designers need craftsmen, and good workmanship improves on design. By thinking more closely about the historical implications we give to the term handmade, I will use Kosremelli's houses to show how the framework we inevitably use when assessing the relationship between modernity and craftsmanship is a mythologized one.

## THE TIMELESS AND THE TIMEFULL

*Laurence Loftin III*

One of the unfortunate myths of tradition is that it is often seen as local and parochial — quaint, if nothing else. Kenneth Frampton has adumbrated a counter-myth: "Regional or national cultures must today, more than ever, be ultimately constituted as locally inflected manifestations of 'world culture.'" This new myth of tradition — that all traditions now originate from the abstract world culture of modernism — puts designers in a quandary. If something is designed relative to its local context, it is insignificant on the world stage; but if one designs something from the perspective of world culture, it does not fit its context. What is to be done?

This particular problem was addressed by the design for a house in Creede, Colorado. The strategy and solution will be presented here along with the reactions of the community as a way of indicating a way out of the dilemma.

Creede is a lost silver-mining town in southwest Colorado, not on the road to anywhere. It is in a spectacular natural location (the caldera of an ancient volcano) with a built vernacular remarkable for its collection of shacks, sheds and shanties. This remote community is unique for its individuals, its architecture, and its landscape. The problem was to design a new house here that would not "stand out," but rather "stand in" the context of the place. The strategy was to produce a "timefull" design using local materials and forms

rather than a “timeless” modern, abstract object. This house, like other structures in Creede, is not an abstract, timeless “object” to be contemplated, but a circumstantial, “timefull” construction to be appreciated for its participation in its place. It is this very participation, this sense of engagement with time, that suggests a significant, distinct and useful aesthetic strategy. This is a way of designing that recognizes the sequential, the temporal, and the environmental as circumstances to be celebrated. Whatever the context, buildings are seldom fixed objects. They are tools and devices that are continuously and endlessly modified for the requirements of the moment.

The approach embodied by the house will be proposed as a potential design strategy for architects in general — one that closely approximates the reality of renovation and change over time. This is a tradition that is neither regional nor worldwide, but simply a reality that exists in all traditions. By way of conclusion, the approach will be contrasted with postmodern pastiche, Disneyesque nostalgia, and critical regionalism.

## EXPLORING THE MYTH OF FOUR IN PERSIAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

*Hesam Kamalipour*

The works of Carl Jung on concepts such as the collective unconscious, archetype, symbol, sign, and the importance of myth in understanding the human psyche, as a whole phenomenon, insist on the unity of mankind in a complex journey through history. According to this view, architecture may be interpreted as a symbolic, cultural and mythological language in the discourse of human existence. It seems that some stories, like the story of “four,” are in the collective unconscious of the ancestors and past Persian generations. They remind us that there is a determined purpose behind the story.

This paper demonstrates how we can explore the myth of “four” in the vernacular architecture of Persia. It is based on interdisciplinary and qualitative research which employed field study, observation, and logical reasoning as a research method. The research questions addressed in this paper are: How can we understand the constant presence of the myth of four in Persian vernacular architecture and its elements through the reflections of Jung on the collective unconscious? What is the story of “four” in the ontology and vernacular architecture of Persia? How does the myth of four reflect interactions between humans and space in the socio-spatial practices of Persian vernacular architecture?

In order to find possible answers to these questions, the paper begins with Jung’s reflections on the collective unconscious and its role in the human psyche, archetype, myth and symbol. It then reflects on the myth of four and explores the

spatial configuration and the interactions between humans and space with a comparative approach to the vernacular architecture of Persia. The paper classifies types of buildings and monuments in order to analyze socio-spatial practices and explore the history of Persian vernacular architecture. Finally, the paper refers to the concepts of collective unconsciousness, tacit dimension, the fifteen fundamental properties, and the sacred vertical direction at the center of space in order to discuss the results of the study.

The findings demonstrate that we can understand the story of “four” in Persian tradition by exploring the constant presence of this sacred ontological number in the patterns of Persian vernacular architecture and landscape. In this regard, some indicative patterns are the *char-bagh* in Persian gardens, the *char-soffeh* in vernacular housing, the *char-ivan* (four-*ivan* plan) in sacred places such as mosques, and the *taghsimat-e-char-bakhshi* (fourfold division) of urban spaces, landscape, and architectural ornaments and structure.

## IS THE LAWEYAN STILL “THE LAWEYAN”?

*Triatno Yudo Harjoko and Putri Nurul Probowati*

*But what must be firmly established at the start is that myth is a system of communication, that it is a message. . . . [M]yth cannot possibly be an object, a concept, or an idea; it is a mode of signification, a form. Later, we shall have to assign to this form historical limits, conditions of use, and reintroduce society into it: we must nevertheless first describe it as a form.*

— Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*

The research concerns the myth of Kampung Laweyan in Surakarta, also known as Solo, in central Java. It seeks to unfold the community’s history and signification as “Kampung Batik,” as this has survived under different political regimes, from the city-state of Keraton Surakarta to the present-day democratic nation-state of Indonesia.

Kampung Laweyan lies on the fringe of present-day Surakarta. Its living heritage is as a center of home-based batik production. During the sixteenth century the community was established as part of the Kingdom of Mataram. Yet it is fascinating that it was not part of the Javanese court culture. It was the settlement of the Juragan Batik, or owners of batik production — some of whom were Chinese. Nevertheless, the architecture of Laweyan — namely, the Javanese house — made it appear as if it were associated with Javanese court culture. The house in this sense was the signification or the form of court culture.

Another form of signification in Kampung Laweyan is Mbok Mase, literally meaning “mother Mase.” This figure lent her name to a socio-political form of local community. She provided a model for the struggle of common people but

was considered a rebel or traitor to the dominant court culture. As such, she grounded the political existence of female Javanese against the male domination of the court culture, and promoted the role of women beyond their domestic space.

After independence in 1945, the nation-state of Indonesia was established, and Surakarta/Solo lost its identity as an independent city-state. Kampung Laweyan also became part of the urban development of “modern” Solo.

Following the *longue durée* of socio-political change in Surakarta/Solo, and in the country as a whole, from the sixteenth to the twenty-first century, our findings show that the toponymy of Laweyan has nothing to do with Lawe. The old Laweyan, as invented in the era of feudalism, is not comparable to the new Laweyan. Therefore, the signification of the “vernacularity” of Laweyan defers any fixed meaning.

## C.5 MYTH, POWER, AND PLACE

### RECLAIMING THE PRODIGAL SUN: RECONSTITUTING THE REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA

*Chee-Kien Lai*

*National University of Singapore*

### ENTERPRISING MASQUERADES: PLURAL IDENTITIES AND MYTHIC SPACES IN SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA

*Joseph Godlewski*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### TRADITION, KNOWLEDGE, MYTH: THE POLITICS OF RESETTLEMENT IN CHINA

*Duanfang Lu*

*University of Sydney, Australia*

### REVOLUTION INTERRUPTED: LAND, THE MILITARY, AND THE MYTH OF NATIONALISM IN POST-MUBARAK EGYPT

*Riem El-Zoghbi*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### MODERN MYTHS OF THE NEW AGE IN THE DIGITAL SUBLIME

*Beril Ozmen Mayer, Kagen Gunce, and Nima Talebian*

*Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus*

### RECLAIMING THE PRODIGAL SUN: RECONSTITUTING THE REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA

*Chee-Kien Lai*

Of the estimated 25–30 million *huaren* (overseas Chinese) living in about 140 countries around the world, some 80 percent reside in the ten countries that comprise Southeast Asia. The main reason for this condition is the historical outmigration by ethnic Chinese from the sixteenth to nineteenth century from China’s southern coastal areas to the region, where these populations have been maintained to this day. The overseas Chinese spaces or enclaves in Southeast Asia are thus distinctly different from the Chinatowns of America, Australia or Europe; and because of the communities’ proximity to China, they have more elaborated commercial and social connections with China.

The Republican history of China that began a century ago, on October 10, 1912, was closely connected to the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui), whose Nanyang (South Seas) bases were headquartered first in Singapore and

then in Penang, Malaysia. Its leader, Sun Yat-sen, convinced overseas Chinese leaders in major cities of his cause, as well as of the need to support and fund his activities. The headquarters in Singapore and Penang, together with contributors and supporters in the archipelago, witnessed the success of the revolution, and formed networked spaces such as philomatic unions and athletic societies (such as Chin Woo Athletic Association) to construct the “New Chinese person.”

With the centennial celebration of that revolution in 2011, and with a resurgent mainland Chinese economy, the reconstitution of Sun’s two Nanyang headquarters became central to historical discourses in both Penang and Singapore, for different reasons. In Singapore, a relatively disused villa in the central area was first named the Sun Yat Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall in 2001, and its spaces were reworked as exhibitions with curated content. But, ten years later, it reopened in time for the celebrations with revamped exhibitions thought to be “more appropriate.” In Penang, the shophouse along Armenian Street was first maintained as the Sun Yat Sen Penang base, but then subsequently cited as his Nanyang headquarters.

This paper examines the constructions of this “revolutionary connection” through a comparison of the two South Seas headquarters. The narratives accompanying their spatial transformations have also included their use as locations for movies, visits of Chinese leaders and tourists, as well as the sudden, laudatory citation of local leaders hitherto unknown and unplaced in national histories. I examine the complications of competing “national” affiliations for these Southeast Asian countries, as well as the fragility of such nationalisms at the present time.

## ENTERPRISING MASQUERADES: PLURAL IDENTITIES AND MYTHIC SPACES IN SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA

*Joseph Godlewski*

National history in Nigeria is a particularly ideological project. Home to more than 250 ethnic groups and 500 spoken languages, the imagined community of Nigeria is a difficult foundational myth to maintain. In a struggle for access to territory and resources, heterogeneous indigenous groups have turned to complex histories of identification and localized claims of ethnic origins. Speaking of this multiethnic mobilization and the multiplication of internal boundaries, Michael Watts has called Nigeria a “veritable jigsaw of militant particularisms,” where the deconstruction of a sense of nationality has instead produced an “unimagined community” on which the future of Nigeria depends. Despite this seemingly perpetual process of fragmentation, the means by which this practice is constituted in the built environment displays a striking degree of cultural and historical continuity across these groups.

In highlighting these continuities, this paper focuses on the history of architecture and urbanism in southeastern Nigeria with an emphasis on the port city of Calabar. The city has a rich, multiethnic and cosmopolitan history as an international trading emporium and slaving port that extends back centuries. This penchant for trade has helped form the identity of the city and its inhabitants as “enterprising.” I call the spatial configurations in this region “enterprising masquerades” not to suggest they are inauthentic or masked representations of a genuine urban character, but to underscore how contentious and inventive the process of constructing myths of indigeneity can be. Moreover, in spite of tremendous ethno-linguistic diversity and historical ebbs and flows, the region maintains a consistent tradition of establishing various renditions of internalized and competing spaces of enclosure. These spaces are what bound and substantiate the ostensibly singular identity of its contained subjects from others.

Before European colonialism, southeastern Nigeria was home to several decentralized states such as those of the Igbo, Ibibio, and the Efik. The principal spatial configuration of these groups was the traditional walled compound, conceived as an autonomous, privatized unit for markets protected from the surrounding environment. With the transition from slave to “legitimate” palm oil trade in the early nineteenth century and the advent of missionary and British imperial development in Calabar after 1846, this decentralized condition was only exacerbated, as the lineage system was transformed into an *ufok* (house) system, no longer based on lineage. Larger compounds fragmented and alliances were to be found in a number of smaller competing compounds. Further, colonial development instituted an anti-urban policy of establishing scattered, expedient and segregated enclaves for British officials and traders separate from the native quarters.

The legacies of both traditional and colonial methods of enclosure are clearly visible in the contemporary postcolonial urban geography of Calabar. Upsurges in entrepreneurial Pentecostalism and neoliberal developments in Calabar such as the Tinapa Free Zone and Resort have further splintered the territorialization of the city’s urban morphology into fractured and contesting sovereignties. My hypothesis is that similar desires for constructing anti-state counter-narratives, establishing political and economic autonomy, privacy, safety, and personal salvation, have informed these historic and contemporary strategies for organizing urban space.



## TRADITION, KNOWLEDGE, MYTH: THE POLITICS OF RESETTLEMENT IN CHINA

*Duanfang Lu*

This paper examines complexities and tensions surrounding land and development in China, with a focus on the “new land enclosure movement” and resettlement program in rural areas. In 2008 the Chinese Ministry of National Land and Resources issued a new policy, which allowed local governments to convert the land currently occupied by peasants for residential purpose into arable land, and use the increased arable land in exchange for urban construction on the same amount of land elsewhere. Under this policy, numerous villages with ages-long histories have been razed and redeveloped as cultivable land, alongside the disappearance of peasants’ homesteads, which still hold important symbolic meanings in rural life.

Grand reversals are taking place under this extensive resettlement program: culture is being turned into nature; places are being transformed into spaces; and many peasants who received land under the family-based contract system introduced in the late 1970s are becoming landless. What has made these great turnarounds suddenly inevitable? How have the material frames of peasants’ daily lives (space, place, nature, time, history and memory) been restructured? And what kinds of new questions and understandings about Chinese modernity are posed by the reversals?

Based on field research in three counties in Shandong Province, this paper studies the practices, perceptions, experiences, narratives and impacts of the resettlement program. It provides a detailed analysis of the politics of development at the local level, which will deepen the interdisciplinary comprehension of what is at stake in Chinese urban development. The paper also dissects the epistemological assumptions behind the grand reversals presented by resettlement as modern myths. It calls for a radical transformative imagining of epistemological diversity in the production of space.

## REVOLUTION INTERRUPTED: LAND, THE MILITARY, AND THE MYTH OF NATIONALISM IN POST-MUBARAK EGYPT

*Riem El-Zoghbi*

This paper explores the politics of land development and the deployment of the myth of nationalism by the Egyptian military to secure the status quo in post-Mubarak Egypt. The January 25, 2011, Egyptian revolution ushered in the military, led by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, or SCAF, as the interim governing body in Egypt’s transition to democracy. This Faustian bargain between the Egyptian people and the military, articulated in the popular slogan “the people and military — one hand,” was immersed in the ideal of na-

tionism and the imagined community of the nation-state (Anderson 1991).

It has been argued that the 1952 revolution and Free Officers Movement solidified the status of the military as the preeminent institution of Egyptian nationalism. Yet, as is widely believed by a growing number of Egyptians today, the Egyptian military was a pillar of the ousted Mubarak regime and a beneficiary of the corrupt policies that defined the Mubarak era. The military’s handling of the transition and its heavy-handed response to crisis, particularly its role in the massacre of Egyptian Copts on October 9, 2011, has further eroded public trust in it as an institution.

As numerous Mubarak-era government officials, including the former minister of housing, Ahmed Maghrabi, are found guilty of corruption, the military finds itself in a tenuous position as it attempts to espouse the democratic ideals of the January 25 revolution, while also maintaining a status quo that affords it unprecedented control and access to resources. Land is arguably one of the most important of these. Land is currency, and Egypt’s vast desert and other areas of “national security,” controlled directly by the military, are a bank of opportunity for an institution used to providing subsidized housing for its officers, and involved in an array of entrepreneurial activities from agriculture to tourism.

Today the politics of land development are at the forefront of many national debates. Since the articulation of “modern” private-property laws in the nineteenth century, land development and property rights have played a central role in Egyptian state-society relations. As such, they have been used to buttress the “right” kinds of citizens, as well as dispossess the “wrong” kinds (Mitchell 2002). Despite calls for greater transparency and accountability, the military remains an opaque institution, and its role in land development remains obfuscated by invocations of nationalism and national security.

My paper explores the tactics by which the military deploys nationalism in the context of post-Mubarak Egypt. I argue that the myth of nationalism is instrumental to the military’s control of land and use of extra-legal methods in its pursuit of land development.

## MODERN MYTHS OF THE NEW AGE IN THE DIGITAL SUBLIME

*Beril Ozmen Mayer, Kagen Gunce, and Nima Talebian*

The role of myths in the formation of spatial traditions exhibits itself in two dissimilar realms: “ancient myths” formed by earlier examples, and “myths of new age” formed both currently and with regard to the future. In the Middle East, one can observe the significant role of traditional myths and the tangible effects they have in countries such as Iran and Turkey. Due to their great ancient history, innumerable

legends and religious-based traditions have been inherent in their art, architectures and cities. Likewise, Cyprus possesses a valuable architectural heritage, as a multicultural land, where tradition has been affected by Roman, Venetian, Lusignan, Greek, Ottoman and British customs and rituals. In shaping the everyday practice of architecture, surviving old myths have influence on present-day design principles. This is especially true in relation to housing configuration and layout, which express beliefs and cultural norms forged by myths.

Modern myths of the new age also characteristic of contemporary social legends, and can be defined simultaneously. These “modern myths” are neither rooted in religious beliefs nor in traditional or ancient histories. Instead, they have been generated within contemporary societies, determined more through “science” than “stories.” The impacts of new myths are not deliberate, visible and tangible, as are the physical effects of traditional myths. Their effects are hidden in the postmodern lifestyle, rooted in human greed and extreme ambition in the use of technology. Today digital media and cyberspace have more power on the built environment than traditional myths.

In the professional practice of architecture and in architectural education, new myths have been transformed into slogans such as “God is the machine” or “The universe is not merely like a computer; it is a computer,” which show the addiction to the new media (Kelly 2002). These attitude can have negative effects, whether in the reality of practice or in the architectural education. As Nye declared, the technological sublime, the myth of our contemporary world, has established different realities and beliefs, by assuming that our era is unique in terms of transforming the world. However, as we explore the tales of earlier technologies — like the telegraph, electrification, the telephone, radio, television, and motion pictures — we can perceived a collective amnesia about past innovations as well as their myths. A vicious cycle brings returns us to the routine and ordinary from the inspiring and the magnificent (Vincent 2004).

The aim of this article is to compare “traditional” and “modern myths” in the design of space. Its focus will be on the impact of modern myths on architecture, both in academic and professional contexts. It will discuss various concepts and examples of modern myths.

## A.6 VERNACULARIZING MYTH

### REINTERPRETING TRADITIONS: VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN LATIN AMERICAN CITIES

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### ARCHITECTURAL CREATION MYTHS: THE BIOLOGICAL ANALOGIES UNDERLYING THREE CONTEMPORARY BUILDING DESIGN TRADITIONS

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### THE CONSTRUCTION OF MYTH IN TIBETAN ARCHITECTURE AND THE MODERN CITY OF LHASA

*Maggie Mei Kei Hui*

*Chinese University of Hong Kong, China*

### WHEN MYTHS COLLIDE: THE MANDALA ARCHETYPE AND THE CHARBAGH TRADITION IN INDIAN GARDENS DURING THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

*Maryam Mansoori and Mostafa Mostafa Zade*

*Texas A&M University, U.S.A.*

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### REINTERPRETING TRADITIONS: VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN LATIN AMERICAN CITIES

*Diana Maldonado and Fernando Lara*

In the last three decades of the twentieth century, Latin America has experienced a rapid increase in urban populations. The needs of new urban inhabitants now exceed the capacity of governments, and the formation of informal settlements has become common. Academics and practitioners of the discipline have called these new forms “popular architecture,” recognizing that they have interfaces with the vernacular but do not constitute a “tradition.” The result is that such architectures have been underrepresented in the architectural discourse, despite the fact that global urbanization forecasts estimate that by 2030 Latin America will be 75 percent urban.

This paper discusses the idea of an urban vernacular architecture, using case studies from Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. For the last ten years the authors have been doing field research in different communities, such as Aglomerado da Serra in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, Villa 31 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Colonia Paraíso in Monterrey, Mexico. The analysis presented here is based on formal documentation, interviews, and extensive time spent in those areas with the people who built them. We have strived toward a comprehen-

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sive analysis of these architectures — their materiality, spatiality, functionality, construction processes, and symbolism.

This is important to us because, since the second half of the twentieth century, we have seen a growth of studies on “informal” (anonymous, vernacular) architecture. Their emphasis ranges from construction techniques, to spatial and functional organization, climactic responses, economic conditions, and material properties. However, such modern structures have never been considered ideal, timeless, and pure enough to be labeled vernacular. Currently, studies of vernacular architecture in the region can be divided into two groups: a majority which conceive it as a static concept (isolated from modernization); and a small minority which challenge the meanings of tradition and culture, and therefore consider the possibility of an urban vernacular.

Most research on vernacular architecture in Latin America has focused only on rural areas, respecting the definition of “traditional,” looking at the past for meaning. But the theoretical framework of this paper coincides with the second group mentioned above, considering also the future of vernacular architecture as ensured by a dynamic and active reinterpretation of traditions. In the megacities of the developing world, we argue, vernacular architecture is produced and reproduced daily, but this is being overlooked by a majority of scholars who are still locked in the myth of vernacular purity. The recognition of a new urban vernacular is necessary if the next generation of architects are to engage in design processes based in realities and not myths.

## ARCHITECTURAL CREATION MYTHS: THE BIOLOGICAL ANALOGIES UNDERLYING THREE CONTEMPORARY BUILDING DESIGN TRADITIONS

*Kevin Nute*

The formal characteristics of buildings in general, and vernacular architecture in particular, have often been compared to those of living organisms. This paper examines the validity and implications of the biological analogies underlying three contemporary building design traditions — functional expression, environmental adaptation, and type form. It argues that the association of these approaches with the natural and scientific has effectively elevated them to the equivalent of mythical status in the culture of architectural design, so that each now exercises a significant influence on the built environment despite deriving from essentially unprovable comparisons.

The origins of vernacular buildings are generally unrecorded, and in the absence of historical evidence to indicate otherwise, proposed explanations have tended to reflect the prevailing ideas of the time. Over the past two hundred years the dominant Western cultural ideal has been scientific rationalism. It has thus been to the science of life that architects have most often turned in search of objective explanations of vernacular architecture, and building design in general.

Analogies between living and built forms have tended to persist mainly, it seems, because there has been a compelling motive for architects to want to link building design with the natural and scientific. Without such rational grounding, the process at the core of their profession might be dismissed as essentially a matter of subjective choice. Creation myths have long served to assuage such uncertainty. In this regard, the paper suggests that comparisons between the characteristics of natural morphogenesis and the development of vernacular buildings have served as the equivalent of architectural creation myths. Ultimately unprovable, they are widely influential post-rationalizations that say as much about the cultural preoccupations of their time as about the unwitnessed past events they supposedly explain.

The architectural consequences that stem from these comparisons with living forms do not always reflect the accuracy of the analogies themselves. For example, functional expression has been widely misinterpreted architecturally, and many of its built results have been similarly questionable. Analogies with environmental adaptation have often been equally flawed, and yet they have arguably provided the key principles underpinning contemporary notions of ecological design. Likewise, the concept of type form would seem to have produced some of the most and least culturally and environmentally responsive buildings of the last hundred years — depending largely on whether it was interpreted in terms of explicit formal prototypes or general human reasons.

Like most myths, analogies between architectural and biological form represent truth as it is believed to be, rather than as it is known to be. As essentially a mode of collective wishful thinking, the question to ask of myth, however, isn't “Is it true?” but “Is it useful?” The paper suggests that while the application of biological principles to built form has been fraught with misunderstanding, particularly when interpreting the vernacular past, it has also provided architects with an invaluable source of objective design ideals.

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF MYTH IN TIBETAN ARCHITECTURE AND THE MODERN CITY OF LHASA

*Maggie Mei Kei Hui*

It has long been common to accept Tibetan architecture, as represented through myth, as a tradition in the narration of Tibetan history. This ties the construction process to historical events, particularly the spreading of Buddhism across the landscape of the Tibetan Plateau. Likewise, the earliest textual record in Tibet from the thirteenth century describes the ancient history of Tibet, when Buddhism was introduced there in the eighth century, as a combination of myth and history.

The history of the building of the Jokhang, the earliest temple in Tibet, dating from the eighth century, was not recorded textually until the thirteenth century. However,

these accounts described the process of building it through a combination of myth and fact, including comments on site selection, construction process, and mythical events that took place. Typically, elements of these historical narratives were then represented as mural paintings on the interior walls of the temple where they served as a way to represent history through landscape, building, architecture, and events interwoven with myth.

These earliest temple buildings, together with twelve later temples, were intended to pin down the joints of the supine body of a demoness from inhibiting the spread of Buddhism. These temples were built at geographical locations spreading from the center of Lhasa to the periphery of the Tibetan Plateau. This shows that myth and buildings had an important role in constructing a sense of space in historical Tibet.

It has only been in the last fifty years that modern buildings and infrastructure has been built in major cities. Through new spatial and architectural mapping these have forced older mythical constructs to confront the transformed urban landscape and the changing operation of the city.

This paper attempts to unfold how the traditional roles of myth in Tibetan architecture interact with contemporary Tibetan cityscapes, such as that of Lhasa. How can the historic fabric and individual buildings still convey historical spatial concepts while overlapping a new spatial layer of modern development? Furthermore, how might the mythic quality of spatial construction and placemaking be represented in contemporary visual art forms as well as traditional temple mural painting.

## WHEN MYTHS COLLIDE: THE MANDALA ARCHETYPE AND THE CHARBAGH TRADITION ON INDIAN GARDENS DURING THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

*Maryam Mansoori and Mostafa Mostafa Zade*

This paper concentrates on the meeting of two traditions of environmental design, each with a strong history in placemaking: mandala and charbagh. While the mandala and charbagh originate in the mythologies of different geographical regions, they achieved coexistence in the gardens of the Mughal Empire (1526–1858), such as the Taj Mahal, Shalimar, and Neshat gardens.

The Indian mandala, as Hindu mythology suggests, is a symbol of the universe. It is based on a circular geometry and emphasizes central symmetry. The Persian charbagh, on the other hand, as the hidden principle of Persian gardens, determines a rectilinear spatial structure based on quadrants and intersecting axes. Focusing on the Mughal era in India, the paper tries to understand how the combination of these two myths influenced the Indian gardening tradition, through multiple cases such as those of the Taj Mahal, Neshat, and Homayoun's Tomb.

There are two reasons why this period constitutes the timeframe of our study. First, the geometric application of the mandala was explicit in the architecture and landscape of this period. Second, the Persianization of the subcontinent during the late years of the Mughal Empire introduced the charbagh tradition to designs there.

To approach the question of how the two traditions coexist, the paper identifies three Mughal-period landscape typologies: tomb gardens, castle gardens, and summer gardens. Based on this distinction, the study discusses whether the mandala and charbagh produced a tangible effect on these spaces, and how those effects differed by garden type.

The results confirm that the mandala and charbagh continued to embody themselves as architectural traditions in the Mughal era by producing spaces with circular and axial structures. Moreover, the study revealed that while the mandala tradition appeared mostly in tomb gardens, where the holistic value of the garden was appreciated, the summer gardens were usually based on the charbagh pattern, where the entertainments were aligned with the main axes.

To explain the two directions that the separate traditions provided, we argue that the mandala mythology dictated a central pattern as a symbol of the universe, while the charbagh focused on axial design where depth of view was more important than the spiritual meaning.

Although the mandala and charbagh archetypes, as we understand them today, originated from specific cultures, Carl Jung suggested that such primary archetypes stem from the collective unconscious. Since archetypes have influenced the tradition of placemaking in many cultures, they cannot be reduced to abstract ideas. They can be considered as mythical patterns that guide traditions, which in turn shape the physical environment according to specific and unique geometries. Therefore, such spaces cannot be fully understood without studying their mythical roots and patterns. The contemporary architecture of this region could benefit from such patterns, because of how they tie in with the collective unconscious of users.

## B.6 REGENERATION, PRESERVATION, AND THE MYTH OF HERITAGE

NOSTALGIA AND ATTITUDES TOWARD  
CONSERVATION AND REUSE OF THE HISTORICAL  
PALACES OF MOHAMMED ALI'S FAMILY IN EGYPT  
*Hisham Gabr, Shaimaa Ibrahim, and Aliaa AlSadaty*  
*Cairo University, Egypt*

TRADITION AND MYTH IN THE MADINA:  
CONSERVATION AND CHANGE  
*Hassan Radoine*  
*University of Sharjah, U.A.E.*

CONTROVERSIAL BOROBUDUR: MYTH AND  
RATIONALITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY  
*Anne Hublin*  
*CNRS, France*

PRESERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF URBAN  
DWELLING SPACE: THE CASE OF *QILOU* DISTRICTS IN  
GUANGZHOU, CHINA  
*Nobuo Mitsuhashi*  
*Uts Unomiya University, Japan*

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NOSTALGIA AND ATTITUDES TOWARD  
CONSERVATION AND REUSE OF THE HISTORICAL  
PALACES OF MOHAMMED ALI'S FAMILY IN EGYPT  
*Hisham Gabr, Shaimaa Ibrahim, and Aliaa AlSadaty*

This paper examines the effect that mental images derived from historical accounts have on attitudes toward the conservation and adaptive reuse of the palaces once belonging to the family of Mohammed Ali in Egypt. The research addresses the role of narratives, nostalgic allegories, literary works, and even mythical stories in the formation of mental images, and thereby attitudes toward intervention with regard to these structures.

Mohammed Ali, to whom the creation of modern Egypt has largely been attributed, and his descendants built a number of palaces that architects, historians and others regard as monuments of great historical and architectural significance. Mostly built during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these palaces have been the subject of considerable research attention and conservation effort. However, since contemporary residents of these buildings were not alive during the royal period of modern Egyptian history, they have instead relied on a variety of sources to create a mental image of it. Drama shows, movies, fiction, and other literary and media works have proved a particularly significant source of

image formation. Stories, whether true or mythical, have the power to travel over time and between generations to help create an image of this historical era. In this way, people today tend to seek information that will reveal the true nature, or sometimes the mythical nature, of the reality they want to believe or wish to know.

The paper also observes how shifts in attitude toward history have been affected by contemporary affairs and societal forces. In particular, the 1952 revolution, followed by the ousting of King Farouk and the nationalization of his family possessions (including the palaces under study here), affected the formation of historical attitudes. This, in turn, affected how the residents of the palaces viewed them. Moreover, the palaces have sometimes been misused — by being inappropriately occupied by government and administrative authorities, or by being opened to the public without proper precautions.

The paper investigates some of the main principles and concepts of proper adaptive reuse with regard to these historic buildings. It reveals the important role that historic stories, passing through various media channels, have played in the formation of attitudes toward them. Residents of these palaces today generally do not fully appreciate their true historic value, which affects their perception of preservation efforts. Implications for proper conservation and adaptive reuse are discussed.

TRADITION AND MYTH IN THE MADINA:  
CONSERVATION AND CHANGE  
*Hassan Radoine*

The madina is one of the most enduring of traditional urban forms. This paper will study its changes to trace its realities along with its myths. In particular, the paper examines how the pretext of “conservation” has transformed the madina from a holistic urban form into a mythical “Islamic city” or a romanticized colonial *médina*. The argument is illustrated by case studies from North Africa, particularly from nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Morocco.

*The fact is that tradition is constantly an element of freedom and of history itself. Even the most genuine and solid tradition . . . needs to be affirmed, embraced, cultivated. . . .*

— H.G. Gadamer

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## CONTROVERSIAL BOROBUDUR: MYTH AND RATIONALITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Anne Hublin

World Heritage listed and entirely restored by UNESCO since 1982, Candi Borobudur is now a global tourism icon. Built during the eighth and ninth centuries in central Java, this gigantic pyramid was abandoned during the eleventh century and disappeared for hundreds of years. However, in 1814, partly collapsed, it was cleared of the vegetation that had buried it. Several generations of engineers and archaeologists have since tried to restore it and understand its significance. And they have advanced contradictory theories to explain the specifics of its structure. By disassembling the construction stone by stone, UNESCO's restoration has provided answers to most of these questions.

"*Prasat*," "*stupa*" or "*candi*"? In Southeast Asia, the pyramidal form is present only in Kampuchea, making its appearance there in tenth century. Borobudur's pyramidal shape therefore led to number of assumptions. In 1927 Hoenig speculated that Borobudur's lower stories were originally intended to support a tower similar to a Khmer *prasat*, but that the project had been abandoned for structural reasons. This idea was also taken up by Parmentier in 1948. According to Soekmono (1976), Borobudur was definitely a pyramid with levels, surmounted by a *stupa*. Finally, the generic term *candi* has been used because it applies to all old holy places: temples, monumental gates, ritual ponds, etc.

*A place of pilgrimage.* Few controversies developed on the religious function of Borobudur — which, obviously, had been a pilgrimage place. The structure of the building implies its circumambulation, and its ornamentation corresponds precisely to Mahayana Buddhist doctrine, common in Java at the time of its construction. However, the "buried base" of the building raises questions. Was the first level of the pyramid dissimulated for religious reasons (Mus 1932), or simply to ensure the stability of the upper ones with a buttress (Dumarçay 1977)?

*A legendary road.* For Van Erp (1931) and others, the existence of a paved road connecting the temples of Mendut and Pawon to Borobudur was likely. This road is mentioned in local legend, but no trace of it has ever been discovered.

## PRESERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF URBAN DWELLING SPACE: THE CASE OF *QILOU* DISTRICTS IN GUANGZHOU, CHINA

Nobuo Mitsuhashi

In the early 1980s, under pressure from economic growth, Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong Province, began to tear down the fabric of its historic central area, both its buildings and accompanying local communities, to make

space for new urban construction. As most historic buildings, especially residential ones, hadn't been sufficiently maintained, they were very old and obsolete. The *qilou* buildings and others that surrounded them in the district were therefore seen as in need of replacement.

Most of the *qilou* buildings in Guangzhou, mainly built in the 1920s and 30s, are three or four stories tall. The first floor is occupied by a shop, while the upper floors, containing apartments, are built partially out over the street, supported by columns. A row of such buildings, forming a colonnade in front of the shops, was a typical element of the streetscape in Guangzhou's old central area. The colonnades, along both sides of a street, were available for sidewalks when linked together. The district also included separate apartment houses, located inside the block behind the *qilou*. Built in the same period or earlier, they were reached by alleys that branched from the colonnade, creating a high-density residential district.

After interest arose more recently to preserve the old *qilou* buildings, the local government launched a project in 1999 to improve their facades and rebuild the infrastructure in some *qilou* streets. The project also aimed to take economic effect into account, focusing on urban tourism. Due to this switch of policies, large redevelopment projects in the district were also restrained.

It should be mentioned that there are serious problems affecting the living environment in these older dwellings. Both the *qilou* and the interior apartment buildings have many defects, such as leaky roofs, cracks in the wall, overly small rooms, and timbers starting to rot. Also, the old *qilou* buildings typically don't have sufficient hygiene facilities, and kitchens and toilets in them usually have to be shared by their inhabitants.

Relevant government authorities have now become aware of the necessity to preserve historic buildings in the central district. Many *qilou* and historic dwelling houses, built in the Ch'ing dynasty, are now registered as candidates for cultural heritage status. The housing authorities, as part of their urban renewal policies, have also launched a system of evaluatory procedures. Each building is classified into one of four types according to its structural integrity and threat of collapse. The improvement or reconstruction of buildings is now (belatedly) being controlled from both the viewpoint of resident safety and historical value.

In spite of these new policies, the improvement or reconstruction of a building remains entirely the responsibility of its residents. And these people usually encounter many difficulties managing the reconstruction process, such as a lack of financial resources, consensus failure among successors, privatization of space, etc. They still lack assistance coordinating the housing renewal, financial support such as loans or rent subsidies, and other advice and support. An alternative approach that takes into account the interests of the inhabitants should be developed.

## C.6 NATIONAL MYTHS AND IDENTITY DISCOURSES

### DIEGO RIVERA AND THE “BUILDING” OF MEXICAN IDENTITY

*Patricia Morgado*

*North Carolina State University, U.S.A.*

### ARCHITECTURE AND THE MYTH OF AUTHENTICITY DURING THE GERMAN PERIOD IN CAMEROON

*Itohan Osayimwese*

*Ithaca College, U.S.A.*

### THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE WALL: A MYTHICAL/ IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF URBAN SPACE — THE CASE OF ANKARA

*Meltem Al, Seçil Binboga, and Ömer Polat*

*Middle East Technical University, Turkey*

### ON THE PORTUGUESE NATIONAL MYTH: HOW ARCHITECTURAL THINKING AND DEBATE WAS SHAPED BY POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

*Daniela V. de Freitas Simões*

*University NOVA of Lisbon, Portugal*

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### DIEGO RIVERA AND THE “BUILDING” OF MEXICAN IDENTITY

*Patricia Morgado*

Within the vast surface of the murals that cover Mexico’s Ministry of Public Education, a self-portrait of its author, Diego Rivera, goes unnoticed. Unexpectedly, the muralist depicted himself as a builder, anticipating the critical role he would play in the making of Mexican architecture. Convinced of the political role the arts could play in the construction of national identity and the recovery of a “forgotten” pre-Hispanic America, Rivera took architecture in his own hands to propose a distinctly localized alternative to the modernist models that were emanating from Europe. From 1924 to 1957 Rivera went from critic, to client, to architect, personally designing his museum-studio of Anahuacalli, where he tested his ideas for a new Mexican architecture rooted in pre-Hispanic traditions. The result was an abstract composite of Teotihuacan and Mayan architecture, containing generous and rich interior spaces to exhibit his 60,000-piece collection of archeological objects. But his exploration went beyond addressing the architectural expression of the building; in his attempt to integrate the arts, Rivera also applied lessons learned from his ancestors in mural art. For the first time the artist experimented with mosaic techniques used in pre-

Columbian objects rather than the Italian “fresco” technique he had employed until then.

In pursuing a truly Mexican architecture, neither Rivera nor his collaborators ever recognized the contradictions found in his experiment. In designing Anahuacalli as a pyramid, Rivera dismissed the main characteristic of these pre-Hispanic structures, their solidity. Instead, the muralist’s design used the pyramidal form as a shell to contain the studio-museum program. Consequently, restricting the construction to the exclusive use of the stone from the basalt of the site proved impossible. Obsessed with demonstrating the contrary, Rivera and the collaborating architects found ways to hide the use of reinforced concrete in walls, beams, and floor slabs. Ultimately, however, the strict formal organization of the plan proved inadequate for the modern — and nonreligious — program, resulting in an awkward distribution of spaces, contradicting even Rivera’s objectives.

Successful or not, Rivera’s experiment exemplifies the struggle that took place in the twentieth century to redefine Mexico’s cultural identities. By carefully examining the muralist’s writings, drawings and building, this paper will analyze Rivera’s political desire that his project would, as the muralist himself stated, help “link a fabulous past with what we [Mexicans] want for Mexico’s great future.”

### ARCHITECTURE AND THE MYTH OF AUTHENTICITY DURING THE GERMAN PERIOD IN CAMEROON

*Itohan Osayimwese*

It has been argued that German colonial officials, museum representatives, private collectors, ethnologists, and photographers created a myth about the Bamum Kingdom of western Cameroon. This myth, which found fodder in the grandeur of Bamum elite architecture and urbanism, celebrated the kingdom as the long-sought paradisiacal African nation featured in medieval European narratives like that of Prester John.

In this essay I synthesize existing scholarship with new archival evidence to support the contention that this myth was produced simultaneously by the Bamum elite as a form of autoethnography and by German protagonists attempting to create an ideal political and intellectual environment for the implementation of disenfranchising colonial policies. By virtue of its coproduction and the fact that this narrative did not exist outside of an identifiable reality or in opposition to an essential truth, the Bamum myth should no longer be understood as myth.

In order to support these claims, I explore the transformation of regional and Western architectural elements in syncretic Bamum buildings, and discuss the prominent role that these buildings played in the myth of Bamum authenticity. Together with hybrid architecture, a constellation of new developments in map-making, military attire, scriptory, and

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religion served to represent the Bamum as a modern nation. These neologisms were at once at odds and consonant with the myth of authenticity that they underpinned. On the one hand, if we assume that authenticity corresponds to historicity, as many German protagonists did, it is difficult to reconcile these new cultural forms and practices with the idea of the Bamum as a culture of great age. Apparently unaware of the novelty of some of these practices, German visitors had no difficulty framing Bamum in terms of a Western understanding of history. On the other hand, as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991) illustrates, one of the fundamental contradictions of the modern phenomenon of the nation-state is its insistence on its historical origins, even as it justifies itself through newly imagined traditions of community. By these measures of contemporary scholarship, the Bamum nation must be interpreted as an entity that was as modern as its European counterparts.

The paper explores these contradictions and tensions in the Bamum myth of authenticity through comparisons to other constructs of authenticity similarly justified through interpretations of the built environment in the German colonial context. The most notable of these were the discourse surrounding the distinctive form and construction of Mousgoum architecture in Cameroon and Chad and Batammaliba architecture in Togo. The fact that similar constructs had divergent discursive ramifications sheds light on the workings of myth in the advancement of socio-political agendas implemented through the built environment.

### THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE WALL: A MYTHICAL/ IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF URBAN SPACE — THE CASE OF ANKARA

*Meltem Al, Seçil Binboga, and Ömer Polat*

The myth of the city of Rome tells about two brothers, Romulus and Remus, who desired to build cities in two different places. Since a wall was fundamental for any settlement, neither city could stand and be protected without one. A wall also had sacred significance because it represented power, governance, citizenship, and all the codes of conduct, cultural to economic. As the two walls were being built, however, Remus mocked his brother's wall by leaping over it. Romulus became furious and killed Remus in anger. He then completed his wall, became the winner of the contest, and built the city of Rome (Diken and Laustsen 2006).

Although the sacred quality of the wall in this myth has been perpetuated throughout the history of city building, the ideological purpose behind imposing power over territory and the morphology of the wall has changed. This paper will question the myth of the wall in the case of Ankara, the capital of the emerging nation-state of Turkey in the twentieth century. Ankara was developed as part of Turkey's modernity project based on the north-south axis of Atatürk Boulevard.

The boulevard was planned as the representational space of the modern Turkish Republic, manifesting Turkey's goal to become a new nation, on the way from the War of Independence to a bourgeois-democratic state (Bozdoğan 2008). The paper attempts to understand this particular urban space with respect to its mythical foundations and the ideological connotations of the modernity project. In this respect, Atatürk Boulevard, called "the road of revolution," may be interpreted as a double-faced wall carrying the city upon itself (Keskinok 2009).

The paper also questions the metamorphosis of this wall in contemporary Ankara according to changing national ideology and the construction of a secondary axis, Eskişehir Highway. Branching off from Atatürk Boulevard, this second thoroughfare works as a representational space for the country's neoliberal economic policies. Being the centerline of financial accumulation, this wall, called the "road of capital," regulates the booming commercial infrastructure of the city.

In short, the paper revolves around the issue of "wall" in respect to two different instances of mythical space production that present a political stance for hegemonic relations. The first myth concerns the glory of the War of Independence and the bourgeois-democratic nation-state that generated Atatürk Boulevard. The second concerns the neoliberal economy that created the financial backbone of the Eskişehir Highway. The paper seeks to understand the issue of myth and question how myths are being used as the operational apparatuses of changing ideological choices in different epochs.

### ON THE PORTUGUESE NATIONAL MYTH: HOW ARCHITECTURAL THINKING AND DEBATE WAS SHAPED BY POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

*Daniela V. de Freitas Simões*

In 1900 Raul Lino began work as an architect in a country that had fallen behind compared to its European peers. Portugal at the time was deeply rural and poor. But Lino's architecture and writing aimed to resist an architecture of decadence and imported foreign models. In relation to dwellings, in particular, he explored what he considered a true sense of Portuguese architecture.

The dictatorial regime established in Portugal from 1926 to 1974 appropriated Lino's writings, however, creating a misleading myth concerning a Portuguese nationalist architecture. This nationalist model would ultimately be applied to post offices, stations, houses, public schools, ministries, public spaces, and the redrawing and reconstruction of several sections of the capital city of Lisbon. Although it sponsored modernist architecture for a short time, the regime soon established its own ideological aesthetics based upon this myth. Eventually, reactions and counter-reactions arose to it in 1948, in the First Architecture Congress — but they rose against Lino's Portuguese house.



This paper aims to understand how Lino's theoretical writings, taken out of context, served to advance a political nationalist ideology. To construct a sense of empire, Prime Minister António de Oliveira Salazar fed the myth of "typical" Portuguese dwellings across the country. In the process, he misled entire generations of architects, who settled on deconstructing the idea, instead of understanding it and interpreting its meanings.

It was only in 1970, during Lino's biographical exhibitions, that the "myth" of the Portuguese house began to be exposed as such. It took the hand of Portugal's most important architects and theorists — as well as critics — like Pedro Vieira de Almeida and José-Augusto França, to accomplish this.

The debate over the Portuguese house took place through almost all of the twentieth century. Yet it was a political myth constructed upon a regime's need and will to demonstrate a national unity with architectural consequences. As such, it facilitated a larger framework of social, political, economic and cultural contexts. It was a myth that could not be deconstructed by Lino's peers for political reasons.

## A.7 MYTH AND PLACE

### PALESTINIAN PEASANT HOUSING AFTER THE 1858 OTTOMAN LAND CODE: THE "NEW NATIVE" NATIONALISM AND THE *AYAN* MYTH OF TRADITION

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### THE ILLEGAL FABRIC: UNDERSTANDING THE AMERICAN DREAM AND ITS EFFECT ON CHICAGO'S TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD STRUCTURE

*Samantha Salden*

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### ENGLISH VILLAGES: THE MYTH OF "AN UNSPEAKABLE TONGUE" AND IMMERSION AS A REMEDY

*Jieheerah Yun*

*Hongik University, Seoul, South Korea.*

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD CONCEPT AS A NARRATIVE-MYTH OF COMMUNITY

*Timothy Imeokparia*

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### THE MYTHS AND TRADITIONS IN THE MAKING OF PLACES: THE CASE OF *BANDABULYA* MUNICIPAL MARKETS IN CYPRUS

*Halide Erogul and Hifsiye Pulhan*

*Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus*

### PALESTINIAN PEASANT HOUSING AFTER THE 1858 OTTOMAN LAND CODE: THE "NEW NATIVE" NATIONALISM AND THE *AYAN* MYTH OF TRADITION

*Yael Allweil*

The formation of Palestinian nationalism is commonly associated with the rejection of Western colonialism, identified with Zionism and British Mandate rule, and is considered a post-World War I phenomenon. The historiography of Palestinian nationalism thus privileges the *ayan* urban nobility and its political and armed struggle against colonialism.

This study, a history of the dwelling environments in Israel-Palestine, focuses on housing, which will be used as a lens to examine this narrative. Specifically, it examines the formation of new dwelling environments by the Palestinian peasantry, starting in the 1860s, in response to land privatization within the Ottoman Empire, which alienated peasants from the land (Shfir 1996). This study thereby points to a neglected form of Palestinian nationalism, namely, "new native" nationalism among the peasantry. As a movement for

land reform, this can be seen as competing with the primacy of efforts by the *ayan* nobility in determining the meaning, heritage and myth of the invented tradition of Palestinian nationalism (Hobsbawm 1983).

By changing the basis of landownership from a system of cultivation to one of financial exchange, the 1858 Ottoman land code opened *miri* flatlands in farms owned by *ayan* and absentee landlords to monetary exploitation. This phenomenon is traditionally taken into account only in terms of its contribution to the materialization of the Zionist land-reform movement, in that it enabled Zionist organizations and individuals to purchase land, and thus gain legal ownership of portions of the homeland. Yet my study shows that Ottoman imperial land privatization was decisive for the formation of Palestinian nationalism as well. This is disregarded in the literature, which tends either to view Palestinian nationalism as an aboriginal and constant fact (Reilly 1981), or to associate its formation with the modern *ayan* nobility (Pappe 1994).

Historical accounts indicate that the number of local peasants and villages in the newly accessed flatlands increased dramatically in the 1870s and 1880s (Ben Arie 1987). Following the sale of imperial lands on Palestine's plains, landless peasants were employed as labor by *ayan* farm owners, creating new housing and settlement forms, and thereby changing the frame of reference for their belonging and locale. Flatland mud-hut campus villages, dramatically distinct from stone-built fortified hill villages, were the site where modern Palestinian national consciousness emerged in response to *ayan* "white mask" nationalism and to Zionist nationalism, and its competing claim for the homeland.

This paper bases its arguments on a detailed study of the built environment of *ayan* and "new native" peasant housing in the 1860s and 1870s.

## THE ILLEGAL FABRIC: UNDERSTANDING THE AMERICAN DREAM AND ITS EFFECT ON CHICAGO'S TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD STRUCTURE

*Samantha Salden*

The Chicago townhouse, like the Brooklyn brownstone or the Baltimore rowhouse, is the hallmark of a city's urban fabric. Arrayed rhythmically along blocks that measure 330 by 660 feet, it provides a strong armature for the city while simultaneously allowing a wondrous variety of form and detail. When durably constructed, the organization of the typical townhouse plan allows each building to be easily converted from a single-family dwelling to a multiunit apartment building or a structure containing shops and offices, as the economic needs of an individual family may dictate over a lifetime, or as the needs of a neighborhood change over decades. In instances where the townhouses are attached, they provide a model of economy, reserving more precious finish materials for a narrow front facade and using the adjoining

houses to provide insulation, lowering heating and cooling costs. The townhouse also serves as the foundational module for the other residential typologies of the city — three-flat, six-flat, nine-flat, twelve-flat, and U-court buildings. These all work off the same lot size (or multiples thereof), providing a wide range of housing types and scales for various economic levels and household sizes, as well as establishing the residential density needed to support public transportation and neighborhood retail.

At the turn of the twentieth century, as Chicago celebrated its rejuvenation after the fire of 1871 and the triumph of its Colombian Exposition of 1893, the sky and the horizon were the limit. Skyscrapers shot up in the commercial center of the Loop, while rail lines radiated outward, allowing the grid platted in 1834 to finally be filled out with neighborhoods. The dream of escaping the tenements to a home of one's own with sunlight and fresh air was a goal many hardworking Chicagoans could achieve.

The dream of homeownership shifted, though, after World War II, as VA loans all but required returning GIs to take their young families to the suburbs, where a saltbox house with a white picket fence and a postage-stamp lawn awaited them. The suburban picture we see in episodes of the television show *Leave It to Beaver* became iconic of the American dream, an escape from (and triumph over) the dirt and crime of the city. Meanwhile, streetcar suburbs of bungalows and train-served neighborhoods just outside the city's core were largely left behind to be occupied by those without the means to either escape or maintain the buildings they inhabited.

Over the last two decades, new generations have come back to the city, along with their cars, renovating old townhouses and apartments and filling the spaces between with new construction. But new buildings must often adhere to suburban code requirements, such as off-street parking minimums of 1.5 cars per dwelling, which make the previous density of up to 120 units per acre impossible and all but the simplest single-family townhouse illegal.

This paper explores varying images of the American dream, their impacts on Chicago's built form through social and legal changes, and the implications both have for sustainable cities and neighborhoods.

## ENGLISH VILLAGES: THE MYTH OF "AN UNSPEAKABLE TONGUE" AND IMMERSION AS A REMEDY

*Jieheerah Yun*

While there is significant confusion regarding what constitutes a global language, English remains the most commonly used in contemporary international meetings and journals. In South Korea, a desire to master English has been particularly strong. Notwithstanding the fact that English education has become increasingly available, educa-

tors and parents criticize the condition of English education in public schools as being rigid and impractical. Although many jobs in government and business do not require using English regularly, good English has become one of the qualifications for a stable position. The mismatch between the English skill actually needed for a position and official requirements makes the necessity of mastering English a myth for many Koreans. As the number of Korean students going abroad to study English increases, “English villages” have also been established as educational facilities to provide an immersion experience. In 2004 this elicited favorable responses from the media and parents, who regarded them as a sign of the government’s continued commitment to public education. This paper analyzes how the myth of linguistic inadequacy influences the production of English villages in South Korea, and how these function simultaneously as physical places and a mental trope.

As physical places, English villages offer an environment akin to that in English-speaking countries by mimicking North American towns. English villages are equipped with various simulated places such as city halls, post offices, shops, and banks. The staff and teachers at them argue that a strict rule to only speak English is conducive to improving students’ conversational skills. As a mental trope, the suburban landscape of the English villages simultaneously represents a mental landscape akin to “the idea of America town,” a counter-image to the hyperurban quality of South Korean life. In addition to their educational purposes, the exotic landscapes of English villages are often reproduced in movies and TV dramas, thus becoming a playground in which South Koreans may construct their own image of the “American town.”

The popularity of English villages should be understood as a response to an increase in private educational services since the liberalization of education markets in the 1980s and an effect of increasing socioeconomic polarization. In the South Korean educational system, characterized by the “English divide” rather than the “digital divide,” the popularity of English villages reflects a desire for mobility and membership in the advanced world community. Inhabitants, including students and teachers, are constructed as a community made up of aspiring cosmopolitan leaders. Rather than being Disney-like fantasylands designed to appeal to juveniles, the rituals of English villages are designed to provide students with a sense of passage. Following the example of English villages, local governments have initiated different projects to build goal-specific facilities for adults. I argue that English villages and the projects that mimic them represent a distinctly local articulation of the suburb, one which harmonizes the urban and rural way of life by constructing liminal space.

## THE NEIGHBORHOOD CONCEPT AS A NARRATIVE-MYTH OF COMMUNITY

*Timothy Imeokparia*

A genealogical disposition informs the narrative of many paradigmatic movements in urban planning and design — from the neomedieval urbanism of Camillo Sitte to the Garden City Movement of Ebenezer Howard, Raymond Unwin and John Nolen, the City Beautiful Movement, and the more recent New Urbanism. A well-tested practice in urban planning and design is to adapt lessons learned from history as a first step in “learning to plan anew.” The objective is to propose universal solutions as exemplars of good practice based on selective historical precedents to project a vision of a desirable future. As the “newest” manifestation of this tendency, New Urbanism represents a paradigmatic case of the myth of tradition. The subject of myth is approached in its relation to the history of urban development planning. It places an emphasis on the authenticated nature of “narratives”: that is, the term “myth” is limited to narratives which have causal or explanatory content.

Much scholarly commentary on contemporary urban planning and design thought and practice has been directed toward a critique of present-day development patterns, as exemplified by the urban sprawl that is supposedly responsible for the nonplace condition of the public realm. New Urbanist design practice and thought is focused on creating pedestrian-oriented communities distinguished by their rejuvenated public realms in order to engender a sense of community. It appropriates an urban typology that draws on the work of Raymond Unwin, John Nolen, and Clarence Perry’s (1929) ideas for the neighborhood unit. Although the New Urbanism design program is completely opposite that of the neighborhood unit, it nevertheless shares with it a physicalism that links the creation of a “sense of community” to physical form. Thus, New Urbanism is predicated on what David Harvey (1977) has called “questionable communitarianism.” On its face, New Urbanist discourse can be seen as a powerful challenge to conventional ideas about urban development. Yet it relies on a mythical and unconscious vernacular tradition, which privileges an “appropriated past” over “a more exigent and experienced present” (Sorkin 1992). The rhetorical dimension of New Urbanist doctrine is interrogated here to reveal how ideological distortion can be mistaken for myth.

This paper reports on an ethnographic inquiry into two New Urbanist projects in Florida — Seaside and Celebration — that probes the underlying “ideology of community” of New Urbanism. In the end, New Urbanism fails to connect “spatial form and social processes” and merely succeeds in accomplishing Clarence Perry’s desire to establish social uniformity in urban neighborhoods. It erases the very public realm it seeks to rescue with its recycling of historic cultural forms to create an aesthetic that succumbs to the economic imperatives of the American real estate industry.

## THE MYTHS AND TRADITIONS IN THE MAKING OF PLACES: THE CASE OF *BANDABULYA* MUNICIPAL MARKETS IN CYPRUS

*Halide Erogul and Hifsiye Pulhan*

Myths are interrelated with culture and time, and they often have tangible effects in the creation and endurance of particular traditions of space. In many cultures, myths as regulating narratives have established and perpetuated certain traditions that regulate certain behavior and activity settings. In this respect, sacred buildings like mosques and churches host myths and traditions they engender and create focal points within the boundaries of towns. For ages, these structures have been locomotives for the enhancement of town centers containing civic buildings, courts, schools and marketplaces.

Myths generally take their foundational narratives from religion and belief systems. In many cultures, religious buildings thus became reflective and formative of the basic meanings, codes and norms regulating social behaviors and settings. In this regard, marketplaces, which were usually established in the vicinity of sacred buildings, were remarkable indicators of how different activity patterns interacted with and were organized within the rules and codes of religious beliefs and myths.

In Islamic societies, Friday is the sacred day for religious activity. However, on the island of Cyprus it had additional meaning for Turkish and also Greek Cypriots as the day for shopping. Before or after the religious ceremony in the mosque, the Friday bazaar was habitually visited as part of daily routine. Friday, as the sacred day, imparted the attitudes, defined the ethics and morals, and established the parameters of accepted market behaviors. Besides temporal aspects, myths and traditions in such places regulated gender-specific issues and settings. For instance, women's bazaars in Cyprus provided a setting in which certain codes and norms were created. Similarly, the organization of marketplaces was affected by political or religious differentiation, as well as by seasonal activities and harvest activities, which all had roots in myth. However, in the contemporary world, concepts of time and space have changed completely. Instead of myths and tradition, trends and fashions organize and shape space, time and activity in contemporary shopping places.

This paper aims to uncover the roles of myth and tradition in the marketplaces of Cyprus. The municipal market, locally known as *bandabulya*, presents a unique case representing complex relationships between the traditions, politics and myths of Cypriots under the rule of British colonial administrators. Remarkably, *bandabulya* inherited certain characteristics of medieval and Ottoman marketplaces, and these were synthesized along with British colonial dreams, rules and regulations. In this respect, traces of myths and traditions which date back to Ottoman and medieval times (and the colonial political landscape within which those

myths and traditions operated) will be examined to interpret their tangible effects on the formation of the *bandabulya* municipal market. Findings and interviews with people who experienced traditional marketplaces and *bandabulya* reveal that they were multicultural settings enriched with numerous traditions and the myths of different cultures. They were places of public gathering and communication. It is the common belief that *bandabulya* buildings in major Cypriot settlements could still maintain this mission very elegantly.

## B.7 MYTH IN DESIGN THEORY AND PRACTICE

### THE MYTH OF SECURITY

*Jill Schreifer*

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### BIO-ARCHITECTURAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE DREAMTIME KNOWLEDGE OF SPINIFEX GRASS

*Paul Memmott*

*University of Queensland, Australia*

### THE MYTH OF THE ROOF SHAPE IN KOREAN ARCHITECTURE

*Jeonghyun Kim and BongHee Jeon*

*Seoul National University, South Korea*

### OF GODS, ANGELS AND MORTALS: LEAPS OF FAITH AND OTHER ACROBATICS IN ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

*Christos Hadjichristos*

*University of Cyprus*

### THE MYTH OF THE ARCHITECT AS (DIGITAL) MASTER BUILDER

*Mark Donofrio*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

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### THE MYTH OF SECURITY

*Jill Schreifer*

After several high-profile attacks on military and federal personnel in the 1990s, the Department of Defense (DoD) implemented restrictive antiterrorism (AT) measures. Instead of relying on historic principles of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), the DoD's response was primarily to increase standoff distances to facilities from roads and parking lots. This policy comes at a significant cost — both fiscally and through its impacts on sustainability, land use, and planning. One could also argue that the principle of providing more separation may actually do more harm than good — creating low-density, sprawling, unsustainable development, limiting the ability of federal installations to accommodate future missions, and creating a pervasive myth of security.

As the architect Nan Ellin (1998) has argued, “form follows fear.” DoD policies are primarily based on protecting buildings and inhabitants from vehicle-borne bombs. The actual likelihood of a bomb entering a secure installation in

a vehicle and being detonated is so remote, and the costs in terms of land use and sustainability so high, that planning for such a contingency is unrealistic.

In the field of CPTED, which has been around for nearly four decades, advocates have found that the appropriate design of the built environment may reduce the incidence of crime (Newman 1972). Prevention rather than apprehension is the key. On-base standoff distances and hardening assume a successful attack and take away from efforts at preventing the attack in the first place.

For prevention to work, however, three key principles have been identified that could be applied to military installations. The first is natural surveillance of the physical environment. Some refer to this as providing “eyes on the street.” This idea is based in part on Bentham's concept of the Panopticon, which was developed in 1791. The Panopticon has an ideal shape for surveillance — providing a central location from which an entire 360-degree view could be observed. When buildings and their windows face streets and public places, the people in those buildings provide an amount of surveillance that could never be matched by an installation's security forces. The second principle is natural access control. Since most criminals attempt to enter areas where they will not be easily observed, limiting access and increasing natural surveillance limits their ability to engage in acts of destruction. The third strategy is territorial reinforcement. By using physical design to shape defensible areas, with clear property lines, landscape elements that define public and private spaces, and buildings sited to frame identifiable realms, the sphere of influence is expanded.

As bases become more fortress-like, the ability for natural surveillance and territorial control will be reduced, and crime, like the lone shooter attack at Fort Hood, may actually increase. This presentation will address the policies and regulations contributing to the myth of security, and explain alternative options based on traditional environmental design principles.

### BIO-ARCHITECTURAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE DREAMTIME KNOWLEDGE OF SPINIFEX GRASS

*Paul Memmott*

This paper discusses several Australian Aboriginal myths (or sacred histories) from the Georgina River Basin region of central Australia that concern the *Triodia* grasses known locally as spinifex (or *aywerte*). The sacred song lines of Dreaming related to the red kangaroo, wild bee, freshwater bream, and black-headed python totems join distant groups in the arid interior of Australia. These sacred histories provide an epistemological foundation for traditional spinifex technologies utilized for architectural, material and medicinal functions. The paper explores the contemporary revitalization of this knowledge in a collaborative research

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partnership between a group of traditional tribal owners (the Indjilandi, Wakaya and Bularnu peoples) and a team of scientific researchers from the University of Queensland (including the author).

Spinifex grasses are prickly, xeromorphic plants that grow in hummock shapes and are endemic to Australia. The *Triodia* genus has 69 species which cover upward of 25 percent (possibly as much as 40 percent) of the continent, mainly distributed in arid desert regions. This extensive biomass has negligible current commercial usage except as drought-time standby stock fodder. Small quantities are taken for traditional purposes by Aboriginal groups. The greater biomass tends to be consumed by wildfires that contribute up to 4 percent of Australia's annual carbon emissions. The species are divisible into 40 "hard" species with stronger fibers and 29 "soft" species with weaker fibers, but with a resin-yielding capacity. Both fibers and resin have potential uses in building technology as either separate or combined (composite) products. An ecological aspect of the research involves understanding optimal plant propagation so as to develop sustainable harvesting methods. Thus, if commercialized material products could be developed, a cottage industry might be implemented to provide increased economic viability for Aboriginal camps and outstations in remote locations across the sparsely populated interior of the continent. Decentralized bio-refining plants are a further possibility.

The research (in its fifth year) is exploring both low-tech building construction techniques that draw on traditional practices as well as high-tech, laboratory-manufactured material products that may be of ultimate use in biodegradable architecture and artifacts. Within this low-tech/high-tech spectrum, a variety of products are being researched. At the low-tech end, these range from shade roofs to evaporative cooling walls, spinifex reinforced-earth walls and slabs, and spinifex insulation batts. At the high tech end, they include nano-whisker paper, resin to replace urea formaldehyde, coatings that may have anti-termite and ultraviolet screening capacities, as well as bio-composite materials.

The test site for in-situ experiments is the Dugalunji camp of the Indjilandi group, an enterprise and training base with a population of up to 80 people. Planning and architectural design in the camp occurs according to Aboriginal directives and principles, within a grounded understanding of the cultural landscape in which the ancient sacred sites with their sacred histories (myths) are embedded.

## THE MYTH OF THE ROOF SHAPE IN KOREAN ARCHITECTURE

*Jeonghyun Kim and BongHee Jeon*

Recently, the demand for traditional architecture has increased remarkably in Korea. At the same time, cost-saving has become a key issue in this reemerging industry because

the timber-frame structure of traditional Korean building requires vast amounts of hand-cut woodwork. The most expensive part of the building is the roof, which has a shape that is curved in three dimensions and is made of three different building materials: wood, soil and tile. But it is not easy to re-design it to employ more efficient construction technologies, such as computer-aided manufacturing, because the roof shape has very delicate needs. Preferences in terms of design and texture are very specific: a roof should be slightly curved, moderately inclined, overhang the wall a certain dimension, and be properly decorated. The aesthetics of the roof shape is frequently described in writing and literature. These descriptions usually include comparison with the roof shapes of China and Japan. Koreans believe the roof shape identifies their traditional building.

This paper investigates how the myth of roof shape has influenced discourses about tradition in modern Korean history. Analysis of the writings by architectural historians during the Japanese colonial period will be used to find the origin of the myth, and drawings of Korean exhibition halls, constructed by the Japanese colonial government, will show how they defined the Korean roof shape.

Furthermore, this paper investigates the influences of myth on the actual practices of making buildings. After the colonial era, the myth of roof shape affected criticism of two representative works by the leading architects Kim Swoo-Geun and Kim Jung-Up in the 1970s. Debates on the shape of roofs in these works considerably changed their reputation and ensuing projects. Finally, the paper investigates how the myth is implemented today in the digital manufacturing process using parametric modeling technology.

## OF GODS, ANGELS AND MORTALS: LEAPS OF FAITH AND OTHER ACROBATICS IN ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

*Christos Hadjichristos*

It could be argued that if a question can have only one answer then it is not an architectural question. Architectural design — and theory, for that matter — could be seen as starting from the point beyond which certainty in decision-making is beginning to weaken. No wonder architectural theory, unlike most other scientific endeavors, is required more to persuade rather than to prove — consequently being accused of sounding more like an exchange of polemical manifestoes, and of tending to follow rather than lead practice.

This paper discusses a number of ways through which architecture deals with the challenge of grounding the decision-making process in design. These include conceptual techniques which help in organizing the thinking that goes into the design; means of representation which themselves become part of the justification process; and formal and spatial patterns which claim to physically reveal the logic of the

proposal. Unable to use any absolute cause-and-effect system to account for what it proposes, it resorts to a series of different strategies.

Falling in the first category mentioned above, the *parti*, or main concept, has long been an important tool, which is used not only in managing the plethora of decisions that need to be taken in a design process but also in judging the final product. A clear *parti* tends to be considered an indicator of the project's success. But why should this be so? Why is the legibility of the main concept by a designer associated with the success of the project after it has been delivered to its users?

In the second category one finds the 2-D drawings and 3-D models which are taken to be just a step away from the real thing. Focusing on the visual expression of what is actually a much more complex sensual experience, they encourage a "pornographic" relationship between the project and the designer, and potentially with the final user as well. The angel, or go-between, is here mistaken for the sender; or the medium is indeed equated with the message. One is here reminded of Lefebvre's comments on the potentially devastating effect that representations of space may have, not only for the real space they claim to represent, but for the subject using the space as well.

In the third category we find techniques ranging from the use of symmetry, rhythm, folding, and gradual changes in parametric design, all of which could be seen as self-validating systems, in the sense that the basic element in each case, spatial or formal, becomes justified because of repetition, extension or mutation. Yet the aesthetic pleasure assumed to be derived from such arrangements is still thought to play an extremely important role in the final success of the project.

Having nothing against myth-making, what is attempted here is a more reflective attitude regarding some of the basic beliefs, prejudices or convictions operating in the production of architecture.

## THE MYTH OF THE ARCHITECT AS (DIGITAL) MASTER BUILDER

*Mark Donofrio*

The promise offered by digital design technologies, such as parametric modeling, building information modeling, and computer-numerical-controlled fabrication, within the architecture profession has led many to herald the return of the concept of the architect as master builder. While this is a noble attempt to redefine the relevance of the profession within the framework of current technology, I believe the analogy is an oversimplification and is perhaps also short sighted. The belief that to move the profession forward architects must model it on an idealized past is predicated on the myth that the epitome of the profession can be represented by the

master builder. This belief is founded on a longing to return to a moment when there was a direct connection between the design and production of buildings.

This paper seeks to more clearly define the historical model of the master builder through an understanding of the complexity of issues faced by these individuals and an attempt to separate it from an idealized myth. In addition to separating fact from fiction as related to the master builder approach, this paper traces the events that led historically away from the master builder model to the current divided state of the building industry. This goal of better understanding the specific events and causes that resulted in the demise of the master builder model will provide a metric by which to judge the ability of digital design technologies to bridge these gaps. By more clearly defining the problem, we can then more clearly define a new model for the profession.

## C.7 CONSUMING MYTHS, GLOBALIZING TRADITIONS

### THE MYTH OF URBAN DIVERSITY: THE TALE OF TWO *SOUQS* IN TWO GULF CITIES — MANAMA AND DOHA

*Ali Alraouf*

*Qatar University*

### LAYERS OF MYTH IN ABU DHABI'S INTERPRETATION OF POSTMODERN URBANISM

*Surajit Chakravarty*

*United Arab Emirates University*

### SCALES OF ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTS IN QUEZON CITY, METROPOLITAN MANILA, AS MYTHIC NORMS

*Michael Gonzales*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### THE MYTH OF MODERNITY: REIMAGINING THE *FARANGI* HOUSE IN AMINODDOWLEH'S TRAVEL MEMOIR

*Vahid Vahdat Zad*

*Texas A&M University, U.S.A.*

### EGYPTIAN STATE-LED COMPETITIONS: BETWEEN POLITICAL AGENDAS AND THE MYTH OF THE "SPACE OF POSSIBLE"

*Mennat El-Husseiny*

*Cairo University, Egypt*

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### THE MYTH OF URBAN DIVERSITY: THE TALE OF TWO *SOUQS* IN TWO GULF CITIES — MANAMA AND DOHA

*Ali Alraouf*

The paper will discuss current trends and future developments in the study of people-urban environment relations, with an emphasis on the concept of diversity within the Gulf cities. This is explored in relation to theoretical approaches, urban public spaces, people's lifestyles, social groups, and inclusive urban environments.

Contemporary Gulf cities provide excellent examples for research on urban diversity. Their demographic structure is distinctive because expatriates represent a minimum of 50 percent of their overall populations. Gulf cities are obliged to cope with this compelling cultural condition. The present challenge is to move away from indifference and encourage acceptance of others.

In terms of city spaces, the paper argues that traditional markets must be envisioned as spaces for cultural expres-

sion. Traditional markets offer a rich display of products and talents and a great opportunity for people to share these and meet people from their own and other cultures. Using a comparative-analysis approach juxtaposing the selected cases, the paper confronts a number of questions. What does Gulf urban diversity mean in the present? Is diversity in urban spaces merely a cultural challenge, or does it also hold economic potential? How do we ensure that Gulf cities are indeed spaces of tolerance? How do we give visibility to the spaces of marginalized groups, considering how these are often ignored, or worse, eliminated? How do we preserve or regain spaces in the city for the expression of the traditional cultures of those migrating from other areas, regions or countries? The paper explores the socioeconomic and cultural mechanisms that can encourage inclusive pluralism in the open spaces of Gulf cities.

### LAYERS OF MYTH IN ABU DHABI'S INTERPRETATION OF POSTMODERN URBANISM

*Surajit Chakravarty*

The myth of modernity has been inscribed into sites and communities around the world in various misguided attempts to escape traditional practices and ways of life. This paper considers the case of Abu Dhabi. Its government (which also runs the U.A.E.'s federal government by virtue of Abu Dhabi having the largest territory and oil reserves of the seven member emirates) has been engaged in a constant search for legitimacy, particularly in the face of widespread criticism over its the lack of democracy, free speech, women's development, and labor rights. The growing ecological footprint created by Abu Dhabi's booming economy has not helped matters.

In this context, the quest for "modernity," or at least its image, has become particularly urgent. To be fair, there have been many positive changes, and Abu Dhabi remains one of the most liberal societies in the region. The ruling family's astute economic policies were rewarded by near-complete peace when protests erupted in other countries in the region in the spring of 2011. Yet modernity remains an elusive ideal.

One of the most prominent cases of urban renewal in this part of the world is Abu Dhabi's Central Market (mentioned in the call for papers for this conference). In this case, the Urban Planning Council (UPC), a specialized planning agency created in 2006 to direct the emirate's urban growth, sought a global image for the city center, and it invited Foster+Partners to create a landmark commercial property there. However, the common criticism that this development destroyed a truly public space used by common people is spot on. And that criticism merely scratches the surface. The myths of tradition and modernity in neoliberal placemaking in this context run several layers deep.

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Foster+Partners designed the Central Market, using the state-of-the-art architecture of a high-end entertainment retail center, as a representation of modernity. The reality, however, is that it is a generic shopping mall. Yet in Abu Dhabi it was promoted as a return to the traditional *souq*. In other words, Foster+Partners used the myth of tradition (the idea that this design represents tradition) to sell another myth: that of modernity (i.e., the idea that malls represent modernity).

At the same time, from the government's perspective, the very same project holds an inverted meaning. The government (in this case the Urban Planning Council) has used it to invoke a myth of modernity (i.e., rational planning of urban space) to perpetuate the exact opposite of modernity — land regulations marked by privilege, oligopoly and marginalization — a system for the accumulation of oil wealth through rent-seeking speculation.

Policy-makers in Abu Dhabi are simultaneously fashioning both the future and the past. This paper examines the layers of myth in the urbanization of Abu Dhabi. Three cases are considered: the Central Market, Sadiyat Island (home to Abu Dhabi's Louvre and Guggenheim museums), and suburban "Emirati" neighborhoods. Each case suggests that myths of tradition and modernity can be used as proxies for each other. I argue that this constitutes Abu Dhabi's interpretation of postmodern urbanism.

## SCALES OF ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTS IN QUEZON CITY, METROPOLITAN MANILA, AS MYTHIC NORMS

*Michael Gonzales*

Quezon Avenue is one of the main traffic arteries connecting the older urban core of Manila with the suburban neighborhoods of Quezon City. As part of a 1939 plan by the American architect and planner William Parsons, the end of Quezon Avenue was originally to be flanked by a park the size of New York's Central Park and an elliptical road, as the site for a new national Capitol building. Today, however, Quezon Avenue is lined by an array of commercial establishments — car dealerships, midrise modernist buildings, street vendors, themed restaurants, gentlemen's clubs masked as karaoke bars, comedy bars, etc. — and it is viewed by the public as the (sex) entertainment center of the metropolitan region. Moreover, the section of the avenue that was intended for open space is slated to be (and has been marketed as) the next central business district of metropolitan Manila. It is here that plans call for the construction of IT centers for Western-based corporations and condominium towers for overseas Filipino workers. These urban socio-spatial shifts — from the mythic environmental determinism of Quezon City's postwar modernist plan, to a city that operates through the mythic interpretations of entrepreneurial acts — indicate the ways that myths (and truths) are legitimized through placemaking processes.

Liberalism and its various reconfigurations in contemporary Philippine urban society have been articulated through forms of entrepreneurialism and innovation. These liberal articulations are performed and have permeated national and city governments, private corporations, NGOs, and individual citizen-subjects at various scales. Furthermore, conceptions of society and the self as enterprising and innovative are physically manifest in urban landscapes through real estate developments, restaurant conglomerations, IT centers, and livelihood-microfinance projects in informal settlements. These highlight the ways reconfigurations of urban space and subjectivity are being legitimized through the crafting of [neo]liberal ideas as "ideal" forms of urban production and subjectivity.

Quezon City was recently chosen by Microsoft and the Future Cities Institute as a beneficiary for corporate support, with the objective of creating sites to spur local technological innovation for the global market. Additionally, Quezon City, in partnership with the Ayala Land Corporation, the World Bank, and the national government, has created an ambitious central business district plan for the area where Quezon Avenue ends in the Quezon elliptical road. However, this government land is currently occupied by politically linked and mobilized informal settlers, thus curbing CBD development.

This paper will trace forms of entrepreneurial acts as these have been theorized in urban studies and in the study of the self in relation to how they are practiced by both individuals and city government in the Quezon Avenue area. It will attempt to illustrate articulations of how "the self" and "the social" are conceptualized and performed in variegated and multiple ways. Also, it will seek to highlight how mythic forms of entrepreneurial acts in Quezon City are replete with ethical interventions, indicating how acts founded on myth articulate truth-making practices that are often contradictory, contentious, and based on uneven and inequitable compromise.

## THE MYTH OF MODERNITY: REIMAGINING THE FARANGI HOUSE IN AMINODDOWLEH'S TRAVEL MEMOIR

*Vahid Vahdat Zad*

*[A] great deal of what was considered learned Orientalist scholarship in Europe pressed ideological myths into service.*

— Edward Said, *Orientalism*

In this seminal work, Edward Said defined Orientalism as a Western representation of an imagined other, colored by exotic myths, romantic memories, and haunting fantasies. Through the pretended objectivity of academic scholarship, this mythical conception of the Orient formulated regimes of truth based on power relations. Said understood Orientalism as a "one-way exchange," and initially argued against a sym-

metrical field called Occidentalism. However, Occidentalism, as the othering image of the West by non-Western observers, has grown to become an accepted concept in postcolonial literature.

This study examines the Occidentalist mythology behind the Persian construction of the modern house. To accomplish this, I investigate the perceptions and representation of the *farangi* (non-Persian) house, as described in travel journals by Aminoddowleh, an Iranian official who visited Europe in the 1850s. As a daily collage of information, travelogues present a fragmented view that rarely modifies initial impressions in favor of coherent narration. Discussions of the *farangi* house and garden, although rarely the central point of discussion in Aminoddowleh's narrations, determine the inclusion-exclusion criteria for my study. My intention in focusing on the description of the built-environment in travel journals has been to identify the pattern of a fabric in order to comprehend the texture of a larger whole.

Based on a study of multiple, similar texts, I argue that the Persian consciousness of modernity emerged primarily according to a mythical notion of the modern world. It was based, then, on a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by preconceived expectations. Such expectations, I suggest, were based on a utopian imagination of the West. In other words, Persian ideals and myths played a major role in the process of constructing an image of the modern West. This image was thus a selective reading of Persian utopia, projected on the modern context of the West.

Building upon the postcolonial literature on modernity, this study is significant because it questions theories that equate modernization with Westernization. By arguing that the formation of the modern in Iran was affected by Iranian prejudices, expectations and ideals, it challenges ideas that modernity in non-Western societies were an incomplete and unsystematic imitation of Europe.

## EGYPTIAN STATE-LED COMPETITIONS: BETWEEN POLITICAL AGENDAS AND THE MYTH OF THE "SPACE OF POSSIBLE"

*Mennat El-Husseiny*

Competitions hold an esteemed place within the architectural profession. Yet, as many theorists and practicing architects believe, they are surrounded by myths. One of these is that winning a major state-led competition provides a path for young architects to establish their careers. This has particularly been the case in Egypt.

Competitions have long been regarded as a reflection of the profession's most autonomous practice, according to Lipstadt (2003), who adopted Bourdieu's sociological methods to examine them as fields of cultural production. This view has encouraged architects, especially young ones, to enter, hoping to reveal their talents and establish careers in a mythical space where the impossible becomes possible. In reality, however, many competitions, especially major state-led ones (those which might pave the way for young architects' careers), are propaganda tools used by politicians to fulfill pre-set agendas. This paradox reveals the myth of the autonomy of the process, as argued by Malmberg (2006).

The paper explores state-led architectural competitions in Egypt, precisely those which might nourish young architects' careers. One such architect is Ahmed Mito, who is considered one of the most "politically dwelling" Egyptian architects. According to the notion of the "space of possible" presented by Lipstadt, Mito's career was launched by his success in major competitions, followed by an ability to gain the commissions and get his "winning" proposals built. However, behind this myth stand political interventions which manipulated the process, as will be shown.

The competition selected for analysis is that for the High Supreme Court. Mito did not actually "win" this, yet he was most capable of rephrasing his concepts according to what the ruling political regime demanded. His "success" in this competition then paved the way for him to gain other state-related commissions, among which were the Revolution Leader's Headquarters and the renovation of Dar Al-Kuttub. This study will help unveil the myth of freedom underlying the state-led competitions of the former Egyptian regime and how claims of freedom, embodied in calls for open international competitions, shaped contemporary Egyptian architecture in a way which satisfied political agendas first and foremost.

## A.8 DWELLING IN MYTH

### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE IN THE MEXICAN SOUTHEAST: MAYAN MYTHS AND HABITS

*Gladys Arana*

*Universidad Autonoma de Yucatan, Mexico*

### THE *BERGERIES* OF PROVENCE, OR WHERE HAVE ALL THE SHEEP GONE?

*Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Loftin III*

*University of Denver, and University of Colorado, Denver, U.S.A.*

### MISSING MEMORIES AND FORGOTTEN HOMES: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW SOCIALIST COUNTRYSIDE IN CHINA

*Wei Zhao*

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.*

### THE HOUSE AND THE MEGALITH: ON THE MYTH AND REALITY OF THE SUMBANESE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

*Gunawan Tjahjono*

*University of Indonesia and University of Pembangunan Jaya, Indonesia*

### THE MYTH OF MODERN LIVING: THE TRAJECTORY OF RIO'S PEDREGULHO HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

*Flavia Nascimento*

*Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage, Brazil*

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### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE IN THE MEXICAN SOUTHEAST: MAYAN MYTHS AND HABITS

*Gladys Arana*

In southeastern Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula there is a culture made up of many myths and traditions: that of the Maya. Their myths and traditions — some derived directly from their culture and others that have emerged as a result of crossbreeding with the Spanish — have been rooted for centuries in the individual and collective memory of the inhabitants of this remote region.

The myths and traditions of the Mayan people vary from public to private and from communal to individual. Within the complex are those for calendaric periods, family rituals associated with the cycle of life, healing, and divination. But the most important have been those related to the agricultural cycle. In this sense, myths and Mayan traditions were and are unquestionable actors in the design and use of space in many communities in southeastern Mexico. This is easily observable in the countryside, villages and housing of the Maya.

Although there is already a substantial body of ethnography that reflects the particular traditions and idiosyncrasies of the Maya (much of which concerns issues such as festivities, traditional medicine, and religion), few studies speak about the relationship between these and the process of shaping or transforming urban and architectural space. Therefore, this study aims to document subtle relationships between spaces and myths and traditions. These may be reflected in the concept of private space in terms of community, family and work. The goal is to understand the dialogic relationship that occurs in the use, meaning and transformation of three specific environments: the location or rural settlements, the housing of indigenous Maya, and the *milpa*, the site where the Maya perform daily farm work.

Due to the many myths and traditions that are associated with Mayan dwelling, this work is not exhaustive. Rather, it is intended to illustrate, through specific situations and moments, the synergy between the material and symbolic representation worlds of the Maya.

I report here on the case of the *milpa* and some of the traditions that are made for a good harvest; the Maya house and the transformations that occur when the souls of the dead return each year to the world of the living; and, as a complement, what happened on the "solar" and in the village or rural setting. The observation and data collection was conducted in several villages in the Puuc region because of the strong agricultural tradition that characterizes it.

### THE *BERGERIES* OF PROVENCE, OR WHERE HAVE ALL THE SHEEP GONE?

*Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Loftin III*

A close relationship between man and sheep has prevailed in the Mediterranean world since prehistoric times. All across the region, sheep-based economies led the way to the modern world. Sheep-herding has not only provided a basis for human civilization in many places, but the myth of the shepherd's life has also been richly imagined. The painters Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain, for example, associated the shepherd's life with a remote, classical "Golden Age," and painted images of a lovely, easy life of leisure led among green pastures with classical temples gleaming white in the distance.

The current reality is very different, but no less compelling. In the Alps, the modern-day shepherd watches over the flocks, keeping a sharp eye for the return of wolves. The summer season is passed in a remote alpine environment of rushing streams and misty blue peaks. However, this shepherd is supplied by helicopter, and getting the flock up and back from the last switchback on the trail requires the help of semi-trucks. For thousands of years the annual transhumance from lowlands to high alpine pastures was accomplished on foot over a period of weeks. Now, with the

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assistance of money and gasoline, it takes only days. The transition has been dramatic. The mythic shepherd lounging with his flute has been replaced by a technically knowledgeable and politically astute individual who must evaluate the economic weather at all times. How has this happened?

This paper recounts the history of sheep and sheep economies in Provence. We will discuss land use and issues of water rights. The change in the manner and method of the annual transhumance to high alpine pastures will be presented as a key to understanding political and economic realities.

Particular attention will be paid to the history, types and development of *provençal* sheep barns, referred to as *bergeries*, as they have evolved from houses with undercrofts. It will be shown that the mythic image of the *provençal* house, in pale stone amidst lavender fields, was the result of entirely practical, carefully considered, adjustments to wind, weather, soil, and available materials. We will then discuss the shift to dedicated, attached barns, and explain the advent of the current large, temporary, movable sheep hangars. The rationale for each type of *bergerie* will be related to local land, water, economic and political systems.

In the end, we will discuss how the economy of Provence in general is changing, and how sheep-raising is changing as a result. We will note the difficulties and potentials brought about by the European Union and implications for the future of sheep-herding. It is only by understanding the difference between the myths of tradition in Provence and the realities of new traditions that we can successfully move forward.

## MISSING MEMORIES AND FORGOTTEN HOMES: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW SOCIALIST COUNTRYSIDE IN CHINA

*Wei Zhao*

On February 21, 2006, China's central authorities released the country's eleventh five-year plan, which called for the construction of a "new socialist countryside." The document embraced a set of ideas aimed at boosting modern agriculture, increasing rural affluence, advancing infrastructure construction, and improving public services and democracy. Even though the plan did not emphasize reconstructing the built environment, newly planned settlements with almost identical houses have rapidly emerged in rural China since 2006. At the same time, traditional homes and villages have been abandoned and demolished. The reason behind this phenomenon is the myth embraced by local governments that improving the living condition of the peasants is the most fundamental task in creating the new socialist countryside. The myth further suggests that the only way to achieve this is to replace old and backward houses with newly constructed modern settlements.

This paper probes the relationship between politics, myth and traditions. It questions the government's view that

a new socialist countryside will provide better lives for peasants. The paper first seeks to understand the unspoken value of traditional homes through the eyes of residents of one community, who are facing the destruction of their village and forced relocation to a new settlement in a few months. The residents were asked to take photos of the things within and adjacent to their homesteads that they wished to keep. The narratives behind these photos were then collected and analyzed. Simultaneously, the paper examines evaluations and critiques of the newly constructed socialist countryside more generally throughout rural China.

By critically comparing these two data sets, the paper argues that the mass-produced new socialist countryside, which has been constructed overnight, though equipped with modern infrastructure, fails to provide a sense of home and community for residents. The paper further argues that quality of life cannot simply be measured by the materiality of the built environment; the placemaking process is not only a physical activity, but also a psychological one. More importantly, political motives involved in making a better place for rural people need to be rooted in a profound understanding of the sense of place identity and place attachment carried by traditional homes.

## THE HOUSE AND THE MEGALITH: ON THE MYTH AND REALITY OF THE SUMBANES ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

*Gunawan Tjahjono*

To be respected in the community, a Sumbanese must build a sacred ancestral house that includes a large stone tomb at its front. The ability to move the best chosen tombstone to the site, regardless of how far away its source may be, is thus a matter of great pride. The practice is premised on the belief that the grave, as the eternal resting place and also a transit point of the soul, should be venerated by eternal material. The communal graveyard of the elders traditionally defined the center of a village, which in turn was surrounded by the sacred ancestral houses of elite local families. The obsession of being honored and renowned established the tradition of these megaliths. Because the status of a family was determined by the size, quality, and decorative richness of its tombstone, many rich families began to compete to move the largest stones.

A sacred house embodies the myth of the Marapu. The Sumbanese believe the Marapu mediate the soul of a deceased ancestor from the human realm to the immortal and divine. The Sumbanese believe the Marapu are the descendants of a mythical couple who came down directly from the sky along a seven-stepped stair. This myth is represented by the soaring roof of the ancestral house, topped by two sticks of the same size and height. To build such a house took about five years of careful preparation and required particular

skill and knowledge. This could only be provided by a super “architect.” However, if any small mistake happened during the construction and finishing process, the super “architect” would be at risk of his own life.

In Sumbanese architectural tradition, the settlement is marked by megaliths and soaring trapezoidal roofs. Although the majority of Sumbanese have been converted to Christianity, the Marapu belief is still evident. The image of Christianity is around the house wall underneath the soaring roof which housed the spirit of the ancestor. Yet the construction of a sacred house is now seldom practiced, as it exhausts available social and financial capital in an increasingly practical world. A discontinuity of tradition is now evident, as the younger generations of Sumbanese prefer to move away from rural areas to cities to pursue new lives measured by material rather than spiritual possessions. Consequently, the knowledge of the super “architect” is seldom utilized and handed down. Thus the belief of the Marapu faces a serious challenge.

This paper examines the dynamic of contesting myths affecting the Sumbanese architectural tradition. It scrutinizes the competing values of myth as a system of signs, as indicated by landscape transformation in West Sumba. Here values from new development models and globalized mass telecommunication are challenging and causing people to question local values. From fieldwork conducted on several visits from 1997 to the present, this paper attempts to describe the struggle of local community members to sustain their knowledge in the face of the aggressive invasion of global capitalism.

## THE MYTH OF MODERN LIVING: THE TRAJECTORY OF RIO'S PEDREGULHO HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

*Flavia Nascimento*

In 1962, on his third trip to Brazil, Le Corbusier visited the internationally acclaimed Pedregulho housing development. Surprised by what he saw, he exclaimed that not even he had managed to construct a work so in accord with his principles. The development, designed by Affonso Reidy and completed in 1948, is now considered a fundamental work of modern Latin American architecture; as such, it has been hailed by historians, awarded prizes, and publicized around the world in specialized journals. Praised for its formal and aesthetic characteristics and for tackling the theme of public housing so dear to the Modern Movement, Pedregulho has become the social housing exception for Brazil. The myth that it represented an exemplary solution to the country's housing problems was constructed at the time of Brazil's industrialization and the growth of its cities and *favelas*.

The project was designed and built between 1946 and 1948 by the Department of Popular Housing of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro on a plot of land on the outskirts of

the municipality. And it was integrated into larger social housing plans for the city, developed by municipal architects and engineers and led by the department's director, the feminist, engineer, and urban planner Carmen Portinho. Her goal was to combat Rio's increasing and alarming housing problems. At the time *favelas* and low-quality housing were growing in number and were increasingly being mentioned in the daily press.

Designed to have 522 units and a complete range of collective equipment and services, Pedregulho was intended for low-wage municipal employees. The plan developed by Reidy encompassed all the elements vital to the functioning of a neighborhood: a school, market, laundry, health center, duplex apartments, swimming pool, gym, sports court, playground, social club, and public nursery. Above all, Pedregulho embodied the canonical ideas of modern Brazilian architecture of the 1940s and 50s, such as plasticity, integration between arts, constructive rigor and modern urban planning, and a break with traditional urban structures.

International recognition of Brazilian architecture and the important place of the Pedregulho in it did not ease tensions and difficulties surrounding its completion. The foreign interest it aroused and a strategy of extensively publicizing its construction in specialized periodicals did not alleviate these clashes. Endless criticism and controversy surfaced within the municipality that it was impossible to solve the city's housing problems by constructing developments with Pedregulho's level of sophistication. Furthermore, the extensive publicizing of the development obscured other social housing policies in Brazil at the time, and overlooked the tensions and difficulties related to its completion and occupation.

There are many nuances, difficulties and tensions within the photographs that traveled the world and helped found the modern housing myth and that supported the actual occupation, resident appropriation, and maintenance of these buildings over a period of sixty years. The proposed article intends to discuss the course of these difficulties.

## B.8 CULTURE AND MYTH IN SOCIO-SPATIAL PRACTICE

### THE SOCIALIST BALCONY: PROPERTY RELATIONS BETWEEN MYTH AND REALITY IN POST-SOCIALIST ROMANIA

*Ioana Chinan*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### CLAIMING POWER THROUGH MYTH INSINUATED IN URBAN FORMS: THE CASE OF THE ARJUNA WIJAYA STATUE

*Eka Permanasari*

*University of Indonesia*

### CULTURAL RESILIENCE VS. HISTORIC PRESERVATION: MANAGING CHANGES IN BAGAN, MYANMAR

*Chiao-Yen Yang*

*University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.*

### HOW THE BUGIS COMMUNITY EMPLOYS MYTHS TO STRUCTURE SPACE AND PLACE IN THE CITY OF MAKASSAR

*Bhatari Darjosanjoto and Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto*

*Sepuluh-Nopember Institute of Technology, Indonesia*

### EVE'S APPLE AND THE MOSQUE: TRANSMUTED AND LAYERED ADDITIONS TO THE MOSQUE PERTAINING TO THE SPACE OF WOMEN

*Tammy Gaber*

*University of Waterloo, Canada*

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### THE SOCIALIST BALCONY: PROPERTY RELATIONS BETWEEN MYTH AND REALITY IN POST-SOCIALIST ROMANIA

*Ioana Chinan*

The appropriation of balconies in post-socialist Romania resulted from the transfer of power from a supposedly limited freedom under socialist government into a make-believe sense of private property under neoliberalism. During the socialist period, users transformed the socialist facade by appropriating the semi-public space of balconies. This practice was justified by residents based on the need for thermal comfort, the need for more space, or the right of the apartment “owner” to intervene upon his/her own private space in the name of “personal property” based on socialist morality. During the socialist era, the balcony became not only an abrogated space, but also a space of rightful belonging, thus representing the inhabitant’s transformation into the “socialist

owner” of early 1970s. In more recent neoliberal times, the term “personal property” has been transformed into private property specifically for the capitalist society.

When residents first purchased their apartments after the end of the socialist era they were not aware they were purchasing an entire building. The responsibility for common areas, infrastructure, and overall maintenance was transferred from the state to residents, further adding to their burden during already difficult financial times in the early 1990s. This in turn generated many of the facade modifications seen today in the post-socialist city, as each resident household tried to accommodate its needs based on its own financial abilities. In turn, this “informal facade” signaled a generational professional conflict between the socialist and post-socialist architect, and between users and architects. The present intellectual elite discourse blames the rural background of former socialist workers for the unaesthetic facades of post-socialist blocks of flats.

### CLAIMING POWER THROUGH MYTH INSINUATED IN URBAN FORMS: THE CASE OF THE ARJUNA WIJAYA STATUE

*Eka Permanasari*

As a nation, Indonesia has struggled to symbolize an identity detached both from its former colonial master and its first postcolonial regime. Architecture and urban design are often used to symbolize the identity and power of a specific regime. Yet the Javanese idea of power is unique and often relates to myth. In the Javanese conception, power is mysterious, taken for granted, and can be manifested in many forms. As Benedict Anderson (1972) put it, it involves the “intangible, mysterious, and divine energy which animates the universe.”

This paper investigates the role of monuments and myths in representing power in Jakarta during the era of the second Indonesian president, Suharto. It focuses on the Arjuna Wijaya statue, located at the tip of Merdeka Square, formerly known as Koningsplein, or King’s Square. The statue was the only monument built during the Suharto era which directly obstructed the layer of symbolism established by the previous regime. The story behind the statue was taken from the epic the *Mahabharata*. The myth insinuated in the monument is key to understanding how the Suharto regime established its identity through urban form, and how it transformed previous spatial meanings.

First, I will analyze the role of Jakarta as the new center for the postcolonial nation, the way it was represented by the first postcolonial regime. Second, I will discuss the constellation of monuments built during the Suharto era, by which a new myth of the nation was established. Third, I will analyze the role of the Arjuna Wijaya statue as a potent myth in representing Suharto’s power. The paper demonstrates struggles over meaning and identity insinuated and contested in monuments in Jakarta.

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## CULTURAL RESILIENCE VS. HISTORIC PRESERVATION: MANAGING CHANGES IN BAGAN, MYANMAR

*Chiao-Yen Yang*

The management of physical and cultural change has been one of the most difficult challenges for historical sites around the world. At sites in Asia managed using UNESCO's guidelines for preservation, evidence has shown that these international standards do not respond well to the complex cultural dynamics and contemporary inputs by local people. This paper highlights the case of Bagan, whose experience presents a stark contrast to the mainstream practice of historical preservation concerning authenticity and integrity.

Bagan is a holy Buddhist living heritage site for Burmese. The city was the capital of ancient Myanmar and the power base of the eleventh-century warrior-kings whose military commanders were also civil administrators. Bagan was placed on the UNESCO's tentative list of World Cultural Heritage Sites in 1996, but it was removed from the list in 2005. Due to the use of contemporary materials, a UNESCO report described the local restoration of the site in 2005 as analogous to "a Disney-style fantasy version of one of the world's great religious and historical sites." However, unlike some World Heritage Sites that had become theme parks for tourists, Bagan continues to serve as an important Buddhist pilgrimage site in Myanmar. In this sense, the Bagan case challenges the common practices of heritage conservation and historic preservation as promoted by UNESCO.

This paper reports on research into the application of the concept of cultural resilience in local restoration practices in Bagan. Specifically, it focuses on management methods and recent adaptive strategies for the restoration of the ancient city and the development of tourism at two representative temple sites — the Shwegigon and the Shwesendo. Through in-depth stakeholder interviews and analysis of policy documents and data, the study explores the extent of persistence of local cultural systems. The study also examines questions such as what practices are being preserved, who should be involved in the process, and how to manage change and maintain the social and cultural functions of heritage sites over time. It further discusses conflicts between the mainstream practices of preservation under UNESCO and local traditions and practices in Bagan.

By focusing on the resilience of local cultural practices, this research aims to reflect critically on predominant international guidelines. It thus aims to provide an alternative approach and discourse to the preservation of Asian heritage sites.

## HOW THE BUGIS COMMUNITY EMPLOYS MYTHS OF TRADITION TO STRUCTURE SPACE AND PLACE IN THE CITY OF MAKASSAR

*Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto and Bhatari Darjosanjoto*

This paper discusses the findings of a study on how myths shape traditions, which in turn are used to structure space and place. As a reference, it examines the Bugis community in the city of Makassar on the island of Sulawesi (also known as Celebes) in the Indonesian archipelago.

The Bugis tend to associate the order of the universe and everything inside it with the human body. Accordingly, the universe is seen to be made up of four parts: the real world, the imagined world, the mythical world, and the virtual world, which is associated with the soul. The existing society is based on a kinship system which divides the Bugis community into three classes — the nobles, the middle class, and the lower class.

Within their daily lives, Bugis families take an extended form, with every family member being obligated to maintain each other's dignity. Toward others, a Bugis always respects and maintains a good relationship to avoid the problem of *siri'*. *Siri'* is related to pride or dignity and is thus the main determinant of a shame culture. In the context of achievement, *siri'* is a source of motivation, social control, sense of responsibility, and the creation of social dynamics. This means that *siri'* plays a key role in universal friendship and development of civilization. This is something that later inspired the substantial value of *were'*, which in the context of achievement is one of the values adopted by the Bugis community that is not far from the value of *siri'*. In the context of achievement, a key principal in the way of life of the Bugis is linked to *were'* or *siri'*. This is the expression of self-existence, represented through a high work ethic toward improving the quality of life. Meanwhile, the sense of friendship or solidarity (in local language known as *pesse*), which is the response to the feeling of compassion toward other people, is also found among the Bugis people.

An architectural anthropological approach was used to study the relationship between the values of *siri'* and *were'* (including *pesse*) and the formation of the city of Makassar. This approach was supported by specific studies of the relationship between social-cultural value and space in the context of city formation using the logic of space theory, which is based on solidarity theory. The research showed the values of *siri'*, *were'* and *pesse*, including the concept of *siri' na pesse* as a Bugis way of life that still exists and is reflected in the space and place structure of Makassar. *Siri'* value was linked to maintaining behavior, obeying rules, and guarding outcome appearance; *were'* value was concerned with the improvement of fate; and *pesse* value was related to the quality of solidarity in environmental development.

## EVE'S APPLE AND THE MOSQUE: TRANSMUTED AND LAYERED ADDITIONS TO THE MOSQUE PERTAINING TO THE SPACE OF WOMEN

Tammy Gaber

The “fall of man” from paradise as a result of a woman’s ill advice stands prominently in the foundation stories of two major Abrahamic religions. However, the villain in the Islamic version is not Eve, but the devil in the form of a snake.

The blame assigned to the “weaker” gender was perpetuated throughout the history of Abrahamic religious construction. Early synagogues assigned women separate spaces or balcony rooms so they would not “pollute” the act of worship or men praying. Similarly, in early Christianity, Byzantine churches relegated women to upper balconies, called the *gynaecium* or *matroneum*, to separate genders and reduce distractions for male worshippers.

As mosque architecture developed through history and geography, the formal vocabulary we are familiar with today, including such features as mihrab, minbar and minaret, involved transmuted accumulations from pre-Islamic spaces of worship. However, for the first several hundred years of mosque construction, there were no architecturally separated spaces for women. The arrangement of worshippers was based on a hierarchy: rows of men, followed by rows of youth, followed by rows of women at the back. However, all had clear views of the imam, and there was no form of visual or auditory obstruction. Conceptually and socially, this was understood to reflect respect for women, who were considered full-fledged and equal members of the community, accountable within the religion. In early Islam Eve was not seen as the source of the fall, and women were not considered to be polluting creatures, even when menstruating. Authenticated Hadith traditions document the Prophet encouraging women to attend celebrations in the mosque during Eide.

With the continued architectural development of the mosque, structural and divided allocation did eventually begin to appear, however. But it was only during the Ottoman Empire that balconies became the allocated space for women in the mosque. Considering the Ottoman obsession with the architecture of Hagia Sophia, the greatest of Byzantine churches, it should come as no surprise that along with many of its other elements and formal strategies, the *gynaecium* — its form and function — would be carried over to Ottoman mosque design.

The myth of separated women in the architecture of the mosque persists today. One cause is the repetition and spread of Ottoman and Ottoman-like spaces within the geography of the former empire and beyond. Another is increasingly narrow and extreme interpretations of the role of women in the religion.

The balcony allocation for women in the mosque is now taken as the accepted pious and even religiously sanctioned solution for the separation of genders. Other types of archi-

tectural segregation have developed as a result, leading to subordinate and substandard spaces for women in mosques. Users, clergy, and even architects today follow the myth of the *gynaecium* as an architectural truth in mosque design. This myth perpetuates and reinforces ideas and interpretations of the role of women in the community that the other Abrahamic religions have long since left behind in their architecture.



## C.8 MYTHS IN A TIME OF REVOLUTION

### SELF-IMMOLATION: THE MYTH OF FIRE, CONTENTIOUS POLITICS, AND THE REMAKING OF PUBLIC SPACE

*Aviva Rubin*

*Harvard University, U.S.A.*

### BEYOND THE MODERN URBAN CENTER: DECODING TAHRIR SQUARE

*Khaled Adham*

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### DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF “TAHRIR” AND “THE FACEBOOK REVOLUTION”

*Momen El-Husseiny*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### TAHRIR SQUARE: BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND GLOBAL FLOWS

*Hussam Salama*

*Qatar University*

### VIRTUAL HEAVEN, PHYSICAL HELL: THE SYRIAN UPRISING

*Sofia Shwayri*

*Seoul University, South Korea*

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### SELF-IMMOLATION: THE MYTH OF FIRE, CONTENTIOUS POLITICS, AND THE REMAKING OF PUBLIC SPACE

*Aviva Rubin*

Self-immolation, as a performance of civic engagement and social agency in the political arena, transforms an average citizen into a mythological figure. Locating openings in politics and urban space for public opposition, the self-immolator becomes an agent of power through the intentional burning of his/her body for a collective cause. In the sacrifice of corporeal form within the space of politics and the city, the act of self-ignition links hegemonic oppression with the individual sufferer. Self-immolation can thus extend the range of political contention to transform the power dynamics and built environment of the city.

This paper investigates the particular case of the Tunisian Mohammed Bouazizi who set himself on fire in public to protest government policies in December 2010. Through this act of self-immolation he suggested the creation of a mythological form. Drawing on Georges Bataille’s concept of sacrifice, the paper examines self-immolation as a transformation, rather than an annihilation, of human form. In the five-part process of Bataille’s sacrifice — fragmentation,

representation, destruction, consolidation, transformation — self-immolation gradually builds a mythology and cycle of contention. The sacrificial process activates human form as the site, medium and resultant of the struggle for power between citizens and sovereign authority.

Alongside this theoretical analysis, the paper deciphers the performance of self-immolation as a new repertoire of contention (Tilly 1986). Bouazizi’s immolation ushered in the Arab Spring as well as dissent throughout the world, extending far beyond its geographical and temporal boundaries. His act utilized a tradition which began in 1963 with a Vietnamese monk, Thich Quang Duc, and his appropriation of Buddhist traditions of sacrifice and fire. Since its inception, there have been between 800 and 3,000 cases of self-immolation, often occurring in clusters (Biggs 2005). The repetition of this protest tactic has propagated its acceptability and effectiveness as a means of penetrating the political arena, even if it often fails to trigger a broader public mobilization. The common citizen’s performance of agency attempts to expose the hitherto invisible state and societal tensions through the creation of a new political symbol.

Bringing together critical theory, social theory, and urban theory, the paper asks three key questions: How does the destruction of human form produce the reification and strengthening of myth? How does self-immolation catalyze dissent? What mythologies map onto forms, political powers, and urban spaces? The act of self-immolation challenges conditions of permanence, identity and territoriality. Employing the human body as a signifier of citizenship, self-immolation destroys the body’s corporeality, shifting the citizen from subject to political actor. In the process, the city becomes a political stage, converting spectators into participants and forcing communal acknowledgement and engagement. Examining the myth of self-immolation, its promulgation of contention, and its mediatic, physical and urban transformations, this paper traces the invention of this protest tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Mythology, as the study of “ideas-in-form,” anchors the act of self-immolation as an enactment of agency in the formation of symbolic traditions and their urban spaces (Barthes 1972: 112).

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## BEYOND THE MODERN URBAN CENTER: DECODING TAHRIR SQUARE

*Khaled Adham*

No doubt, Tahrir Square, the epicenter of the popular revolution that toppled former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's regime, has served as a paean to the possibilities of various public urban spaces around the globe and of social revolutions that come from the street. Yet one key element of the growing literature on the January 2011 revolution is its emphasis on Tahrir Square as the urban center of Cairo, par excellence. Clearly, the recent revolution was an urban movement, with massive demonstrations and protests concentrated in certain urban spaces. But I will suggest that urban centrality itself may partially account for why Tahrir Square, rather than other spaces in Cairo, came to be the main site for public contestations. The paper will address other questions as well: When and why has Tahrir Square been considered the main urban center of the city? How have the successive political economies of various regimes been linked to its development and transformations?

The paper builds on the premise that throughout history urban spaces have necessarily developed as a mirror of the conflicting and contested interests of the city's various societal forces. As such, they have reflected the interests of elite groups in power; of people in amenity, empowerment, and freedom; of the state in social order; and of private corporations in stimulating consumption. The study of urban spaces over time, therefore, reveals much about socioeconomic and political transformation in the city.

With this in mind, I will trace the history of urban centrality in Cairo during the past two centuries in an order that follows the historical timeframe of events. My aim is to investigate the beginnings, continuities and discontinuities of the square's centrality and significance over the course of three consecutive politico-economic regimes: colonial domination (1882–1952), postcolonial social nationalism (1952–1974), and postcolonial capitalism (1974–present). At every historical period, I will investigate the concept of urban centrality, comparing and contrasting Tahrir Square with other contending spaces in the city. It might be argued that Tahrir Square's centrality and significance in Cairo's cityscape may have been a spatial product of the 1952 social, nationalist revolution. No doubt, the 1952 revolution made powerful symbolic use of it by reproducing it physically, politically, and even cinematically as a showcase of the revolution's goals and achievements. I will argue, however, that this fetishization of the square under the socialist regime was actually a continuation of an earlier urban economy, which began to develop during the liberal age at the onset of the twentieth century. This new urban economy represented a structural change in the mode of capitalism's spatial reorganization in Cairo, which began to shift the city center from Opera Square in the northeast toward the Nile River. My ultimate goal, therefore,

is to uncover some of the hidden spatial practices behind this prominent urban space in the discourse of modern Cairo.

## DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF "TAHRIR" AND "THE FACEBOOK REVOLUTION"

*Momen El-Husseiny*

"Tahrir Square" has gained a far-reaching reputation as the epitome of the Egyptian revolution and a growing symbol for many other demonstrations across the world generated through Facebook and Twitter. Many terms describing the "Egyptian Revolutionary Intifadah" have been loosely defined and misused. Mass media, intellectual discourse, and people's fascination with terminology has led to the abrupt construction of what I call the "myth" of the "Facebook/Twitter Revolution." Likewise, it has been abstracted spatially as "Tahrir Square" without understanding the complexity and contingencies of the actual geography of protest that occurred in Cairo.

This paper aims to deconstruct the myth of "Tahrir" as a stagnant, fixed configuration of the revolution by mapping out the spatial tactics of protest during the eighteen days of the Egyptian uprising. It accomplishes this through an ethnographic survey, which produces a set of tactical maps of actions taken by activists in reaction to the police and the authoritarian strategies of the government. These created a dynamics of protest in other areas of Cairo that were indispensable in the production of the Egyptian uprising, and were not limited to "Tahrir."

In retrospect, this paper highlights two main features that distinguished the Egyptian revolution. First, "Tahrir" was more of a process than a fixed spatial signifier. The revolution reflected the spatial constituency of metropolitan Cairo, a city of mixed formal, informal, and peri-urban formations. Second, the social mix of people involved reflected a variety of identities. Protesters were associated with the Salafi, the Muslim Brotherhood, Copts, football fan groups (the Ahly and Zamalek Ultras), and ethnic groups from Lower and Upper Egypt, who were exposed to one another probably for the first time in their lives, producing Stuart Hall's "third space," or Nezar AlSayyad's "hybrid urbanism."

It was in this acute moment that Tahrir was transformed into another space, one we had never encountered before. Yet it lost this character and originality once Mubarak was ousted, after everyone had left. Such "myths" of abstraction expose the limitations of Appadurai's "global flows" of image and instant reports traveling from the Global South and hailed in the Global North. To understand "Tahrir" requires deep understanding of the geography of the city, its complex formation, and the temporal-contingencies that produced the uprising.

## Tahrir Square: Between Local Traditions and Global Flows

Hussam Salama

This paper investigates the forms of interaction between local traditions and global flows of ideas that shaped the socio-political practices in Tahrir Square during the eighteen days of the recent Egyptian revolution. At the time, Tahrir Square became an arena of negotiation, similar to that which Jürgen Habermas (in Hauser 1998) referred to as “a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment.” The square hosted multiple layers of what Appadurai (1990) has referred to as “scapes” of global exchange of technology, ideas, and media. These scapes were gradually appropriated by socio-cultural traditions, producing unique forms and urban expressions that portrayed the interaction between the local and the global.

The paper builds on the interpretation by Henri Lefebvre (1991) of space and his three-dimensional conceptualization: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived. It places particular emphasis on the notion of “lived space,” or representational space as it is physically experienced, imagined and appropriated. The study focuses on the interplay between cyberspace, represented by social networks, and physical space, occupied by protestors, as a symbol of the rejection of state domination.

For decades the notion of public space has been conceived by average Egyptians as the space that is owned by the government (*melk el hukuma*). During this time Egyptians were actually deprived of any social or political practices within the public realm. Instead, they were pushed to cyberspace, which gradually became a relatively safe haven for activists and oppositional movements to interact and communicate with the outside world. Yet it could be argued that although cyberspace was the arena where the idea of revolution was triggered, Tahrir Square was the place where it was transformed into reality and survived for eighteen days. This involved a process of interaction between continuously changing global flows of information and ideas on the one hand, and rigid socio-cultural traditions on the other.

The study uses photographic and video documentation and interviews with some of the protestors to explicate the patterns of socio-political discourse that took place in Tahrir Square. Emphasis is given to forms of expression such as banners, signs and displays, which reflected the dialogue between local traditions and the network society.

## Virtual Heaven, Physical Hell: The Syrian Uprising

Sofia Shwayri

Much has been said about the role of social media and wireless communication in the uprisings that, since late December 2010, have swept the region from North Africa to the Gulf. Here, protestors have called for regime change and an end to the reigns of presidents-for-life. While some attribute the success of the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt to these new modes of communication, others suggest that without social media, uprisings such as that in Syria would never have occurred. Communication has always played a part in revolutions, and it continues to play a critical role in organizing societies around particular issues, and giving voice to grievances as newer modes are employed. The limited presence of wireless communication, or its forced suspension by the authorities in some of the current uprisings, has seen protestors switch to older and more traditional modes of communication. What remains unexplored, however, is how these new modes of communication — namely, wireless and social media networks — have transformed the space of the Arab revolts and how, in turn, they were shaped by these events. This paper will attempt to understand these transformations as both protestors and government employed the same networks — the former to advance their political goals, and the latter to counter change. The focus will be on the Syrian Intifada, ongoing since March 2011.

Unlike in Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain, where protests were anchored in specific geographic spaces (public squares with long histories and symbolic value), the protests in Syria have been taking place across cities and towns away from the capital, Damascus. Daily rallies and sit-ins, similar to the ones in Tunisia and Egypt, have turned, in Syria, to Friday protests following prayer. With foreign media and journalists banned from entering the country, protestors have faced the dual challenge of establishing horizontal chains of communications across neighborhoods and cities within the country, and connections beyond to reach Syrians in the diaspora and the international community. Wireless communication and social media have been key tools in “grassrooting” the immediate to a national, regional and global audience. The government, on the other hand, which has absolute control over communication, has attempted to break these networks through a variety of approaches, including propaganda, and electronic and physical warfare. With protestors continuously circumventing the government’s electronic assaults, physical onslaughts have come to the fore. The army launched full-fledged urban warfare on restive cities, setting up checkpoints and embedding snipers to target physical infrastructure and communication networks and users, effectively “switching off” the physical environment to disable the virtual one.

## A.9 MYTHIC PLACES, TRADITIONAL SPACES

### TRANSFORMING TEMPLE STREETS IN THE NEW DIGITAL ERA

*Ram Sateesh Pasupuleti, Jyoti Mithal, Siva Sakthivel Ramadoss, and Arthi Kanchanana Manohar*  
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### A RIVERFRONT STRUCTURED TO KEEP TRADITIONS ALIVE? THE GHĀṬS OF BENARES IN INDIA

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### THE VIOLENCE OF "PLACE": BELONGING, TEMPLE VS. MOSQUE, AND SUBALTERN IMAGINATION OF PLACE IN INDIA

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### THE MYTH OF A MONUMENT: AZADI, OR SHAHYAD, SQUARE

*Shahrazad Shirvani*  
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### TRANSFORMING TEMPLE STREETS IN THE NEW DIGITAL ERA

*Ram Sateesh Pasupuleti, Jyoti Mithal, Siva Sakthivel Ramadoss, and Arthi Kanchanana Manohar*

Digital social networks such as mobile phones have become increasingly important in a manner which has a wide range of implications on people's day-to-day lives and livelihoods. Such revolutionary change has had an important impact on the lives of both the inhabitants of and visitors to historical temple streets in India. This paper examines the transformation of these streets in Srirangam in Tamilnadu state.

First, the paper reviews an extensive literature and develops a theoretical framework for understanding the transformation of temple streets in the new digital era. Second, it discusses findings that were developed from the observations during the course of fieldwork. The study concludes that in the digital era, the physical and virtual worlds can complement each other. Physical experience may be enhanced with digital technology and vice versa, rather than each replacing the other.

### A RIVERFRONT STRUCTURED TO KEEP TRADITIONS ALIVE? THE GHĀṬS OF BENARES IN INDIA

*Savitri Jalais*

The image of Benares is closely associated with the architecture of its riverfront, composed of *ghāṭs*. The shape of the *ghāṭ*, its steps and landings, allows for easy and clean access to the holy waters of the Ganges, where devotees and pilgrims immerse themselves on a daily basis. At the interface between the city and the river, the *ghāṭ* connects different realms: the urban, the religious, and the natural. Here, as in many other sacred sites in South Asia, the nature of the topography is explained through myths. The orientation of the city or the direction of the river flow; the river's meanders or the confluence of rivers; floods or low waters; the hills and their summits; the presence of a sacred tree, a water spring, a stone, a protrusion, or a cavity on the bank: all are charged with the divine.

In this context how does the construction of the *ghāṭ* relate to the symbolisms already inherent in the original site? The composition of Benares's riverfront is rooted in the foundational myths of the city and the configuration of the original topography, still visible in spite of *ghāṭ* construction. Consequently, what part does the *ghāṭ* play, as a place for religious rites and symbols in the development of the sacred image of a city?

This essay attempts to present the *ghāṭs* as an architecture that reveals its site and perpetuates the myths associated with the fluvial milieu of Benares. The construction process of the *ghāṭ* demonstrates how architecture adapts to a natural site — and because of its sacred nature, to the myths around it. The *ghāṭ* highlight the myth; they set the scene for the myth that is believed to have occurred there, and they contribute to perpetuating it through festivals, ritual practices, pilgrimages, and dramatized representations of folk myths.

With the increasing number of pilgrims and visitors congregating in the city — and, by extension, along the river Ganges — the paper will examine how the spatial context of the *ghāṭ* space has adjusted to the increasing demand of religious practices, and it will analyze how the tradition inherent in its construction is nurtured. Finally, while questioning the role of the riverfront construction in preserving tradition, the paper inquires into the traditions that are nurtured and developed today, which in their turn help to preserve the architecture of the *ghāṭs*.

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## THE VIOLENCE OF “PLACE”: BELONGING, TEMPLE VS. MOSQUE, AND SUBALTERN IMAGINATION OF PLACE IN INDIA

*Bhaskar Mukhopadhyay*

*Ghar ghar se hum Ayodhya jayenge, mandir hum ohi banayenge! [From our homes, we will go to Ayodhya, and build the temple at that very place.]*

— Rallying cry of the Hindutva storm-troopers (kar-sevaks) congregating at Ayodhya to demolish the Babri Mosque in 1992

My presentation interrogates Indic subaltern place imaginaries, and spatial imagination as such, drawing from printed pilgrimage “maps” and other popular representations of place from contemporary India. It contrasts this with modernist, postcolonial, elite spatial imagination, which, I claim, was implicated in the conflict over the Babri Mosque-Ramjanmabhumi and similar debates. Using the Hindutva vs. secularist controversy over place as a peg, I revisit the founding debates around colonial archaeology, cartography, pilgrimage, railways, etc., and try to recast these in terms of the process of locality-building under the nation-state and the politics of belonging.

To substantiate my claim(s), I construct a historical ontology of the modernist place imaginary and of belonging in colonial and postcolonial India through a reading of premodern pilgrimage narratives, colonial travelogues, tourist guides, reports of the archaeological and cartographic surveys, vernacular texts, and other documents originating in eastern India (Bengal) between 1800 and the present. This work has a comparative and interdisciplinary intent to the extent that I draw widely from the “history” of place in the West, the ontology of belonging in Bergson, Heidegger and Deleuze, and contemporary writers like Stuart Elden, Peter Sloterdijk, and Jeff Malpas.

## THE MYTH OF A MONUMENT: AZADI, OR SHAHYAD, SQUARE

*Shahrazad Shirvani*

At a time when public spaces in cities of the developing world are being reidentified as places of resistance and conflict, they have also become places of iconic spectacle in the era of globalization. This paper will explore myths surrounding the foundation of a monumental urban square in Tehran, the capital city of Iran. Azadi (formerly Shahyad) Square, known as Liberty Square, is a well-known urban space in Tehran that has tangible political and spatial implications as a result of witnessing two revolutionary eras since it was built. Many important historical moments during times of revolution, as well as protest movements and specific ceremonies, have happened in this location.

The idea of constructing a monument in Shahyad Square was proposed by the Pahlavi regime to demonstrate the dignity of Iran as part of its planned celebration of 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy in 1969. Therefore, a design competition was held in 1968, and Hossein Amanat, a 24-year-old Iranian architect, was selected as its winner. The monument was supposed to be symbolize the power and dignity of the regime of Mohammad Reza Shah. However, today it is a symbol of the Islamic Republic which overthrew him. Its iconography was meant to project a certain message under the regime of the Shahs, but that message has changed in the thirty years since the Iranian Islamic revolution in 1979. The message changed not because of its monumental architecture, but because of the people who gathered in this location for political and social purposes.

The monument was related to a specific political moment in the history of Iran, and therefore, to a particular ideology in operation at that time. Currently, under the Islamic Republic, this space has a different meaning in relation to a new political ideology. The iconography of this monument thus provides an argument for the Iranian-ness of its symbolism, independent of time, religion, political events, or different meanings that various groups may ascribe to it. The monument of Azadi could thus be Iranian both for a monarchy that was not necessarily favorable to Islam and for an Islamic regime that uses Iran as a background for its ideology. The major question in this research concerns how Azadi Square became an iconic spectacle and a symbolic place of resistance during the Iranian Islamic revolution in 1979 and the protests of 2009. The answer can contribute to narrating the myth of such places and understanding how they become places of iconic spectacle.

The first phase of the paper will explain the meaning of public spaces, monuments, and the history of places of gathering and participation. The second will describe Azadi Square as a case study, showing the relationship between a location and the process of resistance, either under a secular regime or a religious republic.

## B.9 CITY-BUILDING, MYTH-MAKING

### THE NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN IN POSTCOLONIAL KOREA: PLACEMAKING SHIN-SAIMDANG IN THE IMAGE OF “WISE MOTHER-GOOD WIFE”

*Younjung Do and BongHee Jeon*

*Seoul National University, South Korea*

### THE MISSING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRADITION OF CIVIC LIFE AND THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF CONTEMPORARY IRANIAN CITIES

*Sima Nabizadeh*

*Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus*

### AMBIGUITIES OF MYTH-MAKING: CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONALISM OVER THE MYTH OF “NEWROZ (NEVRUZ) IN TURKEY

*Muna Guvenc*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### SYSTEMS OF ENCLAVES: THE MYTH OF POLITICAL UNITY AND PUBLIC SPACE

*Eliana Abu-Hamdi*

*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

### THE NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN IN POSTCOLONIAL KOREA: PLACEMAKING SHIN-SAIMDANG IN THE IMAGE OF “WISE MOTHER-GOOD WIFE”

*Younjung Do and BongHee Jeon*

This paper explores the invention of gender discourse and placemaking as a means to define a national image of women in postcolonial Korea. In a time of political upheaval, the government invented a new tradition in order to promote national solidarity and political stability. It tried to claim legitimacy for its actions by emphasizing the proper origins of this tradition. Through legislating regulations and rituals, the newly invented tradition could then be embedded in the society.

The paper focuses on how the Park regime used acts of placemaking as a means to mobilize women in the interest of Korean nationalism. It examines two architectural examples, the O-juk-heon project (1976) and the Saimdang Institute (1977) in Gangwon Province. Both were memorials to Shin-Saimdang (1504–1551), who was selected to represent an ideal image of the Korean woman. Through such placemaking, the Park regime reinvented the myth of Saimdang according to a discourse of “wise mother/good wife” that originated in Meiji Japan. As memorial spaces to Saimdang, sanctuaries were manufactured that imitated traditional Korean architectural styles.

In the 1960s and 1970s the Park regime sought to revive a spirit of loyalty and filial duty based on Confucian tradition. Its political aim was to promote national cohesion and security in a peculiar postcolonial and postwar situation. In this process, the Korean government sought to nationalize the image of women, as other nation-states were doing at the time, to mobilize them in the interest of the state. Through the traditional imagery of “wise mother/good wife,” the government burdened women with the roles of wife and mother. But its real intent was to educate women on the political ideas behind “tradition,” such as loyalty and anti-Communist duty and obedience. The Park regime’s propaganda of tradition was designed to bolster the authority of the military regime as well as emphasize concern for national solidarity and security.

Despite the fact that there were several women with greater historical achievements in Korean history, Saimdang was selected as a representative of the traditional Korean woman because her life was historically related to men. This can be verified through the fact that Saimdang memorials emphasize her achievement related to her son, Yulgok.

A distinct characteristic of Saimdang memorials were their imitation of male-dominated facilities of the Confucian tradition. Although traditional Korean architecture did not have shrines for women, Saimdang memorials of traditional shape were invented by the dictatorship. The image of Saimdang was thus ambivalent in its simultaneous pursuit of the traditional feminine and modern masculine. What the Korean government ultimately asserted through Saimdang memorials was loyalty as men, not feminine beauty as women.

### THE MISSING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRADITION OF CIVIC LIFE AND THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF CONTEMPORARY IRANIAN CITIES

*Sima Nabizadeh*

Myths are strict, solid and valuable parts of human culture. They have either religious roots or nonreligious roots that also contain a trace of religion. Myths emerge in traditions and ethnic beliefs, determining the lifestyles, world-views, and moral values of a culture, which gives form to the living environment, and vice versa. Traditional Iranian cities, as Islamic cities, evidently carried many implications of those cultural and traditional aspects — myths, beliefs, values, lifestyles — through their tangible and legible structural characteristics, which provided and maintained “a sense of privacy.”

Iranian culture has also been enriched by many myths and narratives, some of which directly refer to the sense of privacy — not simply to establish it, but to use it in order to organize, control and promote private life in indoor spaces, as well as public life in the outdoors. Privacy, as an inherent component of Iranian culture, is the most vivid and valid social factor in the formation of Iranian traditional architec-

ture and urbanism. Hence, the level of privacy in Iranian cities typically increased in a gradient, diffusing through sequential spaces and levels of spatial definition from public to private.

As in other countries, in Iran, modernity, as a powerful phenomenon of urbanization, caused many changes, modifications and transformations in traditional urban patterns. Modernist ideology advocated serious changes in traditions, the abandoning of previous beliefs, and the establishment of new visions for everyday life in private as well as public contexts. Accordingly, cities were where the advent of modernity created a specific battlefield between modern and traditional life. One of the basic interventions applied by modernist urbanization was the distortion of hierarchical spatial sequences. In Iran, at the beginning of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925), the adaption of modernity brought a wide range of transformations in architecture and urbanism.

Compared with the decades before the Pahlavi period, the quality of urban life dramatically declined following the arrival of modern notions of urban space. However, traditions (and the related myths which used to support lost urban qualities) endured, surviving in the private spaces. Then, after the Islamic revolution (1978), religious-based symbols and myths were introduced ideologically to the society, and were even artificially reinvented. Today, as a result of these displacements, Iranian society is still missing a real dialogue between civic life and urban space structure. In other words, Iranian urban space lacks authentic ties — which are genuinely established by myths and traditions — with Iranian culture. Consequently, the paper aims to trace inconsistencies between privacy and social life in the structure of contemporary urban space in Iran, from incipient modernization through the Islamic revolution.

## AMBIGUITIES OF MYTH-MAKING: CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONALISM OVER THE MYTH OF “NEWROZ” (NEVRUZ) IN TURKEY

*Muna Guvenc*

This paper discusses the ambiguities of myth-making, the ways in which historicizing the past can be paradoxically both self-strengthening and self-depriving of its own content. As such, the very practices of myth-making in the interests of a sense of national unity might be both homogenizing and divisive, producing its own “other.”

The paper analyzes a paradox involved in the deployment of the “Newroz” myth to create a sense of national identity by both Turkish state officials and Kurdish politicians with counter-positions and diverse historiographies. It discusses Newroz as a contested tradition which uses urban space to register the claims of national narratives, and examines the celebrations of Newroz where diverse political agents battle to appropriate urban space.

Since the mid-1980s, Newroz, an ancient new year festival marking the spring equinox, has been (re)adopted as a tradition in narratives of Kurdish nationalism in Turkey. Referring to the myth of Kaveh, who led the uprising against the repressive ruler Zahhak, Newroz celebrations became one of the main sites of meaning-production for Kurdish identity. The Kurdish narrative of Newroz analogized the fire of Kawa, celebrating Kaveh’s victory, to setting up bonfires in urban quarters and engaging in rituals of jumping over the fire and singing songs. However, by the end of the 1980s Newroz went far beyond simply being a “new year festival”; it became a resonant symbol of “resurrection” as well as “resistance” against the state of Turkey. The celebrations included commemorations of past Kurdish rebels, with demonstrators waving PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) banners as well as shouting anti-state slogans. Thus, Newroz became one of the main subjects of contestation between the state of Turkey and Kurdish politicians.

By the 1990s, when the Turkish state decided to counter rising Kurdish nationalism, it started to observe very different versions of Newroz, associated with other political positions. In 1991, as a response to the Kurdish version, and with the aim of promoting a sense of national unity, the state proclaimed “Nevruz” to be a “Turkic cultural festival whose roots extend back to ancient Turkish history.” Furthermore, state officials linguistically changed the term from “Newroz” to “Nevruz.” From that time, Newroz (Nevruz) could either be celebrated “as a state-organized festival” or only with the approval of the state at urban sites that were previously determined and constructed by the state. However, while the view of the state on Newroz proposed unity among Turks and Kurds, it paradoxically ignored the Kurdish claims over the tradition.

This paper argues that the state’s attempt to homogenize the country by remaking the myth of Newroz in fact marked the Kurdish identity as “other.” At the same time, the institutionalization of Newroz at the state level, with a different historical root, neither neutralized Kurdish nationalism nor prevented the discourse of Newroz from moving gradually from a Kurdish cultural festival to a Kurdish national holiday. As such, whether or not it is celebrated at state-determined urban sites, Kurdish Newroz celebrations today resonantly reappropriate the urban space to express Kurdish nationalist discourse.

## SYSTEMS OF ENCLAVES: THE MYTH OF POLITICAL UNITY AND PUBLIC SPACE

*Eliana Abu-Hamdi*

The Jordan First campaign is a government initiative focused on cultivating public support for large redevelopment projects. A downtown redevelopment project called the Abdali Project is at the heart of the campaign, which is intended to generate a nationalist mentality to convince citizens that urban interventions, at any scale, are for the greater good, and therefore should be approved and supported. The goal is to promote a mentality of civic unity, but this unity is a political myth the government uses to promote interest in, and limit objection to, its redevelopment goals.

The paper explores redevelopment projects supported by the Jordan First campaign as tools by which to augment an already divided everyday urban landscape. In the end, the campaign can only exacerbate the class-cultural divide it attempts to bridge because of its single-minded redevelopment goals and limited concern for its intended audience. Political interest is at the core of this project; and it is through political interest that public space is fundamentally shaped for certain interests, creating a system of class enclaves embedded within public space, generating an exclusive identity, and limiting access to the landscape by local people.

The campaign asks the population to be unified in the name of nationalism. The concept is to establish a single vocabulary for all citizens to use as they merge their interests into the common interest of the state. However, the project through which this initiative is translated is more demonstrative of a myth of political unity and a reality of division within the public realm.

## C.9 MYTH AND NATIONALISM

### THE HERITAGE OF DESIRE: BUILDING AN IMAGINED TAIWAN FROM GROUNDED MYTHS

*Mike Robinson*

*University of Birmingham, U.K.*

### THE PERSISTENCE OF THE MYTH OF THE NATIVE HUT AND THE CRADLE OF PORTUGUESENESS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

*Silje Erøy Sollien*

*Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Denmark*

### STATE, GUERRILLAS, AND ARMED RESIDENTS: THE MYTH OF THE TULOUS AS "FORTRESS," 1920S TO 1940S

*Jing Zheng*

*Chinese University of Hong Kong*

### MYTHOLOGIZING THE REGION: A CRITIQUE

*Sebnem Yucel*

*Izmir Institute of Technology, Turkey*

### THE HERITAGE OF DESIRE: BUILDING AN IMAGINED TAIWAN FROM GROUNDED MYTHS

*Mike Robinson*

G.S. Kirk (1970) positioned myth between the poetic and the functional, and in doing so recognized that the power of myth lies in the way its persuasive beauty can be mobilized in a more utilitarian manner. As Kirk argued, somewhat in opposition to Levi-Strauss, a myth has to have content and needs to be born out of a material world, rather than exist as mere structure; there needs to be some semblance of material reality to allow us to extrapolate from. In other words, myth is not pure imagination, but is anchored in "just enough" of the real world to feed collective belief. Heritage, in both its denoted tangible and intangible forms, constitutes an important aspect of the contemporary world used in the production and consumption of myths.

As Anderson and others have argued, it is also implicit in the building of states. The remains of the past are selectively mobilized in the construction of real and imagined national identities, and in so doing, they become absorbed into political capital. Such a process of valorization raises interesting issues, not only about the "becoming" and the maintenance of nationhood, but also about the value of heritage: When folded into the mythic narratives of nation, is it possible to speak of the remains of the past as carrying any intrinsic or universal value? To what extent does the utilization of heritage challenge its aesthetic qualities? Does the



mobilization of heritage for the agenda of nation-building lead to overveneration?

In this paper I seek to address these questions with reference to the case of Taiwan and how its multilayered heritage is being used not only to build the nation internally but also to promote the nation externally within a complex and highly sensitive political situation. Taiwan is a real place — vibrant, creative and successful on so many levels. And yet in terms of political and legal recognition by all but 23 of the world's nations, it does not exist. It occupies a peripheral, almost liminal position, at the margins of global politics. This “outsider” position has provided an important driver for heritage production and consumption in Taiwan, as the real and mythic pasts are desirous of, and directed toward, the quest for world political recognition.

Drawing upon what is actually happening at sites and in the narratives which are being woven around them, I explore the new myths which are emerging about Taiwan's place in the world. It appears as if the heritage of the island has nowhere to go, and this in itself seems to be challenging the very meaning of Taiwanese heritage and the histories it represents.

## THE PERSISTENCE OF THE MYTH OF THE NATIVE HUT AND THE CRADLE OF PORTUGUESENESS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

*Silje Erøy Sollien*

Ilha de Moçambique, with its long history of encounters between people of different cultures, is an entanglement of myths. This paper traces the development of the native quarters, how they have been seen by local authorities since the nineteenth century, and how they became part of the project of turning the area into a heritage site before Mozambican independence from Portugal in 1975. Since 1991 the whole island city, with its fortifications and urban structure, has been listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

One may speculate that there is a myth that Africans live in straw huts, and that these are either dirty and precarious or romantic and authentic. Just such a myth has had both negative and positive expressions in Ilha de Moçambique. On the one hand, a strong connection exists between being labeled “native,” with all its negative implications, and houses with thatched roofs. The native hut has thus been a symbol of rural, “traditional” or “primitive” life, which “civilization” set out to improve, modernize, and in extreme cases, eradicate completely. On the other hand, the tourism industry has also reclaimed the straw hut for a positive, romanticized, timeless, picture-postcard Africa.

These simplified conceptions are complicated in Ilha de Moçambique, however, both by a complex urban reality and by more academic understandings of the *macuti* house. Because it has long roots in an Arab-African urban Swahili

coastal culture, this type of dwelling cannot really be called a “hut,” or be said to be rural. The same form of roof construction was common among the Portuguese and mixed elites in Ilha, as well as in Lamu and Zanzibar further north. Another complication derives from the city having been the capital of the colony until 1900. Thus, Ilha de Moçambique took on symbolic importance in terms of reinvigorating the Portuguese dictatorship's “imperial spirit” in the 1960s when a new pluri-racial colonialism emerged.

Partly this discussion reflects typical concerns between conservation and development found in any project of heritage conservation in urban popular or vernacular areas. However, in the context of recent colonial history, widespread poverty, and a lack of government capacity, the situation has been made even more complex. This paper looks at the weight of colonial history and the way the authorities have attempted to control and conceive of the native quarters and the native dwelling. It is an official view, always from a distance. Thus, a fascination with the labyrinthine, the “hot blood,” the laughs, and the sensuality of the natives, exists alongside plans to tidy up the chaos. In this context, the native hut has acquired new value as a picturesque surrounding for monuments being returned to their “primitive” state at the end of the colonial period. But this pressure to keep the thatched *macuti* roof is not supported by a poor community, which continues to struggle for new industrially produced roofs, or the fickle promise of development and a more stable future.

## STATE, GUERRILLAS, AND ARMED RESIDENTS: THE MYTH OF THE *TULOUS* AS “FORTRESS,” 1920S TO 1940S

*Jing Zheng*

Culture, economic conditions, and politics function differently in the deployment of tradition. The first two usually account for the unique aesthetic characteristics of an architectural tradition, while the latter often leads to its rise and fall. This paper examines the role of politics in deploying the myth of tradition in the context of the *tulou*, a vernacular architectural form evident in southeast China during the period of warfare from the 1920s to the 1940s.

The word *tulou* refers to large-scale, multiple-story collective houses in Fujian Province. These buildings have very thick and tall earthen walls, with only a few openings to the outside. They are often described as “walled castles.” Since the 1980s the *tulou* has been invented as a construction tradition of the unwelcome Hakka-dialect group in the area. As the myth goes, the unique clan culture of Hakka and its embattled situation forced them to build such structures continuously throughout history, which made it the only local architectural tradition.

This research points out, however, that during the early twentieth century, *tulou* were merely one housing option among many. How it generally became the dominant tradi-

tion in the first half of the twentieth century and shaped the foundation of the myth of “fortress” can be understood within the context of the political and military struggles taking place during the 1920s through the 1940s.

During this period the area of tulou distribution was officially governed by the Kuomintang (KMT, Chinese Nationalist Party) as part of the Republic of China (ROC). However, the area was also where the guerrillas of the KMT’s rival, the Communist Party of China (CCP), were most active. The defensive advantage of the *tulou* was well recognized by both adversaries, and these block houses became valuable objects of contention. On the other hand, residents of tulou also armed themselves to protect their homes, and in some circumstances used *tulou* as bargaining chips to negotiate with both militaries. As a result, the *tulou* “fortress” came to be in such great demand that its construction outstripped other local building forms.

Drawing on archival research on the counterinsurgency policies of the ROC, governmental gazetteers, and the collective memory of local communities, this paper reveals how the struggles of three political actors — the state, the guerrillas, and the armed residents — were instrumental in the *tulou* becoming the dominant architectural tradition in the region.

## MYTHOLOGIZING THE REGION: A CRITIQUE

*Sebnem Yucel*

This paper explores the mythification of regionalism in/for non-Western contexts in the twentieth century from both the inside and the outside. Concentrating on twentieth-century architectural discourse in Turkey, it analyzes the justifications for a regionalist discourse on identitarian grounds that ties the discourse to a colonial realm and to the progressive grand narrative of history.

In the first half of the mythification process, from the inside, modern architecture is taken to be the appropriate manifestation of the modernity of the nation-state, and regional features help to anchor it to the land, turning the outsider into the familiar. Further, this brings about the rereading of modern as national, finding the essentially modern features in the traditional architecture of the country. This process also includes the interpretation of non-regionalist/modern examples in the country as degenerate, deviant, cancerous growths.

The second mythification comes from the outside. While modern architecture was formulated as an architecture with rational principles suitable to every place, non-Western examples of modern architecture were not recognized. Respect and recognition through awards programs or publications arrived only when the “modern” examples presented something “regional” about them. Similar to the mythification from the inside, they were interpreted as degenerate and deficient, lacking essential qualities of the Western modern examples. In both cases, regionalism emerged as a magical tool with different functions. While it internalized modernity in the former, it further stressed the morphological differences between the West and the non-West in the latter.

In this paper I analyze the mythification of regionalism within a postcolonial framework. Starting with the questioning of the grand historical narrative based on progress and a linear development, I question the sentencing of modern(-ist) architectural examples as copies and imitations by drawing parallels with Homi Bhabha’s discussion of the colonial mimic man.