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PLANNING AND PLACEMAKING

Manas Murthy

Hatice Sadikogu Asan

Chistakis Chatzichristou and Kyriakos Miltiadous

Bedour Braker and Jan Braker

Rui Aristides Lebre

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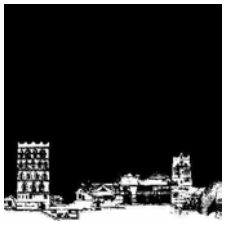
IASTE
207 East 5th Avenue Eugene, OR 97401
tel: 541 712 7832 e: coordinator@iaste.org

www.iaste.org



TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS WORKING PAPER SERIES

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements
Working Paper Series

BREAKING AND MAKING TRADITIONS – DISJUNCTURE IN SPATIAL PLANNING FUTURITIES FOR DELHI

Manas Murthy

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BREAKING AND MAKING TRADITIONS – DISJUNCTURE IN SPATIAL PLANNING FUTURITIES FOR DELHI

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This paper seeks to critically analyze the discourse around three historic spatial planning paradigms for Delhi, from the colonial to the present moment, and highlight the failure of the state to comprehend the complexity of traditional typo-morphological patterns, to work in concert with indigenous and informal modes of spatial production and to enfold the entirety of Delhi's urban fabric within its purview. The failure of these projects arguably indicates a fundamental disjuncture between imposed development paradigms and organic growth patterns across class and geographies in Delhi. This results in a vicious cycle of breaking and making traditions that remain incommensurate with the informal culture of building.

> *…landscapes once designed to display the domination of colonized populations may be 'tamed' through practices of symbolic appropriation and nationalist rhetoric; and certain tectonic markers of tradition and modernity, foreign and indigenous, elite and vernacular, persist as powerful cultural signifiers in postcolonial locales all around the world."*[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

As admitted by the apex planning authority of the city, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), much of the building activity in Delhi is informal, illegal, or unplanned. The DDA estimates that "only 53% (excluding squatter housing)" of all residential development in the city is 'institutional' or planned[2]. According to the Center for Policy Research (CPR), citing a study by the Delhi Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement Project (DUEIIP), "the government of Delhi's own estimates place only 23.7 per cent of the city's population in what are designated as 'Planned Colonies'"[3]. Unauthorized neighborhoods, squatter settlements, *jhuggi jhopri* clusters and other illegal housing, thus account for a considerable percentage of housing in the city. Even though municipal records, the planning authority's own estimates, and Delhi government's figures are variable, there is broad consensus that the population of the city that reside in Planned Plotted Neighborhoods[4] (PPNs) is statistically diminutive compared to the city's informal / unplanned housing share. Such a vast gap between plan and reality is symptomatic of a pervasive disjuncture between successive planning projects by the state and informal / indigenous production of the built environment. It is a historical phenomenon that extends far back into the nation's colonial and post-colonial urban development.

The urban planning history of Delhi is riddled with interventions by colonial municipal officials, foreign experts, and émigré architect-planners, each attempting to establish a new paradigm of urban development, while themselves following planning traditions established elsewhere. This paper follows certain colonial and post-colonial planning paradigms that were / are models of modernist and rationalist rhetoric writ large. It begins with colonial experiments in consolidation of, and speculative development over the hinterland of

Shahjahanabad[5] or 'Old City', culminating in the new imperial capital of New Delhi. The next section deals with the adoption of the 'neighborhood unit' model by planners to bring modern transportation and efficient land use distribution to the majority of Delhi's residential expansion after independence. Finally, in the context of the burgeoning informal growth and densification of residential fabric and a parking 'crisis' in the city, the forward-looking Transit-oriented Development (TOD) model is discussed.

Overall, there has been a 'tradition' of modelling Delhi's spatial planning on western and rationalist models, each time abandoning the old and starting anew. These planning firsts are also in many senses the most landmark junctures in Delhi's planning history, transformative and generative of its most iconic built fabric. However, this paper argues that each of these paradigmatic schemes look to disregard its historic land ownership and tenure patterns, traditional lifestyle, grain and street networks, and its fraught condition in favor of an imagined future. At each stage, the intent has been to malign and deny the past and attempt to contain its organic proliferation through state control. Each attempt has also met with an overwhelming challenge in contending with the pre-existing, the popular culture and realpolitik, and persistent morphologies, arguably ending in failure. Their failure to control, direct and predict urban futures for Delhi's built environment have led to its characterization as runaway 'informal' development, with connotations of othering, illegitimacy, and incommensurability.

2. THE PRESENT MOMENT

On 2nd September 2019, the Central Public Works Department (CPWD) on behalf of the Government of India invited proposals for the redevelopment of the "Parliament Building, Common Central Secretariat and Central Vista at New Delhi"[6] which form a part of the core ensemble of the popularly known Lutyens Delhi. Currently the seat of the Indian government and once colonial capital built by the British, New Delhi was designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker[7], based on the Garden City concept coined by Ebenezer Howard[8]. The decision to redevelop parts of this historic fabric have been justified by the government on the basis of an imminent need for modernization and capacity enhancement of its ministerial facilities, as well as for public realm improvement of a 'nationally significant public space'. Almost immediately following the announcement, several built environment professionals expressed a great deal of concern[9] about the tendering and selection process, the lack of a public discourse and participation, the proposed landuse changes and the alleged disregard for environmental protections and heritage status of the precinct.

Aside from the precinct's obvious significance for national party politics now, New Delhi has been contentious ever since its inception in 1911[10], with the shift of the colonial capital from Calcutta (Kolkata),

and the appointment of its architects by a British Town Planning Committee[11]. However, in the context of this paper the present debate highlights a number of key issues with regards to the recognition of tradition and heritage, the instrumentalization of the modernization rhetoric, and the relationship (or lack thereof) between the state and elite with the grassroots. On the one hand, the 'need' for modernization and upgradation of government buildings has often been coupled with the larger debate around densification and development potential of New Delhi, that began as early as the first Masterplan of Delhi (MPD) in 1962. Several iteration of the Lutyens Bungalow Zone (LBZ) guidelines (1988, 1997, 2003 and a Delhi Urban Arts Commission Report in 2015) have sought to revise the boundary of this precinct (Fig.1), offering development exemptions to property owners and real estate lobbyists, from its 'restrictive' conservation guidelines. On the other hand, the conservation lobby has sought to enshrine the precinct's heritage value, most notably through its inscription as a World Heritage Site in 2014. The dossier highlighted New Delhi as the:

> *"…apogee of British colonial rule in India",* and specifically mentioned *"the Central Vista… India Gate, and the Princely residences; the Urban Morphology of tree-lined avenues and bungalows on large plots of land depicting the Garden City ethos; the Built Fabric …identified as displaying Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)"*[12]

The nomination was however withdrawn by the central government against the wishes of the state government, emphasizing the contestation between development and conservation lobbies in action.

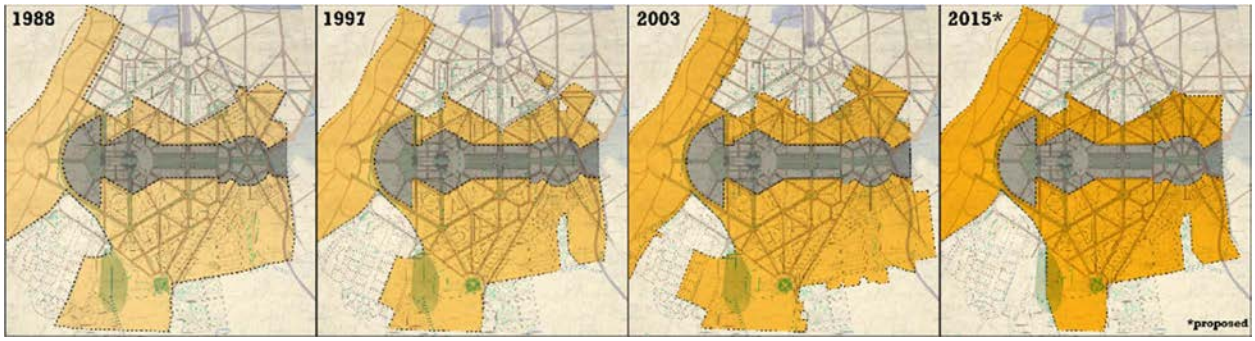

Fig. 1: Successive changes to the Lutyens Bungalow Zone reflect developmental pressures from various lobbies and property owners. (Source: Author)

Though the identity of New Delhi is currently being fiercely fought over, the very ground on which these grand politics are played out remains hopelessly out of reach for the average citizen of the city. New Delhi since its inception has been an elite enclave of colonial officers, royals, and influential private individuals. The securitized halls of its ministries remain inaccessible to most people and its bungalow plots rival in prices with

lower Manhattan, or Hong Kong.[13] In keeping with its elite status, the area's urban local body, New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC), enjoys one of the largest budgets in the country while having one of the smallest jurisdictions (42 sq.km). New Delhi in effect, is not where the majority of the city resides or indeed feels connected to, except perhaps in an abstract sense, a symbol of national identity and an iconic image of the city. However, this disconnect was not solely brought about by the birth of New Delhi. A series of land reforms, planning and infrastructure interventions that preceded the great imperial capital, perpetuated the dichotomous reality of Delhi. They are evidence of the 'universalizing, rational ideology from the West' colliding with 'informal', indigenous ways of being, resulting in what Hosagrahar terms 'indigenous modernities'[14]. Hosagrahar argues that such planned interventions were,

> *"the deliberate and self-conscious efforts of the colonial powers and some local inhabitants to impose particular forms of modernity combined with dislocation brought about by the destruction of an existing order and the creation of new ones."*[15]

3. COLONIAL EXPERIMENTS

Moving beyond securitization measures undertaken after the 1857 revolt[16], the introduction of railways and a major terminus in 1860, allowed Delhi to become a major hub for grain and textiles commerce in the region[17]. The construction of railway tracks and the subsequent restructuring of the walled city and its hinterland entailed significant land acquisition of rural tracts and indigenous properties[18]. In fact, the very acts of land survey and acquisition were transformative, and had a great impact on pre-existing land occupation, revenue, and ownership models. Historians[19] have traced the complexities that arose when agrarian and rural lands were being exchanged between the Mughal and colonial rulers after 1857. Lands that were previously recognized as '*Taiul*' and '*Nazul*' property and under the control of the crown, were later found to be false claims, which had to be settled through courts. Kataria describes the findings of consecutive surveys conducted by colonial officials that concluded,

> *"that the Mughal Emperor, at no point in time had held ownership of these lands... In fact, the survey firmly established that the tenure of properties in these suburbs was much more complex in range and more ancient than presumed by colonial authorities."*[20]

In addition, "agricultural reforms and changes in the structure of land ownership and taxes further motivated people to migrate from the countryside to the city."[21] 'Suburbs' started growing organically, further taking up tracts of the hinterland (Fig.2). The colonial government actively fostered entrepreneurship and Shahjahanabad saw rapid growth and densification as a result. Owing to some depression in land value and overall disorganization in governance, 'squatters' and informal occupation of land proliferated. According to

Gupta, "Both the wealthy and the poor managed to engross or occupy land, without the government being able to derive any benefit from it."[22] Even as the indigenous population densified the walled city, and expanded out into areas such as *Sadar Bazaar*, the British resided in the cantonment or Civil Lines (towards the north) outside it, with its open spaces and large plots. This was typical of colonial urban settlements in India, manifesting in a unique urban morphology. As Grewal points out, "the 'anglicised' or 'western' town was not superimposed on the existing one but sprang up initially as a suburb, and extended in various directions to encircle the old city…".[23] Typically the expansion of a district headquarters or notable urban center would entail the setting up of a railway station, civil lines, cantonment, schools and hospitals, among other modern institutions and infrastructure.

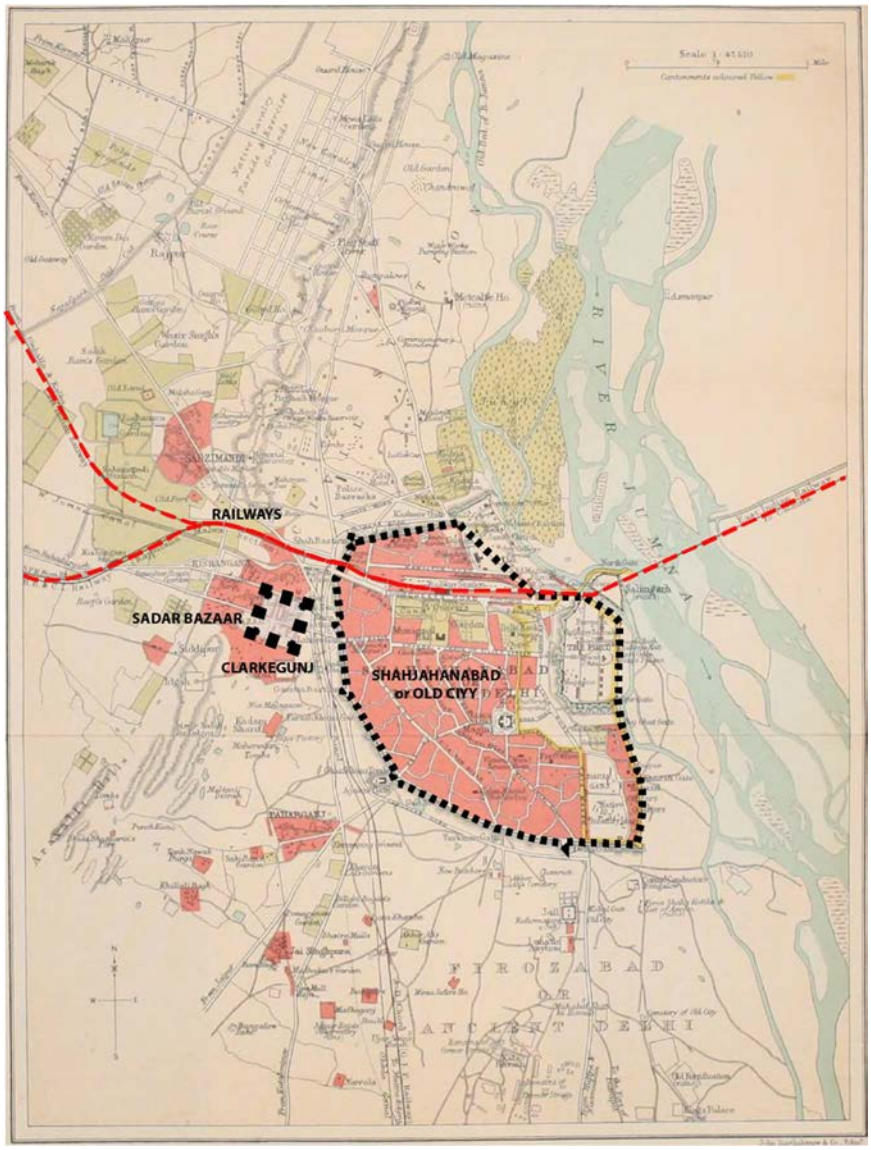

Fig. 2: Shahjahanabad or Modern Delhi 1911 map. (Source: Wikipedia, John Murray, distributed under a CC-BY 2.0 license)

Eventually, municipal officials problematized the rising congestion and unsanitary conditions within the walled city that came along with its economic success as justification to focus development outside it. Planned interventions beyond the walls of Shahjahanabad included the Lahore Gate Improvement Scheme or *Clarkegunj,* dubbed after its founder, that sought to extend westwards, upon the work done in clearing and demolition of the Lahori Gate itself (highlighted in Fig.2). The Deputy Commissioner of the Delhi District at the time, Robert Clarke, proposed to connect the existing city with *Sadar Bazaar*, while adding new residential, commercial and public functions, "that were 'constructed systematically with due regard to ventilation, drainage and communications, instead of haphazard as in the case of the present suburbs.'"[24] *Clarkegunj* was unlike all previous suburban extension to the city. Previous colonial interventions were driven by concerns of securitization, public health, ease of governance and revenue collection. *Clarkegunj* on the other hand, was a speculative development that focused on "organizing undeveloped land into orderly settlements for private Indian residents."[25] This added a new dimension to the modernization of urban development in India. The proposal spanned 800 feet between the site of the Lahore Gate and *Sadar Bazaar*, and "at the heart of the proposal was a market square (*gunj*) with a mosque in the center and shops around the edges"[26]. Plots were also planned to maximize locational characteristics for leveraging profits in the sale of properties.

Since taking charge, Clarke had argued against repeated restructuring of the walled city, instead focusing on new development outside it. Extensive demolitions and the enforcement of no-build zones (a consequence of the securitization measures after 1857) around the outside of the wall were considered expensive and controversial. Besides, communal land and other forms of indigenous ownership in the hinterland were increasingly viewed by the colonial rulers as viable greenfield sites for imposing a fresh vision for urban development. What emerged was a new paradigm of development, where the colonial state played the role of land developer and real estate speculator, the relationship between land and owner was reconstituted, and indigenous land occupation models such as *'Nazul'* and *'Taiul'* land were eradicated. Hosagrahar states,

> *"…as the city expanded and the rate of entrepreneurship grew, municipal official, squatter, speculator, and merchant each fought for the right to re-construct the inherited meanings of land and property."*[27]

Following these accounts and examples, the efforts of colonial rulers may be viewed as a series of experiments in negotiating modernity, all the while contending with and dominating, informal land occupation and indigenous land practices. Eventually these efforts culminated in the abandonment and vilification of the Old City, followed by the decision to construct New Delhi. Interventions by the British in bringing railways, fostering entrepreneurship, institutionalizing land records, and speculating in real estate, all contributed to the othering and designation of Old City as such. Distinctions between rural and urban, the

'old' and 'new' city, are categories that resulted from colonial interventions and their 'modernity' to contend with the pre-existing. Additionally, as Rajagopalan and Desai point out,

> *"…historians have argued that in many colonial contexts walled or medieval cities were not preexisting entities discovered by the colonizers, but rather colonial creations – spatial manifestations of the divide between the realms of the colonizer and colonized"*[28]

During his visit to India, Patrick Geddes[29] criticized the vilification of local populations in India by planners at the time. He insisted that the problem lay not just in the inability of planners to sufficiently address technical concerns of the old city, but also in addressing the gap between the European and indigenous settlements, the increasing duality of Indian urban settlements. He also recognized that the congestion, haphazard land use, and poor quality of infrastructure within old city were, in some ways, born out of colonial interventions in the first place.

> *"Sometimes this has been, caused by our industries, sometimes by our railways and sometimes through vast appropriations for our own spacious dwellings of those areas most suitable for popular expansion in the neighbourhood of the crowded city."*[30]

New Delhi was itself the ultimate statement of othering, differentiating itself in every way from the Old City, through its morphology, street patterns, plot configurations, as well as its intended residents. Generous in his praise of the newly built capital Byron states, "… nearby, the ghost of an ancient imperial capital; and on every side a people who, from prince to coolie woman, possess an innate and living desire for what is proper and best."[31] New Delhi was a new paradigm and aspirational both for its residents and planners, as it set the agenda for a new paradigm, and an unachievable standard for private living. The exceptionalism of New Delhi continues to this day, an island of lush green avenues and overly generous bungalow plots, in the heart of the city. Despite its imperialist connotations, or perhaps because of it, New Delhi became the seat of the Central Government after independence, appropriated by the nationalist elite. New Delhi became a symbol of national identity. As Rajagopalan and Desai argue,

> *"Visual cultures first established through the colonial project were reconfigured to support nationalist agendas, and later became integral to the rhetoric of new nation-states and their formal histories."*[32]

4. THE PLOTTED NEIGHBORHOOD AND AUTOMOBILITY

The exceptionalism of New Delhi is not unique in Delhi's history. Delhi has been the seat of political power, intermittently, for several centuries and has ever since, embodied a sort of social hierarchy between the ruling class and ordinary citizens. Those in power have always enjoyed living in huge palaces and mansions set within beautifully landscaped gardens while, the masses have inhabited the dense organic urban fabric. While

such segregation based mainly on caste and religion was evident in the residential fabric of the city, communal areas such as thoroughfares, *mela* grounds, commercial and religious centers remained essentially public in nature, generating social interaction, economic activity, and public life[33]. However, New Delhi essentially introduced new kinds of political and administrative hierarchies, which manifested in the form of exclusive enclaves of the political and industrial elite and relegated the masses to settlements outside New Delhi. In fact, nearly all the post-independence residential expansion, was absorbed outside of Lutyens Delhi and Old Delhi, which are part of the Central and New Delhi planning zones presently.

In 1947, Delhi became the capital of a young, independent India and the seat of administration. Even as the young capital of free India was dealing with the problems of an entire nation, it was inundated with refugees from Pakistan. This migration was unprecedented and found the government ill-equipped to deal with such rapid population growth in all aspects including, food, water, sanitation, and most importantly, housing. Between the period 1941-51, Delhi recorded a 106% hike in its population and soon after it was estimated that about 30% of the population comprised of refugees[34]. In order to house the scores of new settlers, what began as emergency housing shelters and refugee camps, quickly turned into permanent locations for housing societies, where discrete pockets of public land were allocated to plan plotted 'colonies' and group housing (apartments).

Vidyarthi describes how Clarence Perry's conception of a "comprehensive physical planning instrument for designing self-contained residential neighborhoods in the 1920s"[35], became the ideal for residential planning in newly independent nations (Fig.3). Perry's vision was firmly rooted in a developmentalist ideal, strongly influenced by American urban sociologists. In contrast with *Clarkegunj*, where there were shops on the ground floor and residences above, the ideal neighborhood unit more carefully specified land use distribution / segregation within the neighborhood and houses did not allow for commercial activity. Each plot was meant to house a single nuclear family in a one-story structure, and the neighborhood was designed to fulfil residents' needs with schools, community centers, parks, and shopping centers (Fig.4). A new type, by most standards of architectural typology, urban morphology, or spatial planning convention. Quoting Perry, Vidyarthi emphasizes the following:

> *"With its physical demarcation, its planned recreational facilities, its accessible shopping centers, and its convenient circulatory system—all integrated and harmonized by artistic designing—would furnish the kind of environment where vigorous health, a rich social life, civic efficiency, and a progressive community consciousness would spontaneously develop and permanently flourish."*[36]

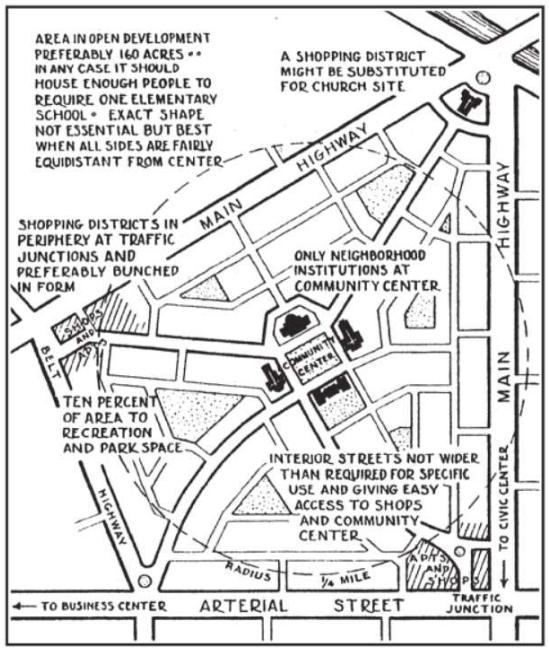

Fig. 3: Clarence Perry: The Neighborhood Unit. (Source: Neighborhood unit, Wikipedia)

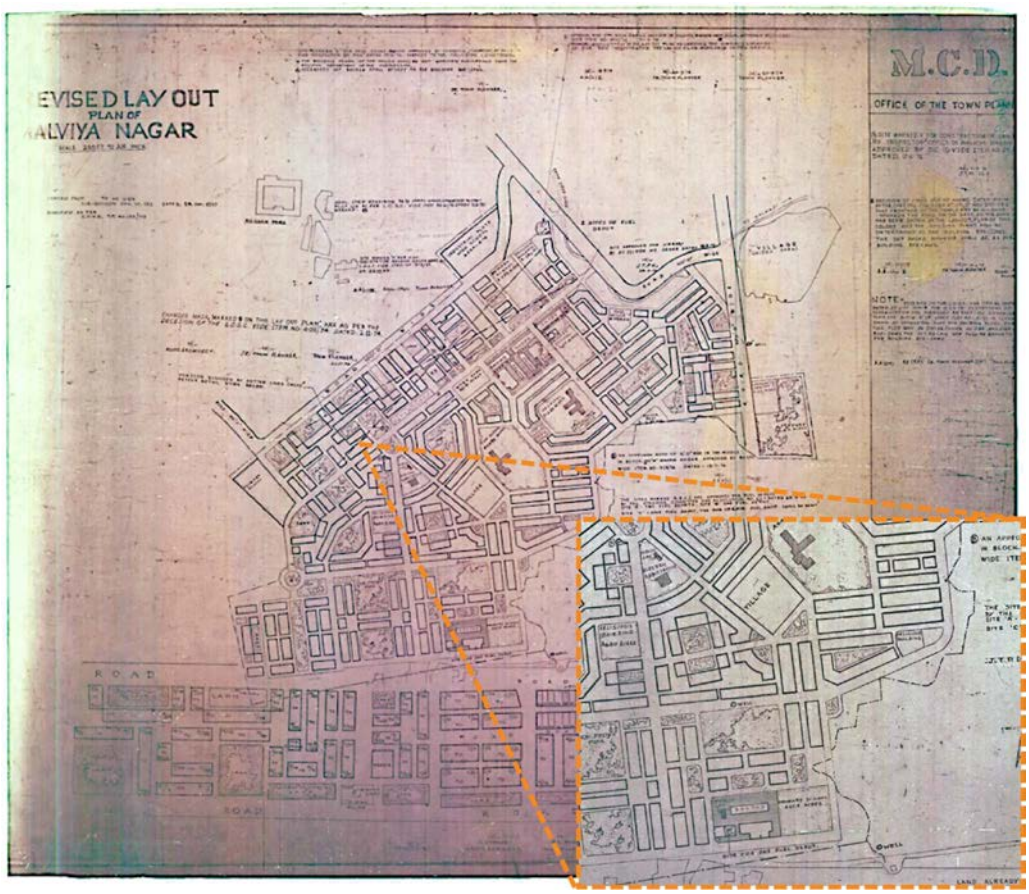

Fig. 4: Layout plan of typical South Delhi residential neighborhood (Malviya Nagar). (Source: Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Town Planning Department)

Eventually making its way to India in the 1930s and 40s, the neighborhood unit was disseminated by Otto Koenigsberger and Albert Mayer. Koenigsberger was a German émigré architect fleeing Nazi persecution[37], who was hosted by princely state of Mysore between 1939 – 1948, and advised several other princely states, before eventually becoming and Indian citizen. Baweja argues that his architectural contributions to the development of tropical architecture and housing were mainly developed during his time in India and challenges simplistic narratives of knowledge transfer. However, his major spatial planning projects clearly incorporated Perry's concept and were driven by a strong modernist ethic. As Vidyarthi states,

> *"Koenigsberger believed that nonsectarian and standardized solutions, such as the neighborhood unit, could swiftly alleviate religious–political strife and the tensions around the scarcity of housing in post-independence India."*[38]

In keeping with Jawaharlal Nehru's (India's first Prime Minister) vision for modern India, several architects set the model approach through the design of new towns; Koenigsberger designed Bhubaneswar, as Mayer would design the neighborhoods of Chandigarh later. These models were swiftly institutionalized within the newly fashioned development authorities of towns and cities, as was the case with the "Interim General Plan for Delhi to use neighborhood units to prevent 'ghetto-formation.'"[39]

By the 1970s Delhi was a city with low rise medium density, residential neighborhoods surrounding institutional and political centers such as Delhi University and New Delhi. These neighborhoods were planned by the DDA, built on public land, and allotted to various Cooperative Group Housing Societies (CGHS) and other collective entities on a lease-hold basis. Residents would apply through various institutional bodies such as the CGHS, to be allotted a plot of land on which to build a home or enter a lottery to for ownership of a DDA built apartment. Having a stable, government job was critical to this process, as it ensured a regular source of income and financial stability, affording construction costs. The typical middle-income family scarcely owned motorized vehicles, and mainly relied on cycling, buses, rickshaws, for commuting across the city. All this meant that the 'dream' home was a single family, single story dwelling unit with a front garden, a small driveway and an accessible roof for potted plants, clothes drying and sleeping in open air during the hot Delhi summers. The streets of these newly planned neighborhoods were devoid of cars, pavements, or designated parking, for the most part and children would play on the streets, unafraid of the odd passing vehicle, while their parents would look on, having impromptu conversations with neighbors who happened to walk by. These neighborhoods epitomized post-independence modern India. Upcoming middle-class, nuclear families, with stable incomes from stable jobs, that value modern education and built homes to essentially live in and one day, pass on to their children. Large, joint family dwelling units existed mainly in the Old City, in the form of traditional haveli-style

properties, whose main occupations were generations-old family-run businesses. Streets were bustling with commercial activity, and land use practices had little oversight by the government, as the area was designated as Special Zone[40] and continued to densify organically. For a while, these two parallel Delhi's remained apart.

After liberalization in the 1990s, however, Delhi underwent a massive societal transformation. Over time Delhi's neighborhoods, once peripheral to the city, became inner-city neighborhoods, and enjoyed tremendous growth in property value as the city grew around them. Simultaneously the residents of these neighborhoods, people who once identified themselves as middle-class, reaped the benefits of the booming real estate economy and prosperity linked with the success of the city and have transitioned into a statistical category that is technically no longer 'middle class'. According to a market study in 2004, "Delhi is the largest market for high-end consumer durables and cars in India, despite Greater Mumbai having the highest prosperity among all markets." The same market study also revealed that, all other urban centers in India "lagged behind Delhi in terms of purchasing ability for high-end consumer durables like color televisions, scooters, refrigerators and mopeds and other durables costing over Rs 6,000"[41]. This resonates with the perceptions about the growing affluence of the so called 'middle-class' in Delhi.

Business families from Old Delhi started moving into the plotted neighborhoods in search of a more comfortable life, away from the congested commercial hubs. Real estate interests in plotted neighborhoods grew rapidly as, for the first time, property owners could pay a premium to own the land under their property, converting it to 'free-hold', as opposed to 'lease-hold'. Aspirations changed, as residents started seeing their home as an economic asset. Development pressures reinforced personal aspirations and the neoliberal ethic began to have a strong influence on the so-called middle-class. As a result, plotted neighborhoods saw rapid growth and densification, both vertically in terms of FAR, as well as building footprints. Neighborhoods that were initially planned for automobility, yet scarcely had to deal with it, eventually failed to accommodate the unprecedented growth of personal vehicles, even as informal commercial activity on the streets continued to thrive. The government responded by incrementally enhancing building Floor Area Ratios (FARs) and started notifying residential streets for commercial activity[42]. Parking pressures mounted, as on-street space began to vanish, leading to what is known as the 'parking crisis' in Delhi. Fig.5 demonstrates some of the conflicts that arise on neighborhood streets; 1) Pavements are absent in most cases, 2) Haphazard and highly contested on-street parking, 3) Access to parks and public spaces are deeply contested, 4) Encroachments onto the street and pavements by property owners leave little room for trunk infrastructure, street-scaping and pavement interventions, 5) Right of way congestion and road safety are a source of contestation between resident welfare groups and vehicle owners. 6) Street vendors are often considered unwanted. The neighborhood unit

as it is now in Delhi, is demonstrative of the inability of the state to contend with an organic and dynamic city that will not simply live by the rationalist and modernist principles espoused by its planners.

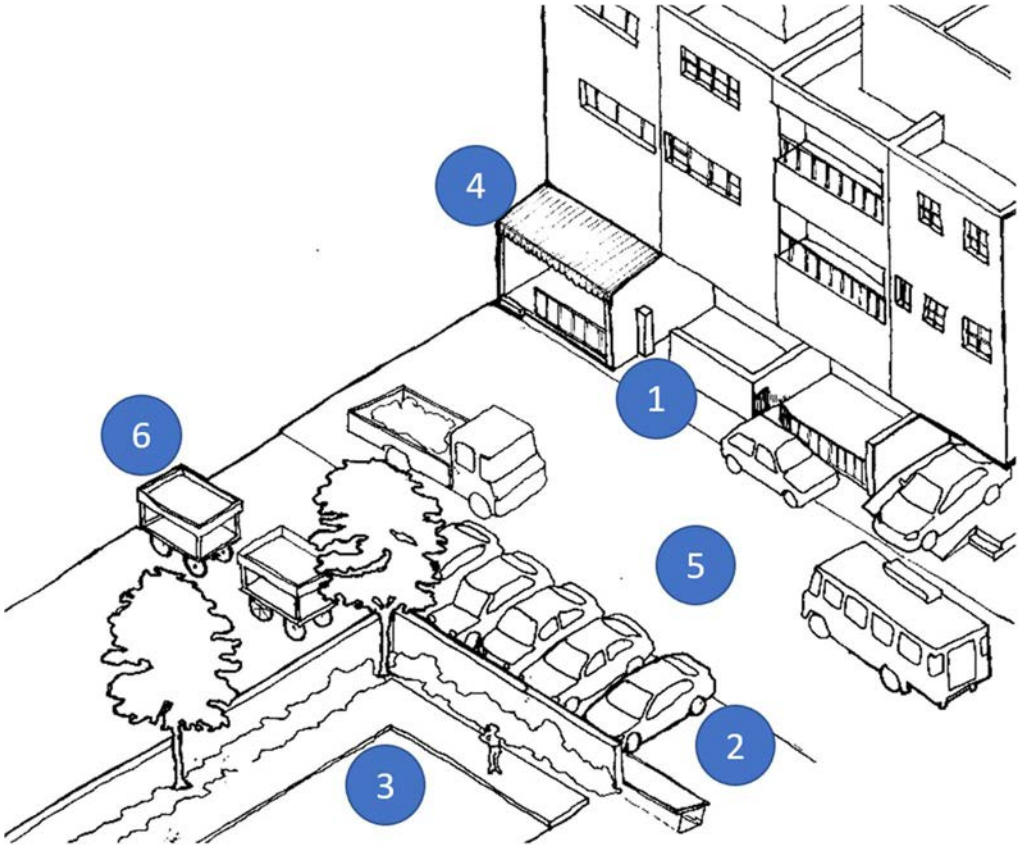

Fig. 5: Present condition and conflicts within Delhi's planned neighborhoods. (Source: Author)

5. SUSTAINABLE MOBILITY AND TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT

The subject of urban development policy in India was scarcely addressed at the national level till the 1970s, when the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974) of the Planning Commission included a chapter titled as such. The Report of the National Commission on Urbanisation[43] in 1988, was arguably the first comprehensive attempt at addressing the multi-faceted urban problem in India from a policy perspective, covering issues of land, housing, urban poverty, and employment, within its purview. Though several issues highlighted by the report were increasingly recognized within policy circles, the report was particularly groundbreaking in its focus on transportation and urban form, stating that "an urban transportation system can be developed optimally only when transport and land use planning are examined together"[44]. The report also emphasized the importance of moving away from the "present bias - especially evident among our urban elite - towards personalized transport"[45]. This emphasis on urban transport, specifically on public or mass transit, was seen as a critical step towards sustainable urban development. Future government schemes and programs within major cities

carried forward this mandate, mostly in terms of road infrastructure and mass transit projects. Possibly the most ambitious mass transit project in India was the Metro Rail Transit System, or the Delhi Metro.

Following the initiation of the DMRC project and for some time before that, a number of reports, government documents and papers highlighted the issue of sustainable mobility and urban transport in India. According to Vaidya, the problems with urban transport range from

> *"…imbalance in modal split; inadequate transport infrastructure and its sub-optimal use; no integration between land use and transport planning; and no improvement or little improvement in city bus service, which encourage a shift to personalized modes."*[46]

According to Sahai, Bishop and

> *"between 2001 and 2008, public transport fell from nearly 60% of mode share to little more than 45%, including journeys by metro. More alarmingly bus use fell from 60% to 41.5% of trips. (However) The proportion of walking trips alone account for 35%."*[47]

The present emphasis on sustainable mobility as a critical agenda within urban development in India, and specifically Delhi, may be traced back to certain intellectual institutions such the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) [48], Delhi, and the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE)[49], among others. While, research done at IIT Delhi focuses on road safety and low carbon transitions in mobility[50], CSE has been instrumental in implementing the adoption of CNG fuel based public transport in the city[51], in addition to other interventions targeting pollution control in the city.

Broadly speaking, literature on low carbon transitions in urban mobility emphasizes a shift to public transport and better facilities for pedestrians and cyclists. The National Urban Transport Policy acknowledges these challenges and proposes that efforts should be directed towards, "bringing about a more equitable allocation of road space with people, rather than vehicles, as its main focus; Walk and cycle should become safe modes"[52], among other concerns for smarter management systems, greater integration with urban development (specifically land use integration) and financing strategies. Another landmark document was the Planning and Design for Sustainable Urban Mobility Report by UN-HABITAT that was cognizant of the "forces at play" in pushing a motor vehicle driven agenda in transport policy and infrastructure development, and urges that the ultimate focus should still remain on providing access to the poor. While a few studies show how the nature of the physical settings of Delhi make it difficult to prioritize and implement non-motorized transport and pedestrian focused interventions, there is a clear emphasis on increasing public transport access.

At the same a broad inference from the literature surveyed may be that with all the focus on non-motorized transport and pedestrian prioritization, there is very little by way of actual explorations into the "narrow" (less than 30 m) streets of Delhi. Furthermore, these studies seem to only focus on the right of way, without describing the context (primarily mixed-use neighborhoods) within which they are found, as well as what impact that might have on planning and designing efforts. These trends in the politicization of urban mobility and environmental concerns by experts, activists and the civil society in India have proven to be effective in prioritizing the development agenda around public transport. As a result, the combined impact of the sustainable mobility agenda and its adoption at various governmental and policy levels, led to the emergence of the Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) model.

Fig. 6: 'East Delhi Hub', TOD at Karkardooma. (Source: The Times of India, December 15th, 2019)

Based on principles of land use and transport integration[53], TOD is intended to make public transport more immediately accessible to commuters and manage the parking crisis in the city by incentivizing public transport use. The first major pilot project for TOD in Delhi has been the proposed *Karkardooma* TOD, in east Delhi (Fig.6). Situated at one of the end terminals of the Delhi Metro, this project is forcefully marketed by the planning authority as the next major paradigm for integrated urban development. And though it is yet to be built, the project promises to deliver on an unprecedented scale. However, recent reports from a similar comprehensive development project in the city don't bode well for the future of the model. According to the Hindustan Times[54], the East Kidwai Nagar project (built by the National Buildings Construction

Corporation), is not on TOD norms, underestimated traffic forecast, and is suffering from water woes. In addition, this type of housing fails to account for the prolific informal housing market in the city and focuses infrastructure development along major arterial roads, far from sizable settlements. Despite its promise of accessibility and retrofit, TOD projects remain hopelessly unaffordable for the average citizen and continue to ignore the real problems within the neighborhoods of Delhi.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper followed three major spatial planning paradigms in Delhi's history. Colonial rulers sought to impose modernity through the systematic capture and reconstitution of land. In the process they eradicated indigenous models of land occupation. Their economic goals fostered commerce and entrepreneurship, while dooming the Old City to congestion and uncontrolled densification, which was eventually abandoned in favor of New Delhi. Post-independence planners institutionalized and enshrined Clarence Perry's concept of the neighborhood unit within policy, rolling out vast residential extensions of city in its image. However, they failed to foresee the neoliberal development potential of such neighborhoods, and in the decades that proceeded, neighborhoods burgeoned into congested containers for private vehicles and encroachments. Temporary and incremental solutions to the problem, such as enhancement of FARs and commercial notification of streets only made matters worse. In an attempt to harness the development potential of mass transit and with the ostensible purpose of providing public transport access to the masses, TOD projects have been conceived. All the while, real growth in housing and built environment production continues to happen informally and outside these planned utopias.

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[16] The Indian Rebellion of 1857 was a major, but ultimately unsuccessful, uprising in India in 1857–58 against the rule of the British East India Company. The rebellion began on 10 May 1857 in the form of a mutiny of sepoys of the Company's army in the garrison town of Meerut, northeast of Delhi (now Old Delhi). It is variously described as the Sepoy Mutiny, the Indian Mutiny, the Great Rebellion, the Revolt of 1857, the Indian Insurrection, and the First War of Independence. Wikipedia. 2020. *Indian Rebellion of 1857.* August 28. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Rebellion_of_1857#cite_note-Williams2006-15

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AS A NEW TRADITION 'GENERIC' HOUSING TYPOLOGY IN SILICON VALLEY

Hatice Sadikogu Asan

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AS A NEW TRADITION 'GENERIC' HOUSING TYPOLOGY IN SILICON VALLEY

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Trends in housing architecture are generally driven by many specific factors, such as changing user profile, housing market and regulations. The private sector, which gained power with the neo-liberal economic policies, has mainly focused on rental multi-family apartments in recent years. This new typology by 2010'a, as a new tradition, has affected on both architecture and the lifestyle in Silicon Valley in North California. This study reveals and discusses this new. The research was conducted with a field study in Redwood City, in the Bay Area. Twelve multi-family apartment buildings were examined in terms of land use, unit type, spatial organization and amenities.

1. INTRODUCTION

The global economy system has changed in recent years, the internet has become one of the main key elements of it. Today, digital channels, search engines, social media and mobile applications are our new tools to make us part of the world economy. It was noticed that the importance of new software and hi-tech industry is an important source. During the decade of the 2000s, there is an increasing trend for new hi-tech and software campuses in cities such as San Francisco, London, Berlin, Istanbul and Mumbai. The new business ecosystems, and campuses as their urban extensions, have affected the built environment. The effects are not only at an urban level, but they have affected housing typologies. Living environments for the new hi-tech working class and their needs have changed housing design. Of course, the most affected area is Silicon Valley as the first and largest technology development area. During recent years, employees from different nations and cities have come to work for these companies and they have struggled to find optimum social and economic living conditions although they earn much money. Today there is an increasing trend towards renting small compact multi-family apartments with extra facilities (amenities) in the San Francisco bay area and in the suburban cities of Northern California.

This study focuses on the new 'generic' multi-family apartment buildings -as a new tradition- in the area and aims to understand this new typology and its characteristics. Data of the research were collected between November 2017 and March 2018 on the area. The methodology of the research is based on a literature review, re-mapping and a field study with site visits and appointments. First, the effects of new economic policies and business types after neo-liberal turn were researched and related architecture and urban theories were examined. In the second part of the research, several site visits took place in Silicon Valley in order to understand the current housing market and the changes in the urban area. After these site visits, Redwood City was chosen for a field study and was examined in terms of new housing typology. Twelve multi-family apartment buildings were analysed within urban, building and unit levels. With the findings of the study, characteristics and effects of this new typology was discussed.

The findings and discussion of this article have a potential to help to create new housing market strategies in terms of architecture and planning in new developed (will be developed) hi-tech environments in different countries. So far today, Silicon Valley has been studied in terms of urban changes by big hi-tech campuses but there are not enough studies on housing practices. Focusing on new housing typology in Silicon Valley will provide a new contribution to housing studies in terms of architectural design and market economy relationship.

2. WHAT HAS CHANGED AFTER THE NEO-LIBERAL TURN?

Neo-liberalism has created strong paradigms in types and ways of creating new places in urban areas. In the 1970s, economic policies were re-organised with and on urban space and its production. The main focus of the free market economy has become private properties, real estate developments and land investments. With the collapse of the Keynesian economic system, new neo-liberal ideas became popular and the Keynesian economy system could not compete with the new economy system by 1980.[1] As an economic project, neo-liberalism has supported to restore the economic power of wealthy classes with the help of deregulation of transactions, privatization of state-owned services and land.[2]

With the promise of prosperity and new business types and lines, the main aim of the neo-liberal turn was to support the cash flow (capital movement) between production and consumption mechanisms. Therefore, economic policies were directed towards urban policies by governments and urban space became one of the most important economic resources. The role of the state has become to create and preserve an institutional framework with the accordance of market. Urban planning has become both subject and object of neoliberalism.[3] The language of the new economy and politics started to use spatial-based tools. Architecture as a practice is a tool for control and compliances mechanisms, at the same time it re-organized housing and land market with promoting itself.[4]

Housing market as an economic field structured by the power relations not like any other market. Housing as market is confined to mainstream economics and as a commodity, architecture of the housing mostly determined by economic factors. Therefore, housing idea had a greater extent than ever before in today's hyper-commodified world.[5] With neo-liberal turn, on the one hand, new investments and real estate developments contributed to the economic welfare and labour force. On the other hand, urban space became an incomplete shanty town in many big cities. In particular, the housing market and design started to be directed by economic policies. In the 1980s, the whole world was influenced by neo-liberalism. Governments increased the control and pressure on the private sector and supported the sector in terms of the international competitive market economy with the use of urban space. Urban transformation and regeneration projects

were developed with the help of governmental urban regulations such as privatization and Financialization. A new collaboration between government and the private sector has been created. While the collaboration generally loads risks to the government, the private sector enjoys the profit, therefore it is, of course, possible to see manipulations and crises in urbanisation. A new speculative era has started with messy financial movements.[6]

In the 2000s, government power started to dominate the urban process with the liberal economy pressure and, as a process of spatial restructuring, the free economy manifested informal urban developments. Advocating using urban land by the private sector generates intense use of the land and the housing market.[7]

Dwelling idea has changed, with the commodity forms of housing. Profit based housing market effected on architecture and housing typology.[8] The ability of the adaptability and flexibility have become the main factors of the new typologies in this competitive market.[9] Not only the way of doing architecture, but also the actors of the development, design and building process has changed according to the market dynamics. Governmental institutions, real estate developers, investors, financial institutions such as credit banks and users have all been involved in the projects beside professionals such as architects and planners. Housing market dominate the housing architecture and inevitably, the architecture of the housing after this neo-liberal turn has changed.

3. HOUSING CRISIS IN SILICON VALLEY IN THE LAST DECADE

In the Keynesian era, urbanisation was generally characterised by suburban growth and public investment in infrastructure but, with the neo-liberal turn, investments in the inner city and suburbs have gained importance and public investments are reduced. The Keynesian focus on public housing turned into residential private properties and mega projects that were generally of mixed use in the neo-liberal turn. The 2008 financial crisis and its subsequent failures have deeply affected to global housing market. It became a feature with the changing private property and market.[10] In the United States, National cutbacks in urban expenditure caused the cities to find different economic sources. Many profit driven financial institutions, such as banks and investors replaced the federal regulatory agencies for urban transformation or regeneration projects as an authority in the United States.[11] By 2010 the rate of housing sales started to decline. In nation-wide, the home sales indexes have peaked with 40% percent. With the crisis, multiple segments of the population and economy were affected. While most of the homeowners lost unrealized capital gains, renters became most vulnerable with the increasing debts by homeowners. Construction companies and developers were hit by the collapse of housing demand and credit issues.[12]

With the rapidly changing rate of the built environment, North California has become one of the most important area in terms of the housing crisis. As the heaven of hi-tech industry, Silicon Valley has triggered a housing problem with its increasing hi-tech employee population for more than ten years.

3.1. GLOBAL TECHNO CAPITALISM AND URBANISATION IN SILICON VALLEY

The era of internet development has changed the capitalist space and time relationship. In fact, still needs physical space such as workplaces and technology campuses for its existence. Silicon Valley has lived a problematic urban change. In the history of this problem, we need to focus on urban sprawl by neo-liberal policies and new business models.

The San Francisco bay area has always been a desirable place to settle for many people with its comfortable climate, scenery, welfare and social tolerance to differences. Many technology campuses were established in the area after the post-socialist turn and this workforce is composed of young, qualified engineers and designers. In this period the area has turned into a hybrid of the military and engineering free world in a pastoral suburb.

The first companies started to become established in the late 1930s and, after WWII, many defence electronics researches, that were supported and promoted by the government, were built in the area. In the 1960s, the Intel Company was founded in Santa Clara, in the 1970s, Xerox Labs were opened in Palo Alto. In 1971, with the journal article by Don Hoefler, the name 'Silicon Valley' stuck to the area. The urban growth rate of the area had increased with other tech companies', such as Apple and Oracle in the 1970s. With the late 80s, the area became a new symbol of consumption and a new form of workforce and liberalism.[13]

In the beginning of the 1990s, the internet developed, and the number of consumer-based technology companies rose. The turn was called as replacement of local territorial rule with global flows and de-territorialisations.[14] The internet caused a focus on a new media as anti-spatial or a no-where place or negative geometry. After the 2000s, Facebook and Twitter were founded, and, in the last decade, sharing economy services such as Uber, Airbnb and self-driving car company Tesla joined this system. The growth of the tech industry in the area continues with new start-up companies.

Today, this dot-com boom has caused changes in the urban area. Urban transformations, gentrifications and housing crises are the most important indicators of the era. In recent years, tech companies have been getting even more aggressive with urban commercial real estate developments. The design of the campuses is very similar to small town design, providing several amenities in the buildings. They include a parking area,

restaurants, dry cleaners, dentists, personal trainers, and even a bike repair place. It is a kind of gated community living area.

Nowadays, all the big tech companies have got new campus investments that are led by famous architecture offices. Google's new campus building is designed by BIG Architecture and Heatherwick Studio and the new project will serve as a workplace for up to 4,500 Googlers (Google employees). A total 1,085 parking spaces will be available. Cycling, shuttles and public transport will also be encouraged.[15] The new Apple Campus, that is called Apple 2.0, is designed by Foster and Partners. The design of this campus is a kind of introverted work environment with an energy efficiency theme. The new campus will serve more than 12,000 employees. The new campus for Facebook, by Frank Gehry Studio, is still under construction.[16]

However, the architecture of these new campuses focuses on encouraging public transport, it is obvious that there will be a lot of tech-employee traffic in terms of transport and housing in the next few years. This sprawl-intensive development pattern in Silicon Valley is still searching for convenience and practicality. Because of this rapid campus-oriented urban development, automobile-oriented built environments have increased.

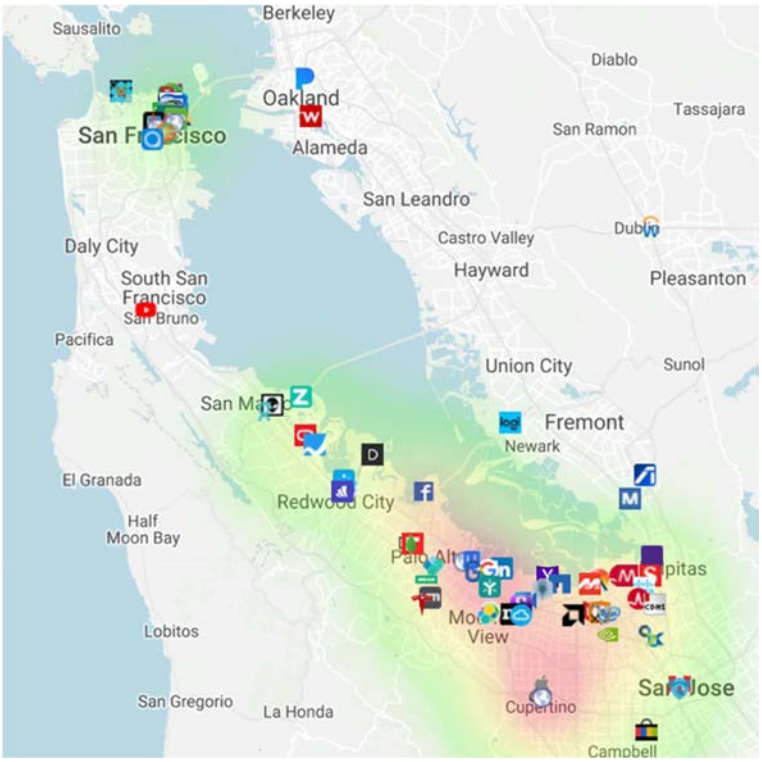

Fig.1: Silicon Valley Company Map, 2018.[17] "Silicon Valley Companies Map", accessed April 20, 2018. http://www.siliconvalleymap.org.

The locations close to public transport, such as the Caltrain (railway system) and BART (the underground metro system), have become efficient places to live for tech-employees. They provide a well-connected network to reach Silicon Valley from different places. [Fig. 2]

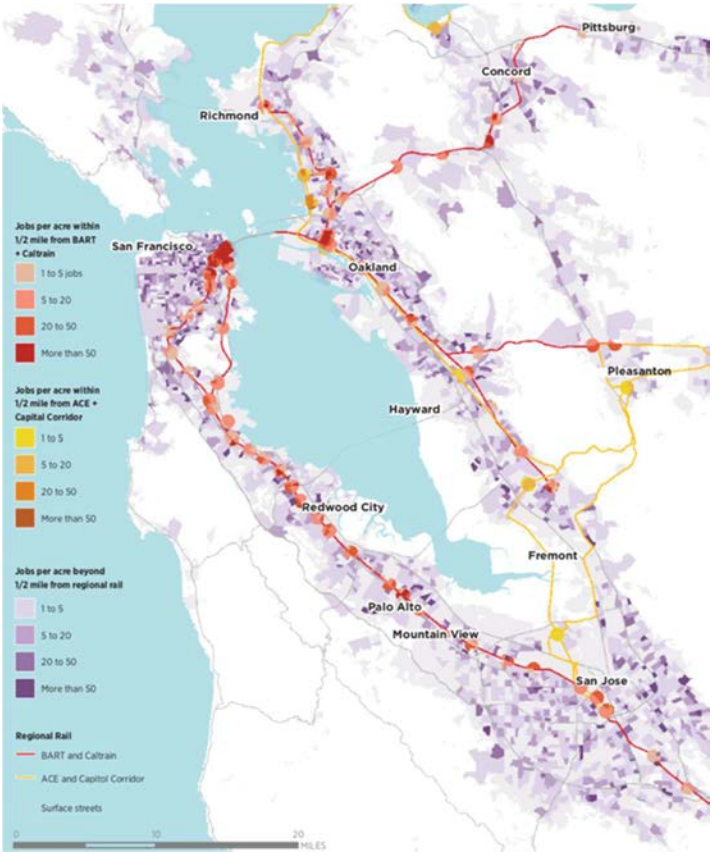

Fig. 2: Public Transportation Network.[18] Allison Arieff, Benjamin Grant, Sarah jo Szambelan, Jennifer Warburg, 'SPUR Report: Rethinking the Corporate Campus, The Next Bay Area Workplace' (San Francisco: SPUR Press, 2017), [19].

Although there is public transport, due to long commuting time, people prefer to use their own cars. As a non-profit making organisation, the San Francisco Urban Research Association (SPUR) published a report in March 2017 entitled 'Rethinking the Corporate Campus'. Despite the regional planning efforts, only 28% of new office buildings are within half a mile of public transport.[19] So, many people still need to drive to their workplaces, it shows that many workplaces are still in auto-dependent places away from the railway connection.

However, hi-tech industry plays a major role in the economic development of a country, building campuses brings new people, new housing problems, new transport problems. While companies are competing with

prestigious new campuses, employees and local residents are struggling with the fight to solve their housing problems.

3.2 HOUSING CRISIS IN SILICON VALLEY

The growth of the technology industry means an increasing tech-employee population with a wide range of diversity in the area. A highly educated work force is the most important source in the area for innovation and productive ideas in the market. In 2018, the Joint Venture Silicon Valley and the Institute for Regional Studies published an index about Silicon Valley demographics. According to this index: adult educational attainment was: 22,5% were graduates with a professional degree, 28,5% had a bachelor's degree, 22% had some college degree and the rest were straight from high school or other than high school. When we look at the age distribution, 47% of the people were aged 20-59. According to the index, average wages in Silicon Valley were around 105.000 USD in 2015. The Silicon Valley annual household income was approximately 110.000 USD compared with the United States as a whole, which was 58.000 USD. According to the research by Silicon Valley Venture, 30% of the households do not earn enough money to meet their basic needs without public or private assistance.[20]

With this new dominant employee profile, housing trends have changed. The lack of an adequate housing supply, rapid employment growth, long commuting hours and traffic has affected the housing market in terms of both prices and architectural design. The houses in the cities in Silicon Valley have become quite expensive to buy; especially for new graduates and young professionals. The most effective way is to rent an apartment close to the campus or close to public transport.

Many tech companies provide shuttle services to commute to the campuses from different neighbourhoods in the bay area. The companies have noticed the commuting problem and house prices, therefore some of the companies, such as Facebook, offer their employees extra bonuses if they move into the area that is close to the company location. In an article in Reuters in 2015, the topic was discussed that Facebook offered employees at its Silicon Valley headquarters at least 10.000 USD to move closer to the campus. According to the rules, employees must buy or rent a home within 10 miles (19 km) of the campus.[21] Because of the competitive hiring system in the area, other companies have started to make similar offers.

While companies have been focusing on tempting tech-talents with extreme offers, landlords and realtors have got wind of the situation and raised house prices. It can be said that the cash from tech-companies have started to flow to the landlords, developers and realtors. According to the Zumper (National Rental Home

Database) National Report, one-bedroom median rent prices in three cities (San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose) from North California were in the top ten in March 2018.[22]

Over the last decade, rents in San Francisco and the bay area have climbed an average of 10% per year, more than four times the national average.[23] Many residents have been displaced by rising costs or landlords who can use California's Ellis Act to remove old tenants. The Ellis Act is a state law that gives landlords the right to evict tenants in order to go out of business. Mostly it is used to convert to condos or group-owned tenancies in common flats and some of them are used for AIRBNB or VRBO as vacation rentals. The tenant groups in San Francisco claim that California landlords commonly misuse this act to bypass rent controls and cash-in during peak housing market periods. The San Francisco Bay Area is undergoing a period of rapid transformation and generally middle and low-income classes have a fear of displacement.[24]

After all these changes, in 2000's, a new housing typology emerged in Silicon Valley, especially in neighbourhoods close to public transport. Multi-family, small apartments within a gated community, provided many amenities. These multi-family apartments can be seen in both downtown San Francisco and the suburban cities in the Silicon Valley area.

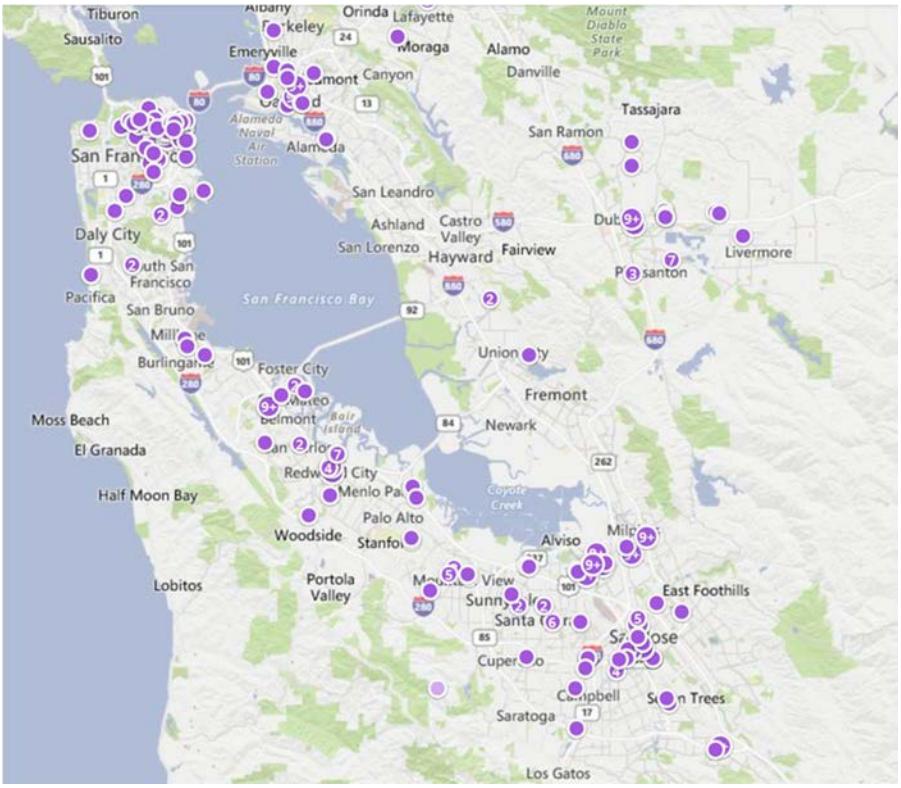

Fig. 3: Current Multi-Family Apartment Buildings with one-bedroom units by Zillow.[25]

The share of multi-family units in Silicon Valley residential building permits increased in 2017 to 79% from 69% in one year.[26] While developers were focusing on multi-family apartment rent profits, architects and design studios were specialising in this new typology.

4. EVALUATING GENERIC SILICON VALLEY APARTMENTS

To understand the new housing architecture in Silicon Valley, a case study was conducted in one of the cities in the area. The methodology of the case study was based on four major steps that were conducted by the author in the period between November 2017 and March 2018 in Silicon Valley. As one of the aggressively changing cities in Silicon Valley, Redwood City was chosen for the field study in terms of evaluating new multi-family apartment typology. In this six-month period, several site visits were made to Redwood City.

First, the historical background and the changes after the neo-liberal turn in housing architecture and urban areas in Redwood City were studied. As a new housing typology, small, compact apartment units with amenities were researched and mapped. The oldest (first) multi-family housing building was built in 2014. Since then the number of this type of apartment building has reached twelve in Redwood City. First, all the projects' locations were mapped. After mapping these projects, all of the buildings were visited to collect data of their typical characteristics. All site visits were arranged with the properties' leasing staff. To understand the Redwood City regulations on land use and architecture, a meeting was organised with a planner from Redwood City, City Hall (municipality). After getting all the data, these twelve multi-family apartment projects were analysed using three different levels as indicators: the urban and the building and unit levels. It was revealed that they are the new 'generic' Silicon Valley apartments with similar land use, spatial organizations and facilities.

4.1 REDWOOD CITY AND HOUSING IN THE AREA

Redwood City is one of the major cities in the Silicon Valley area. The city was incorporated in 1867. In the early 20th century, it grew into a centre for commerce, government and the manufacturing industry. Since the 1990s, it has been revitalised.[27] The city is very well linked with the Caltrain railway transport system and highways between San Francisco and San Jose. [Fig 4] So, with its easy transport facilities and being close to the tech companies' headquarters, this made it the preferred place to live for tech company employees. The city has a lively downtown area with many restaurants and attractive events. [Fig. 5]

Fig. 4: Location of Redwood City, illustrated by the author from Google Maps.


Fig. 5: An Event Day in Redwood City Downtown, Photo by the Author, 2018.

The city has quite a young population with a median age of 35.5 out of a total of 77.000 people. Approximately 43% of the population, who live in the area, have bachelor or higher education degrees. While the median household income (yearly) is 77.561 USD, the median home sale price is 764.500 USD.[28]

When we looked at the urban form and land use of the town, it could be seen that it was developed with a mixture of reuse, mixed-use developments and complete residential neighbourhoods. All these neighbourhoods are characterised by their own housing and architectural styles. In residential neighbourhoods with a lot of variety, these consist of middle 20th century low-density subdivisions and denser post-WWII multi units close to the main road and El Camino Real. There are also planned Redwood Shores detached housing neighbourhoods and new downtown apartments. The existing housing types can be listed as condominiums, apartments, duplexes, triplexes and four-plexes and even floating homes.[29]

The existing residential stock has quite a wide variety of typologies. The Planning Department grouped neighbourhoods according to the typologies. The houses built in the early 1900s can be seen as an historic influence in a low-density neighbourhood, while 1850s and 1900s one and two storey and wood frame homes can be seen as an historic influence in high density neighbourhoods. Post-war neighbourhoods tend to be detached homes in cul-de-sacs. They were designed for cars with attached or detached garages next to the streets. They have limited pedestrian access. Mixed density neighbourhoods that are the main location of the new multi-family apartments have several types of buildings for different ages, incomes and family types. The Hillside neighbourhoods' character is influenced by topography. Planned neighbourhoods, such as Redwood Shores, include a mixture of land uses and dwelling types and the last one, waterfront neighbourhoods, are planned for the water and include higher density houses and floating homes.[30]

According to the residential land use of Redwood City Council regulations, low density residential category development standards allow a maximum of two storeys, medium density standards allow three storeys and the high-density category allows multi-storey residential apartment buildings with four storeys. One of the most important initiatives of the city requirements for mixed use neighbourhoods is to encourage pedestrian-oriented site use and building planning. The requirements promote pedestrianised neighbourhoods with well-scaled buildings.

The downtown plan and new mixed-use general plan land use focuses on revitalisation and centres where it is possible to walk in the city. The City Council has started to prepare a special guide and index, which appears periodically, as part of the general plan and is called 'the housing element'. It consists of the state housing laws and is reviewed by the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD). The

City Council works with many different groups, such as governmental offices and non-governmental organisations with community-based design ideas. Therefore, there are several participation and involvement workshops and meetings. The 21 Elements team, that organised a series of panel discussions on housing issues, is one of them. The City council has published its 2030 housing vision. According to this report, in 2013, Redwood City had 29,517 housing units totally and approximately 15% of the population lived in multi-family apartment units.[31]

As a new supply-demand balance, developers have started to focus on multi-family rental apartment projects. There has been an increase of these multi-family projects from 2010 to 2018. [Fig. 6]

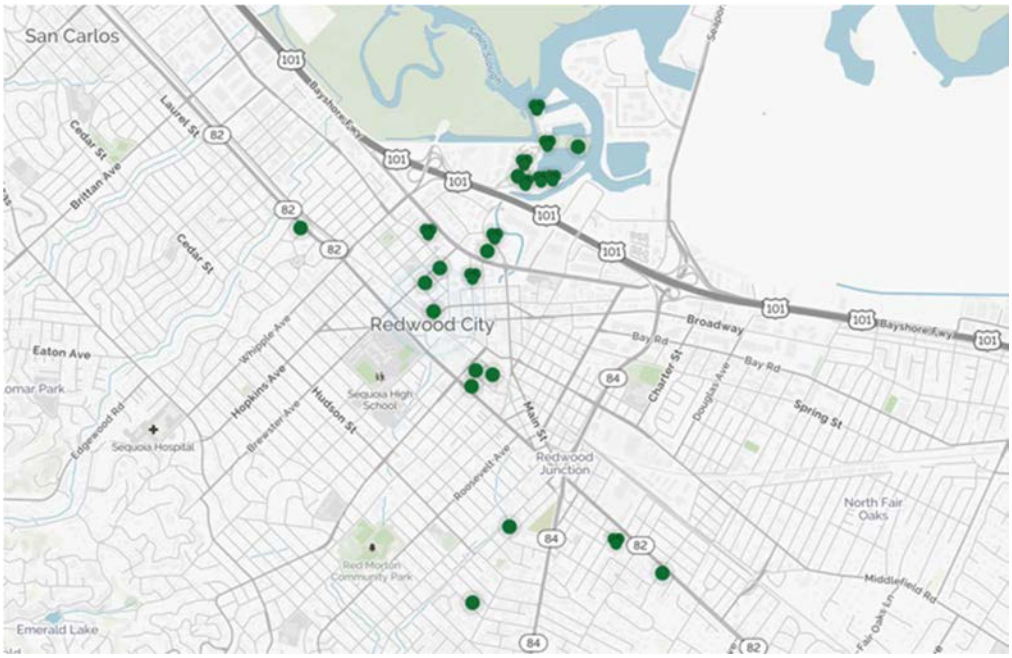

Fig. 6: Multi-family Apartments, Constructed Between 2010 and 2018 in Redwood City.[32] Redwood City," *Development Projects: Multi-family Apartments"*, accessed January 03, 2018. http://www.redwoodcity.org/city-hall/current-projects/development-projects

The projects were located mainly downtown and in neighbourhoods that are close to public transport. And, according to new permits, there will be more built in the next few years. While these changes and new developments are quite new for Redwood City as housing typology, they are not particular to Redwood City, as they can be seen in neighbourhoods from San Francisco to San Jose.

4.2 FIELD STUDY: NEW MULTI-FAMILY APARTMENTS IN THE CITY

With the help of collected data in the period between November 2018 and March 2018, twelve multi-family apartment projects were mapped. After mapping, all the built projects were visited, and information obtained

from the leasing offices about the projects. Centennial and Stambaugh neighbourhoods are the popular locations of these new buildings. [Fig. 7]

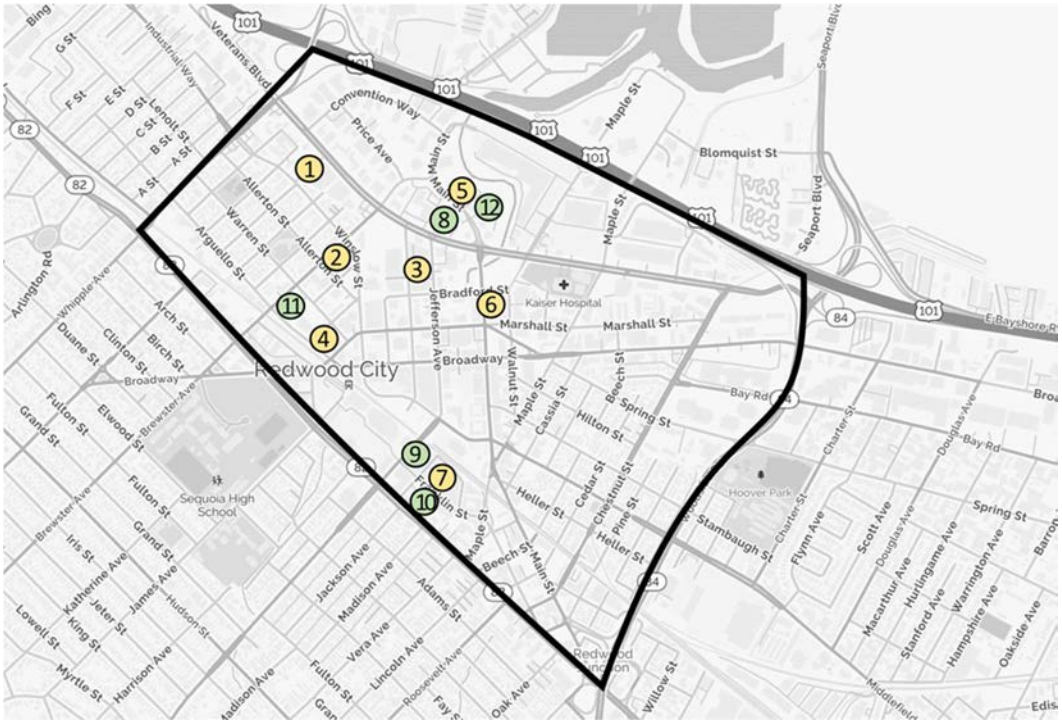

Fig. 7: Location of the 'Generic' Multi-family Apartments in Redwood City. Illustrated by the Author, 2018.

There are twelve generic multi-family apartment projects in the central part of the city and seven of the buildings were completed between 2012 and 2014 and have been rented out. Five of them are newly developed and still under construction and expected to be completed by the summer of 2020.

4.2.1 URBAN LEVEL ANALYSIS

When a trend causes alarm in the housing market related to profit, developers focus on the trendy typology as they want a financial gain with minimal expenses for a quick rent or sale. So, they give the brief to the architects and the architects do their best with respect to city regulations. This is a very typical process for a development project in the United States. Here, in Silicon Valley, the developers have experienced this typology from early 2010 and now they do similar ones in different neighborhoods.

The buildings that we examined were located in the central part of the city. The locations were quite close to public transport and highways which linked with big tech-companies and universities. Besides the precise planning requirements, the new apartments have many facilities both indoors and outdoors. Both for creating places for amenities and so that they can build many units, the buildings have a ground floor or first floor

courtyards. The courtyard area makes marketing the properties easier. When we looked at these twelve buildings, eleven of them had a courtyard which could also be used as a communal terrace. [Fig. 8]

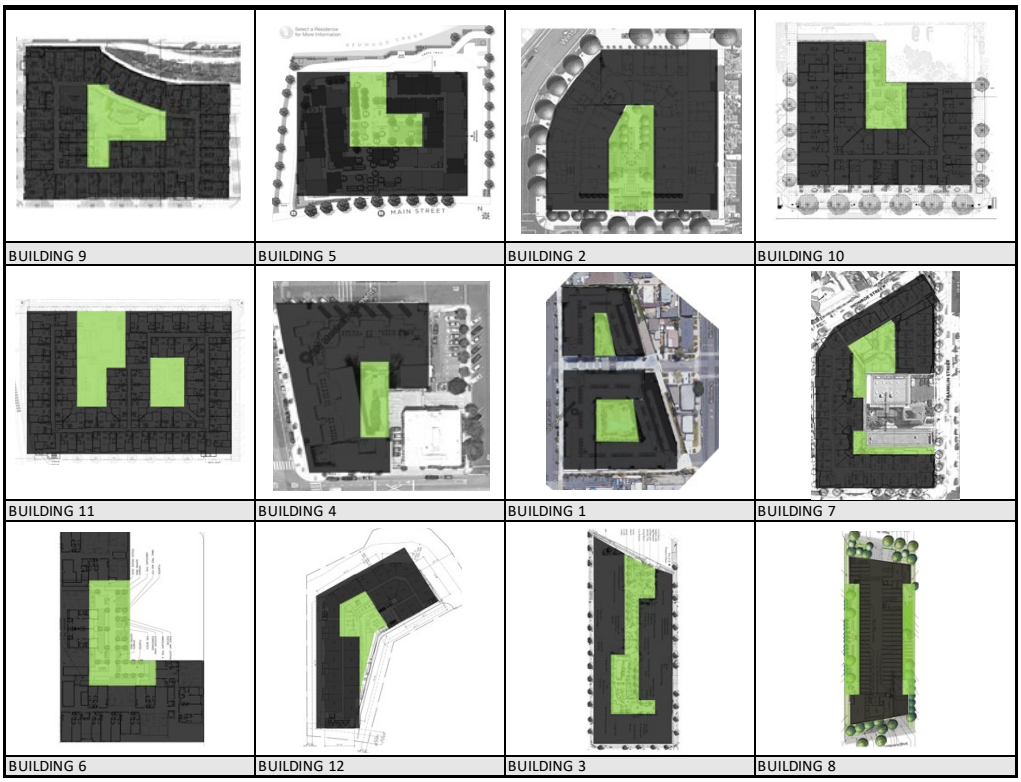

Fig. 8: Land Use of Multi-Family Apartment Buildings. Illustrated by the Author, 2018.

Many of the units do not have special balconies or terraces, therefore, common courtyard spaces make the area more useful and efficient for the inhabitants. While the architects are creating a semi-private place for the users, these places are gated to the public. Only people who live in the building can use the place. The design idea of inner public space may harm the unity of the city flow by creating an introverted gated community.

4.2.2 BUILDING LEVEL ANALYSIS

The developers and architects of these buildings mostly focus on compact lifestyles for young singles or newly marrieds tech-company employees who spend a large part of their time at work. The new typology should have all the necessities for them, they do not want to waste their time. The first marketing fact is the amenities of the building. With several activities and events, creating a community feeling is one of the most important aims of this design typology. When I searched for amenities within the twelve buildings, I saw that all of them had the same main facilities: places for sport, places for working/office, places for meeting together.

Sports Area: as a compact lifestyle provider, the developers provide gym, pilates and yoga studios. If the people who live there want special classes, they can organise them with a personal trainer. When I visited these seven completed building projects, I saw that the organisation and the equipment was very similar in these sport areas. Sports areas are generally located on ground or first floors of the property.

Working Area: Home-office working is very common in Silicon Valley. Dwellers need extra space for working or studying or business meetings. The architecture of the buildings provides work-places called 'business centres' with internet access. When I visited the buildings, the leasing office managers said that 'especially the people who have start-up companies use the business centres as their full-time offices and use the addresses of the rooms for their business addresses'. Extra space for working is useful for especially studio or one-bedroom residents as they do not have working space in their apartments.

Meeting Area: The meeting areas were designed as outdoor and indoor places. The projects that were examined have a courtyard, terrace and indoor meeting place with a kitchen. Courtyards have the same amenities that are for relaxing and sun-bathing with (of course) barbecues and dining areas.

Courtyards are also used to enjoy gardening. Residents can plant anything and pick them for their meals. The other meeting places are top floor terraces. Architects designed terraces with relaxing corners for sunny California days. As an indoor meeting place, every building has a room with dining, relaxing and kitchen areas. The room is called a 'club room'. If a resident wants to organise a special event, he/she needs to reserve the room. They can invite their guests to this room. According to the information obtained from the leasing office managers, the club rooms are very actively used for birthday parties, baby shower events and game nights. Club rooms are very functional for one-bedroom units or studio unit residents in a multi-family apartment building. The residents of the small units use the club room as the temporary areas of their units. These kinds of common rooms in a community building help to minimise the costs of the building.
There are other standard amenities that change the architecture. The buildings have security control by cameras and special electronic keys. There are bike parking areas and repair rooms in the parking areas. Some of the most important things are the trash rooms, every floor has a trash room controlled by an automatic system. Developers and investors want to provide different amenities to residents and all these amenities should be planned with the architectural project; they all change the architectural design.

4.2.3 UNIT LEVEL ANALYSIS

Minimum dwelling design is not a new idea. Since the post-war period, minimum and efficient use of land has been important.[3333] Today lack of enough land in metropolitan areas and high land and constructions costs

have directed developers and architects to design minimal but functional and compact housing units. This is happening, not only in the United States, but in every country can be seen studio or 1-bedroom units as new trends.[34] The recent years' user profile is different from the post-war period low-income group. Minimal dwelling units have become a solution in the city centres for young professionals and newly married couples that are mainly upper or middle-income groups. Therefore, the architectural designs of the units have changed according to new user profile needs.

With the field study in Redwood City, the twelve apartments researched had unit count ratios, planned schemes and unit features. This new typology emerged in Redwood City with the construction in 2012. When we searched for unit types and ratios, it can be seen that the main focus is on minimal dwelling units with studio and one-bedroom apartments. The percentage of the studio and one-bedroom units more than the two-bedroom and three-bedroom units' percentage in the buildings. [Fig. 9]

	BUILDING 1	BUILDING 2	BUILDING 3	BUILDING 4	BUILDING 5	BUILDING 6	BUILDING 7	BUILDING 8	BUILDING 9	BUILDING 10	BUILDING 11	BUILDING 12
Construction Year	2013	2014	2013	2013	2013	2013	2012	2018	2018	2018	2018	2018
Studio Unit	0	0	112	10	0	4	30	8	20	24	30	15
1 Bedroom Unit	160	93	256	64	54	125	194	37	112	78	161	57
2 Bebdroom Unit	94	44	79	39	62	67	81	38	43	35	59	53
3 Bedroom Unit	10	0	24	3	16	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
Total Unit Count	264	137	471	116	132	196	305	90	175	137	250	125
Studio and 1 bedroom unit percentage in total unit count	60.61	67.88	78.13	63.79	40.91	65.82	73.44	50.00	75.43	74.45	76.40	57.60

Fig. 9: Analysis of the Unit Counts. Illustrated by the Author, 2018.

There are several reasons to build small units rather than bigger ones. The first one is user profile; the architecture of the buildings and apartments generally focuses on a compact lifestyle for young tech-employees and young couples. The minimal ones are efficient for the people who spend their time mostly at work. The second reason is housing market trends. The housing crisis in Silicon Valley, directed developers to provide small units for people to rent. Increasing floor area makes the prices higher. So, it is obvious that to find a studio or one-bedroom unit to rent is easier than finding a bigger size unit.

To understand the main units of the projects, one-bedroom units of these projects were examined in terms of plan schemes and function diagrams. It can be said that the new 'Generic Silicon Valley Apartments' are very similar, with the five main functions: living space, kitchen, service hall, bedroom and bathroom. The layouts of the units from different projects are similar with semi-private and private areas. [Fig. 10]

Fig. 10: One-Bedroom Unit Plan Analysis. Illustrated by the Author, 2018.

According to the analysis of the one-bedroom units, the entrance is typically located between the semi-private and the private zones. The closest section to the entrance is always the kitchen. The kitchen counter or dining table serves as a barrier between the cooking and living areas. The kitchen has all the equipment such as a fridge, a dishwasher, an oven and a microwave.

In the private zone, first there is a small service hall which leads to the bedroom or bathroom. There is a closet with doors in this hall for a full-size washing machine and dryer. All units are equipped with washing machines and dryers. Bedrooms are designed with walk-in closets and some of them have a direct entrance into the bathroom from the bedroom.

When we look at the typical architectural design of the units it can be said that the developers and architects had determined a specific user profile in mind, - someone who is young and wants to live without spending too much time on their daily needs. The architecture of the new generic apartment has become common for Silicon Valley in terms of location preferences, building amenities and unit plan schemes. Therefore, the architects and developers have created a standard for this type of apartment with the amenities that have an effect on the architectural design of the buildings.

Urban level characteristics are directed by the location and land use with courtyards or inner gardens. Locations are quite close to public transport. While land use mostly related with municipal planning requirements, creating courtyard or inner garden is design decisions. The buildings serve as gated community residential buildings with their security protections.

Building level characteristics are based on the amenities such as sports area, working areas and meeting areas. Sharing these common places in the buildings help to decrease the cost of the rents for residents. While it helps to contribute sharing economy, the ideas of common use can help to get people together with community feelings.

Unit level characteristics shows that minimum dwelling idea is important for the users in Silicon Valley for both compact lifestyles and decreasing rent prices. Studio and one-bedroom apartment are the most preferred ones according to housing market trends. One-bedroom apartments have the same spatial organization with the same functions in the buildings. Examining the new typology in three different levels get us to understand this housing architecture as a new typology. Today, this new rental housing typology is very common within Silicon Valley suburban cities.

5. CONCLUSION

After the 1980s, new urban policies focused on new developments by using urban land. Urban land has become an important source for the economy and the building sector has become one of the major employment areas. During this period, the government transferred its authority to the private sector and the private sector practised and has gained experienced on the use of space on urban land. Urban transformation, renewal or gentrification projects have mainly been implemented by the private sector. The new actors of the building process 'project developers' have gained importance in terms of collaboration with architects, city planners and design studios. As the main part of the building and real estate investments, the housing market has changed considerably.

Today, we live in a different era that has been changed by the global economy, the income differences have increased and there is a housing crisis in many countries. While constructing and selling a house is a main economic market source, people have started to struggle with buying a house. These changes forced developers to find new solutions such as rental buildings and small apartment in the United States. With the housing crisis, demand on rental small housing units has increased for young employees and couples in Silicon Valley. Within the supply-demand balance, new architectural design focusing on a compact lifestyle has occurred.

This research focused on the new housing typology in Silicon Valley after the neo-liberal turn. As a new typology this 'Generic Silicon Valley Apartments' were researched to reveal characteristics. With the findings of this research, typical characteristics were listed in urban, building and unit levels. It revealed that, at the urban level, the locations of the buildings are close to public transport or highways and they are mostly designed with a common courtyard for residents. At the building level, characteristics are based on sharing places and amenities. As standard amenities of the buildings, sport and working and meeting places were designed for residents. It is an encouragement to share services in these small units. Residents use these shared places when they have a need. Therefore, they do not need extra places for sport, working or meeting in their units. When we look at the unit level characteristics, it is obvious that studio and one-bedroom units are more efficient both for residents to rent and developers to build. As the superstar of these developments, when we compared the plans, we saw five main functions: living room, kitchen, service hall or closet, bedroom and bathroom. New generic apartments were designed with space-saving innovations and design ideas for minimising the loss of space. Also, when we looked at the materials and the methods of implementation, it can be said that the developers fixed some standards for construction.

This multi-family apartment buildings have continued to inspire planners and architects to re-think the hotel service compact lifestyle. The new typology is not only experienced in city centres, it can be experienced in suburban areas, too. Today the new trends indicate that new people prefer to rent an efficient unit with full service and amenities if they do not have enough capital to buy a house for realising their American dream.

As the new housing typology, they have both advantages and disadvantages to the city and residents. On the one hand, these generic multi-family apartments encourage the sharing economy, on the other hand, it creates a fast-food housing idea. With these characteristics and effects on the city, these generic apartments can be seen in all parts of the cities in different countries. It has started to create a new tradition for dwelling.

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Working Paper Series

THE UBIQUITOUS AND DOUBLY VIRTUAL NATURE OF NOSTALGIA: VISIONS FOR THE NICOSIA BUFFER ZONE

Chistakis Chatzichristou and Kyriakos Miltiadous

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THE UBIQUITOUS AND DOUBLY VIRTUAL NATURE OF NOSTALGIA: VISIONS FOR THE NICOSIA BUFFER ZONE

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Nostalgia could be seen as a unique form of desire in that it uses an imaginary version of the past in order to deal with the present and potentially envision the future. Its role becomes crucial in areas and periods of conflict. The paper discusses a number of projects that deal with the buffer zone in the walled city of Nicosia in Cyprus, aiming at the examination of the ways in which new digital media may activate modes of operation of nostalgia that tend to be more reflective rather than restorative.

The past is not made in the image of the present
or seen as foreboding of some present disaster;
rather, the past opens up a multitude of potentialities,
nonteleological possibilities of historic development.
We do not need a computer to get access to the
virtualities of our imagination: reflective nostalgia
opens up multiple planes of consciousness.

- Svetlana Boym[1]

1. THE THEORETICAL LENS AND THE CASE STUDY

With the changed perceptive on history, and the recent emphasis on memories in the formation of what we perceive as the past, nostalgia has also started receiving attention by a number of researchers. In some of the recent literature on the subject, nostalgia is discussed as a notion opposite to progress, commonly associated with sentimental attachments with the past and with historical manipulation. This *restorative nostalgia* as it is defined by scholar Svetlana Boym, strives to fulfil the rhetorical desire for authenticity and overall reconstruction of a past in a perfected form. On the other hand, some see another side of nostalgia that may act as a vehicle for critical thought that is capable of approaching the past in productive ways. Such *reflective nostalgia,* as it is called by Boym, embraces alternative memories and generates spaces that challenge traditional representations of the past.[2]

This ambiguously dual nature of nostalgia cannot but play a role in the way we perceive, envision and built our environment through its involvement in representations of the past, historical narratives, notions of identity, as well as the way our everyday perception operates. As mentioned above, this role can be a productive as well as a counter-productive one. Phenomena involving nostalgia tend to appear more frequently in contexts involving loss and violent change. One such context is the divided city of Nicosia. In the case of Nicosia, the violent imposition of a boundary, known as the Green Line, becomes the largest and strongest physical manifestation of a turbulent relationship between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish

Cypriot communities. This physical partition disrupts the physical fabric of the city and, consequently, its socio-political and cultural infrastructures as well.[3]

Over the last four decades, nostalgia has been used predominantly in a negative framework in the case of Nicosia and the Cypriot conflict; it was mainly utilized by both communities as a powerful propaganda tool in order to promote partial and selective versions of the past. This was not difficult since, for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the nostalgic practices have in each case been stimulated by different versions of the conflict.[4] In the aftermath of the war, the dominant policy pursued by the Greek Cypriot political discourse was not to forget the lost territories and thereby maintain the past, as it was before the war, in its supposedly perfect and pure form. In that light, nostalgia had been applied as a highly political weapon. Similarly, the Turkish Cypriots promoted an obviously different historical narrative with particular emphasis on the traumatic events during the 1960s when many of them lived in enclaves and, consequently, in isolation. The two different versions of the past and the future of Nicosia use the same mechanism: they both utilize the restorative function of nostalgia, a longing for authenticity and a total return to a perfect, mythologized past. It is this very same mechanism that is found behind a number of spatial practices in the walled city of Nicosia, practices that materialize into monuments, statues, museums and even the naming of streets. All these more physical manifestations of nostalgia contribute in the construction and celebration of a glorious, monolithic image of the past.

Today, forty some years after the physical partition, a new terrain of discussion can be recognized, one that is shaped around and by new media and recent technological advancements, allowing for the emergence of alternative negotiations between the city and its relations with its pasts, its presents, and its futures. This "digital turn" offers radical, if not paradigmatic, orientations in debates about the city of Nicosia and the ways in which the contested areas are experienced, envisioned and represented.[5] Within this framework, the in-between space of the buffer zone serves as an experimental virtual laboratory for the creation and operation of reconciliation processes between the two communities.

And while, at least at first glance, any mention of nostalgia in the context of a discussion about technology and the built environment seems backward and unfashionable, many contemporary thinkers come to argue the opposite: nostalgia forcefully penetrates contemporary platforms of discussion where technological advances and new media are frequently applied for the re-construction of visions of the past. Boym vividly explains that "technology and nostalgia have become co-dependent: new technology and advanced marketing stimulate ersatz nostalgia - for the things you never thought you had lost - and anticipatory nostalgia - for the present that flees with the speed of a click".[6]

The piece of research presented here looks at how new digital media and virtual forms of expression might interact with practices involving nostalgia, and discusses the formation of new fascinating spaces for capturing, articulating and unraveling alternative visions for the contested city of Nicosia and its possible futures. Together with the work of Boym and her distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia, Jane Rendell's concept of *critical spatial practices* proves useful in a discussion that sits somewhere between nostalgia, critical thinking and virtual media. The attempt to situate and examine nostalgia as a particular mode of critical spatial practice is an essential step in engaging with the productive dimension of the term and its capacity to act as a mechanism in virtual practices that negotiate fresh understandings of the contested city of Nicosia and its relationship with the triad past-present-future.

To render our discussion on nostalgia as a critical spatial practice more specific, we discuss three experimental projects that operate within or around the architectural discipline, and where nostalgic impulses may be traced. These projects are of particular interest not only because they apply recent technological advances to question the status quo of the buffer zone and the areas adjacent to it, but also because they seem to select a specific mode of nostalgia in an attempt to negotiate and envision new possible realities for the future of the city.

By analyzing the goals, internal structure and methodology of these projects we seek to capture and reveal the role assigned to nostalgia, highlighting whether the nostalgic mechanisms in operation are more progressive rather than conservative, critical rather than sentimental, apocalyptic rather than passive. More generally, the present research endeavor lies at the intersection between visual representation, theory on nostalgia and spatial practices which may involve the individual but may have repercussions on the scale of the urban as well.

2. TRACING NOSTALGIA

With its recent discovery by the medical profession, nostalgia was seen in a negative framework as a neurological condition. It was in fact used by a Swiss doctor to define a series of physical and psychological symptoms that were exhibited by the Swiss mercenary soldiers who were far away from their homeland.[7] Created from a combination of the Greek words *nostos* which means longing and *algos* which means pain, it lost its original romantic overtones and was predominantly seen as a negative condition.

The term has later entered the discourse on history and conflict resolution but, at least at the beginning, it was only seen negatively. Especially within the 20th century and with a peak during the 1980s and 1990s the critique on the term was "at best ambivalent… and more often dismissive".[8] Writing back in 1989, David Lowenthal finds that "nostalgia tells it like it wasn't" while scholars Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw

argue that "of all the ways of using history, nostalgia is the most general, looks the most innocent, and is perhaps the most dangerous".[9]

Towards the end of the 20th century one can recognize a growing and more sophisticated interest in nostalgia in the fields of the social sciences. Several studies moved beyond the cliché definitions of nostalgia by paying attention to its diverse, heterogeneous nature.[10] Nostalgia was no more seen only as a conservative impulse or emotion but was also understood as a critical force that is capable of responding to variable desires and social needs.

Today's attention on nostalgia has led to a fresh understanding of the city and has opened up a variety of discussions dealing with performance, ethnography and historic preservation to name a few. In that light, nostalgia has been defined as a "transitional phenomenon", one that in a paradoxical yet intricate manner inhabits an in-between terrain between the subject and the object, the local and the universal, the past and the present, the social and the political.[11]

Especially now, with the digital revolution bringing about radical changes, extreme mobility and temporal acceleration, an intense sense of loss is experienced by many in different ways, permeating contemporary life at different scales and levels. Transitional and practical, but also deeply bound with the places from where it is triggered, a fresh understanding of nostalgia could be seen as a weapon useful in understanding and coping with the complexities of the contemporary built environment, and potentially inspiring action for a better future. For such a fresh understanding of nostalgia we now refer to Rendell's concept of critical spatial practice.

3. NOSTALGIA AND CRITICAL SPATIAL PRACTICES

Porous Borders

In this section, we first look at the basic characteristics in Jane Rendell's concept of *critical spatial practice* and then suggest that nostalgia can be utilized in such a way so as to perform as a unique kind of such critical spatial practice.

Originally coined by architectural theorist Jane Rendell, the term *critical spatial practice* refers to these creative activities oscillating between art and architecture that operate as critical mechanisms of resistance and transgression to the existing status quo of the sites they investigate.[12] Such a practice, as Rendell states, operates "in relation to dominant ideologies yet at the same time questions them; and it explores the

operations of particular disciplinary procedures – art and architecture – while also drawing attention to wider social and political problems".[13]

For the conceptual framework of critical spatial practice, Rendell uses elements from "The Production of Space" by Henri Lefebvre, and "The Practice of Everyday Life" by Michel de Certeau.[14] De Certeau distinguishes two kinds of practices one could engage in dealing with the city: strategies and tactics. Strategies are those practices that pursue normative ideologies, notions of power, control and authority; tactics by contrast refer to a set of practices which, by resisting the norms of a place, they "produce without capitalizing".[15] In an analogous manner, Lefebvre develops a distinction between three forms of social space: spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation. Representations of spaces is a practice that obeys the codes of an official state while the practice involving the spaces of representations involves alternative spaces that "refuse to acknowledge power".[16]

Relating the above concepts to Boym's distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia, one could come up with the following two grouping: Strategies and Representations of Space on the one group, and Tactics and Spaces of Representation, in the other. In this framework, restorative nostalgia could be seen as a particular kind of strategy that blindly serves combined notions of truth, tradition and authenticity, all wrapped in a strong dose of fundamentalism and nationalism. Reflective nostalgia on the other hand could be defined as a tactical practice that generates spaces that challenge traditional representations of the past. It is precisely this positive model of nostalgia, both critical and productive, that could be seen as a particular mode of critical spatial practice.

Before examining how reflective nostalgia could be spatial and reflective, we should logically see whether it can be considered a practice in the first place. Indeed, and unlike past definitions where nostalgia had been mentioned as a persuasive emotional malaise, today many studies treat nostalgia as a *cultural practice* that may serve as a "response to a wide variety of personal and collective needs".[17] In an attempt to examine nostalgia as a productive activity, several scholars recently see it as a "cultural practice, not a given content".[18] Studies from social sciences to cultural geographies see nostalgia as a practice carried out so as "to inform action taken in defense of community".[19] In such cases nostalgia becomes a particular form of practice, a discourse that offers the chance not only to simply reflect upon an existing situation but to also question the existing status quo, potentially generating possible layers of meaning rather than merely describing a seemingly given condition.

If nostalgia can indeed be a practice, then the next question is whether and how it is related to the spatial. This should not be hard to defend since, even though it may be manifested as an emotion of an individual, it always involves specific places and shared times. Nostalgia is indeed always closely intertwined with the dimension of *space* and the dimension of *time*. Many theorists go a step further to argue that nostalgia echoes an alternative experience that cannot be fixed neatly into the traditional definitions of time and space. Boym elegantly states that "nostalgia is not merely an expression of local longing, but a result of a new understanding of time and space that makes the division into 'local' and 'universal' possible".[20] In its creative expression, nostalgia may offer alternative understandings that call into question the conventional understanding of time and space as defined by clocks, calendars and other physical devices.

Lastly, can nostalgia be a critical practice? Clearly, the reflective dimension of nostalgia is capable of operating as a *critical force* of interpretation in relation to the situation it investigates; it thus reveals that "longing and critical thinking are not opposed to one another, as affective memories do not absolve one from compassion, judgment, or critical reflection".[21] The term "critical theory", as Rendell informs us, embraces a range of practices that do not strive to provide absolute answers or solutions for the problem they investigate, but rather seek to put into question and therefore problematize it even further. They are thus distinguished from traditional forms of scientific activity in that they are "'reflective' rather than 'objectifying', questioning their own procedures and methods".[22]

Indeed, rather than focusing on the components of nostalgia that are triggered by conservatism and sentimentalism, several theorists recognize the capacity of nostalgia to act as a "critique of the present and an alternative to deal with social changes".[23] Apart from Boym, the critical potential of nostalgia has been a central topic in research for theorists in various fields of study resulting in the identification of different characteristics it could potentially have: "synthetic", "structural", "critical", "reflexive", "practical", "resistant". It is also seen by some as "a resource and strategy central to the struggles of all subaltern cultural and social groups".[24] In what follows, our discussion is transferred onto specific projects that, through the use of recent advances in digital technology, attempt to revisit places and times that are no longer available to us in the present, or visit places and times that were never accessible to us since they refer to a future that is yet to come.

4. CRITICAL VIRTUAL PRACTICES AND THE BUFFER ZONE OF NICOSIA

Porous Borders

The curators for the Cyprus Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2006 selected the buffer zone within the walled city of Nicosia as the site for which the local architects were invited to submit a proposal.[25] The ten

teams selected in the first phase were then asked to submit a three-minute video which would play on a loop at each of the ten televisions which were installed within the pavilion and separated with an undulating curved white paper wall which allowed visitors to wonder around without ever getting a sense of a hierarchically organized spatial whole.

The presentation of ten alternative visions for the future of the buffer zone, coupled with the above described qualities of the spatial configuration chosen, already managed to challenge the monolithic character of any single narrative, not only of what happened in the past in the area but, more importantly, of what could happen there in the future. This goal was even further pursued by those contributions that took advantage of the digital medium.

One such contribution was titled "Disorienting before reorienting" by Christos Hadjichristos and Demetris Ioannides. The video created superimposed images from the two sides of the buffer zone, thus allowing the viewer to have two perspectives of the city at the same time. With the motto "I do not erase, I layer", the project built on the official motto "I do not forget" but gave it a twist in order to emphasize the need for polyphony in dealing with a problematic past and an equally challenging future. Commenting on the proposal, the curators wrote that "the labyrinth of the spatial structure conjures up the memory of the Minotaur. Within the labyrinth of the buffer zone, memories must desist from dominating everything".[26] The layering of images triggers a new relationship between the viewer and the area and consequently and always only potentially, with the Other who is also a viewer in the setup. The ability of the digital to layer is indeed taken advantage of here.

Portraits of No Man's Land

In June 2019, a joint project emerged between the Google Art & Culture and a research network created by Durham and Royal Holloway Universities. It initially aimed at creating and coordinating a virtual resource giving access to the wider public to territories around the world that remain inaccessible for a long period of time. The final outcome of this collaboration is the *Portraits of No Man's Land*, a virtual, multimedia platform that documents marginal territories that include the Green Line in Nicosia, the guerrilla-occupied sites in Colombia, and the French villages that have been deserted during the Second World War.[27]

For the purposes of the project, a hybrid genre has been formed that uses representations created through the use of recent media depictions such as virtual reality footage (VR) and 3D modelling. The aim was to compose alternative projections, speculations, and narrations that could emerge from such contested

environments. According to the authors themselves, "with the recent emergence of pioneering immersive technologies, this project" allowed them "to use new media to tell stories and connect with audiences".[28] In the case of Nicosia, the *Portraits of No Man's Land* creates a representation of the actual topography of the buffer zone through literal and figurative means. Destroyed buildings, wreckage and physical remains torn apart by decay are systematically documented and represented with precision. Such is the digital reconstruction, in fascinating detail, of an airplane that remains abandoned within the buffer zone since 1974. It is precisely this virtual reconstruction of the buffer zone and the emphasis on the decaying elements in it that trigger the mechanisms of nostalgia.

The interrelation between nostalgia and ruins has been extensively discussed by scholars from the social sciences, urban studies, and cultural geographies.[29] The most noted reference of this relationship could be the work of Andreas Huyssen. Focusing on the contemporary fascination with the ruin through the lens of nostalgia he notes that "in the body of the ruin the past is both present in its residues and yet no longer accessible, making the ruin an especially powerful trigger for nostalgia".[30]

The commitment to faithfully document and reconstruct the buffer zone could be seen as using a sterile version of nostalgia that is based on romantic and melancholic bonds with the past. Yet we could also argue the opposite; more than creating a passive relic of the past, the virtual buffer zone acts as a "generative space[s] for political agency, enabling explicit acts of resistance" in relation to the existing status quo.[31] The focus here is not to simply restore what has been lost but rather to generate a form of digital space where the buffer zone and its possible meanings can be re-approached, re-inhabited and thus re-considered.
The appropriation of the decaying, virtually captured traces does not necessarily function as a "nostalgic pastiche" of the past but rather, as a "distancing and reflective device", through which the user is encouraged to reconsider the linear and teleological ways he or she looks at a past catastrophe.[32] In a parallel discussion, Rendell finds that, "a focus on decay can be less a mourning of the passing of time than a possibility to make visible to the viewer material substances other than those timeless and completed objects often prioritized in art and architecture".[33]

Furthermore, in the case of the *Portraits of No Man's Land*, the ruin acquires a digital materiality that is often associated with the main principles of plasticity such as porosity, flexibility and malleability.[34] In other words, the virtual ruin is "full of endless morphological potential" and thus becomes the subject that triggers the cultivation of new layers of meanings.[35] The representation of the buffer zone using the digital medium, generates a sense of distance between the user and the object that allows the subject to see something that is

otherwise invisible. The object of longing is, in that way, opened up into a process of redefinition prompting questions regarding identity, perception and authority.

The platform created does not follow a linear order, thus offering the user choices in navigating, consequently giving her a sense of agency and authority. As the authors explain, they wanted to give control to the viewers, "allowing them to explore, navigate and interact with the stories in a way that is personal and relatable".[36] Flexible and accessible from different angles, perspectives and paths, the platform allows for multiple interpretations, criticism and expansion.

The potential of offering a form of agency through nostalgia gains an increasing emphasis in the recent body of research. Nostalgia is characterized by Harry Whitehead as an "agency of yearning" underlying its capacity as a cultural practice to inhabit, control and navigate the distance generated between the past and the present.[37] Similarly, scholars Atia and Davies leave aside for a moment the more dangerous uses of nostalgia in an attempt to bring into light its "empowering agency" and its "critical potential" in relation to the object of its longing. [38]

The "Ledra Palace Museum" Project

The Ledra Palace Museum is a research driven project that aspires to create an alternative form of museum, one that challenges the traditional manner official histories and heritage are recorded, narrated and represented. The project is envisioned and implemented by the Museum Lab MRG, a research network within the Research Centre of Excellence (RISE) in Cyprus.

The site of exploration is the Ledra Palace Hotel, an iconic building located within the buffer zone and along one of the crossings that connect the two sides of the divided city. The seventy-year-old building is marked by a history that vividly echoes the multi-layered history of Nicosia. Designed between 1947-1949 by the German architect Benjamin Günsberg, the Ledra Palace Hotel soon became a meeting venue hosting various social events and cultural exhibitions. After the war, the building offered a common ground where bi-communal dialogues were held. It was also one of the very few places that allowed civilians from either side to meet and pursue common projects.[39]

The Ledra Palace Museum Project seeks to reconsider the stereotypical manner through which contested history is narrated and represented in museums. It is an attempt to challenge the taken-for-granted role of cultural heritage and the suspect ways it is represented. Nostalgia and heritage, as much of the recent literature reveals, are terms fundamentally related. Indeed, "while practices of heritage making can be enacted using other

emotional registers beyond nostalgia, nostalgia, nonetheless, is logically a key foundational and activating emotion of heritage making".[40]

Linear chronological accounts, cohesive narratives, and homogenous spaces of representation are here problematized, with technology playing a key role in such an ambitious endeavor as it is used in such a way so as to offer an interactive model of participation and collectivity. Recent technological advances, such as crowdsourcing are thus used in the collection and elaboration of intimate experiences, secrets and untold stories about the building from different social groups, individuals and communities that usually have no voice in the official historical narrative.

Engaged in the task of collecting, archiving and analyzing a range of intimate stories related to the building from diverse social groups and individuals, the methodology used by the creators of the museum is based on the concept of deep mapping. This methodological device allows researchers to collect, archive and represent what Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks define as the "details of memory: anecdotal, fragmentary, speculative… all those things which we might never regard as authentic history but which go to make up the deep map of the locale".[41] Deep mapping seeks to compose and reveal a more polyphonic narrative about the specific site of exploration. It is here, that a critical model of nostalgia may be identified in *The Ledra Palace Museum*, one that aspires to put into doubt "totalizing narratives of resistance, heroism, and nationalism".[42] We could argue, as we will show below, that specific productive tropes of nostalgia identified in the project effectively contribute in the processes of meaning making.

At the center of such reflective nostalgia lie the different versions of the past as these are perceived by individuals. Instead of privileging the hegemonic historical narrative, this type of nostalgia cultivates the creation of what Boym calls aesthetic individuality. As she states, "reflective nostalgia is concerned with historical and individual time, with the irrevocability of the past and human finitude".[43]

Aesthetic individuality leads to the emergence of another concept that lies in the core of the Ledra Palace Museum, namely fragmentation. Through the collection and elaboration of different untold stories about the building, the methodology embraces the notion of the fragment and the emergence of new assemblages, proposing in this way, what Jonathan Hill calls "a montage of visual experience".[44] In doing so, the aesthetic of the fragment is evoked in a variety of different sources that combine "stories, photographs, images, maps, and memories so as to create a 'deep' and multilayered narrative of a place or space".[45] Nostalgic visions and ambitions are thus seen as site-specific data, fragments of memories, which can be potentially connected or

processed. The building is thus reproduced on a multifaceted canvas of subjective memories, dreams and other fragments of the past.

The notion of the fragment forms an essential element in reflective nostalgia, operating as a driving force in the making of its visual representations. In Boym's view, reflective nostalgia "cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space".[46] In order to depict the fractured surfaces of reflective nostalgia she uses the strong metaphor of a shattered mirror. As she argues, "in many cases the mirror of reflective nostalgia is shattered by experiences of collective devastation and resembles, involuntarily, a modern work of art".[47]

Pam Cook, among others, has further pointed to the interconnection between reflective nostalgia and the notions of fragment and collage. According to her the fragmentary aesthetic of collage lies at the center of reflective nostalgia "in which bits and pieces of the past ignored by official versions collide to generate discontinuous chronicles".[48] Similarly, Patrick Wright adopts nostalgia as a methodological and analytical tool that is capable to negotiate "fragments of memory" as "traction points for a kind of critical intelligence".[49]

5. CONCLUSION: THE NOSTALGIC, THE VIRTUAL, THE POSSIBLE

In the title, nostalgia is characterized as ubiquitous. If nostalgia connects the past with the future then such a characterization is indeed valid since, even a total rejection of the past cannot but be based on what could be referred to as a strong dose of negative nostalgia. Still referring to the title, nostalgia is also seen as doubly virtual. This can be justified if any kind of nostalgia refers to something does not present but represented through a medium, acoustic or visual, which is itself, and by definition, virtual. Anything virtual, in a Deleuzean framework, offers some form of potential or other. When nostalgia assumes a restorative stance then that potential is reduced if not lost. Reflective nostalgia on the other hand takes advantage of the potential inherent in the doubly virtual nature of nostalgia.

What the digital offers is a unique opportunity to indeed avoid the trap of reifying nostalgia into one linear monolithic entity which, by claiming to be the authentic account of how things were or how events happened, kills any possibility of anything else to be equally valid. This is a problem in the material world and in Aristotelian logic since if A is A and B is B, then A cannot be B. If a space is occupied by A then it cannot be also occupied by B. This is not the case in the realm of perceptions, memories and emotions, and yet it is in this realm where conflict is initially triggered. It then makes sense to rather, and mostly, deal with this realm in times of conflict instead of focusing on its material counterpart. It is because of its ability to transcend the limits of logic and the physical dimension of things that the digital is perhaps the most appropriate medium

when dealing with conflict; it strengthens nostalgia's potential to encourage critical reflection, reconciliation and coexistence.

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MIND THE GAP! WHY ARE MUSLIM MIGRANTS AND HOMOSEXUALS NOT SHARING THE SAME PUBLIC SPACE IN HAMBURG? THE CASE OF ST. GEORG

Bedour Braker and Jan Braker

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MIND THE GAP!
WHY ARE MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS AND LGBTQI GROUPS NOT SHARING THE SAME PUBLIC SPACE IN HAMBURG?
THE CASE OF ST. GEORG

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Can we create more trusting public spaces based on changing the way we think of the 'Other'?
In a metropolitan city like Hamburg, equity and freedom within some of its public spaces can be a myth. St.Georg is one of its neighborhoods that shows how extreme prejudices and societal fear can prevent some of its spaces from being openly accessible for certain minorities. Based on literature-review, key interviews, field surveys, and policy reports this paper tries to understand the reasons that prevent those minorities from sharing the same public space even though they live few hundred meters away from each other.

1. INTRODUCTION

"The world as we have created is a process of our thinking. It cannot be changed without changing our thinking." Albert Einstein

Thinking of the 'otherness' as a concept is based on how different identities are assembled within the society. Some groups are represented and controlled by other politically and economically powerful groups within each society creating several social identities. Those identities reverberate the way each of those groups internalize established social categories within their societies, such as their cultural (or ethnic) identities, gender identities, class identities, and so on. Our spatial behavior as users of public space is shaped by those social categories that define who we think we are, how we want to be seen by others. In a field seeking to influence the shape of our built environment, it is always intriguing to observe and analyze how people move within a space, how they perceive it and utilize it. For us as researchers and planners, it is very useful to figure out how a public space can embody certain societal values and even physically evolve around them with time.

St.Georg in Hamburg is a district that went through tremendous societal and spatial changes since the 1960s; the arrival of the 'Guest workers' followed by waves of Muslim refugees from MENA region (Middle East & North Africa); the Gay movement calling for their rights; and the rebirth of Shared Spaces' concept. This all transformed this district into a complex organism molded by myriad forces of mixed cultures, identities, faiths, and social behaviors. Each minority created its own enclave with particular semiotics and exclusive messages that defined them as a whole and identified the rest of the society as the 'Other'.
In this paper, we focus on two peculiar streets, which are the main famed arteries of St.Georg: Lange Reihe and Steindamm. The first is a perused destination for LGBTQI[1] groups, while the latter is a port of call

specifically for Muslim immigrants. The majority of St.Georg' immigrant population is under the pressure of ethnic exclusivity, religious dominance, and ruled by a conservative believe that LGBTQI individuals should be punished for their sexual identity. Such notion prohibits many of its residents from visiting Lange Reihe, and simultaneously many LGBTQI restrain themselves from frequenting Steindamm as clientele to avoid unnecessary conflicts. This social juxtaposition of St.Georg is a unique embodiment of how extreme prejudices and fear can prevent some public spaces from being accessible for all, especially for groups that are deemed to be marginal or part of an 'outcast' society.

Through inspecting both streets, we try to underline some major issues that contributed in creating inaccessible public spaces. We definitely acknowledge that it is not an extra, but a need for any community to ensure social, cultural, environmental and economic adaptability within a frame of accepting the 'Other'. Our aim is to contribute to current pressing debates about the contemporary shaping of public spaces by groups deemed to be marginal or part of an 'outcast' society by focusing on their beliefs, daily lives and social behavior in shared public spaces. We mainly try to find an answer to the question: Why Immigrants and LGBTQI groups seem to find it difficult to interact peacefully in the same public space. To begin to understand the complexity of this topic, we need to review some literary texts.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW (SPACE & MINORITY ENCLAVES)

> "The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life." George Simmel

For a long time, sociologists tried to study how different societies tackled ideas regarding who gets to belong to 'Us' and which types of people are perceived as the 'Other'. Georg Simmel discussed the concept of close proximity with strangers and how it can easily escalate into a circumstantial hatred. He conservatively explained that conflicts between different groups can be avoided only when individuals create some sort of a "plate-armor" in the form of a rational emotionless perception of others, an attitude of insensible demeanor and indifference.[2] This type of reserved mechanism might in many cases defy an ordinary social interaction between individuals within certain spaces. Refuting this approach, George H. Mead discussed throughout his book 'Mind, Self and Society' in 1934 how social identities are established by our incessant social interaction with others within the same shared space. For him the key is not solely a human action, rather a social interaction. He also explained that our identities are produced through consent, dispute, and negotiation with each other, the way we adjust our behavior and self-image reflection is primarily based on our social interactions with the Other[3]. For us to understand the notion of 'The Other', we need to comprehend that

different types of people dealing with the same spaces on daily basis, but how they cope with those spaces is a cultural variable that relies on different sets of beliefs and orientations. Manuel Castell explained in his book 'The Urban Question' that cities are mediums of conflict where certain groups mobilize to acquire collective resources and communal territories. They try to find a refuge that enables them to maintain a certain standard of living within cities that can be in some cases profoundly unjust, and primarily organized in favor of different politics run by certain majorities[4].

In her book 'X-Ray Architecture'[5], historian Beatriz Colomina asserted that the built environment is inherently representational, hence reflects socio-political attitudes, including those about space, religion, gender and sexuality. The process of social interaction may be expressed empirically through disputes over spaces, and symbolically in the configuration of those spaces[6], such as the patriarchal dominations. There has been always a great deal of insecurity generated by the need to protect male honor and to maintain constant discipline against anything that might threaten this masculinity and its patriarchal practices. Jason Crouthamel debated in his writings that this type of insecurity could easily be amplified into widespread anxieties due to social and political conditions.[7] This conflict can be reflected on the contradiction between religious orientation and sexual identity, and consequently the spatial expression. Since the 1970s, there has been an increased visibility of LGBTQI existence in a range of western cities (San Francisco, New York, Amsterdam, Paris, and Berlin). A new societal change that led many pioneering studies to emerge and highlight the importance of particular non-heterosexual neighborhoods socially, economically and politically [8].

Generally, the idea of an identity based on sexuality and its existence within the public space is peculiar in human history. French theorist Michel Foucault explained that historically a gay person was not perceived as a 'person', but mostly was linked to his physical sexual behavior within the public space. Foucault asserted that elements of Western civilization have created social constructions around identity. This included the increasing importance attached to sexuality in general; the widespread proliferation of social control structures that operated through sanctions against specific acts; and the growing power of certain institutions defining societal problems and reinforcing social mores. Planner Ann Forsyth[9] also addressed the implications of LGBTQI populations for current planning practice. Her writings are related to the core issues of planning, including housing, the public realm, historic preservation, and unique neighborhood enclaves. She precisely refers to many studies published on LGBTQI enclaves, and interestingly states that urban sociologists have relied on the 'immigrant enclave' model to understand gay neighborhood formation. Supporting this line of thought, the geographer Phil Hubbard discusses in his writings the role of the city in shaping our sexual lives, and at the same time how the actions of urban designers, planners and governors produce particular types of

city enclaves[10]. These enclaves are what Peter Marcuse described as a spatially concentrated areas in which a particular minority is self-defined by ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation.

Those groups convene spatially as means of enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural existence. Immigrant groups for example tend to form localized communities and ethnic businesses in cities dominated by another culture or ethnic group. One reason for this may be to provide a buffer from the pressures of discrimination from the dominant culture. Another may be that enclaves provide space to foster cultural bonds within ethnic groups, allowing individuals to remain part of a distinct identity group that they can draw support from when they are exposed to a different, prevailing culture.[11] Doug Saunders' book 'Arrival City' published well before the current diaspora to Europe, argued that the self-determined neighborhoods that emerge out of mass immigrations are essential to integrating newcomers in their destination country. He also brings attention to the fact of arrival cities as places where the new creative and commercial class is born, or where the next wave of tension and violence erupts. The difference, he adds "depends on how we, as planners and policy-makers, approach these districts both organizationally and politically.[12]

The unique nature of each of those enclaves and their spatial representations can be sometimes intimidating for some other minorities who do not share the same backgrounds or beliefs. It can even escalate to some level of fear which might prevent different groups of people from safely sharing certain public spaces. The physical experience of fear and the feeling that certain parts of the urban space might not be accessible led the geographer Emma Arnold to come up with the term 'invisible walls'. She explains that this term shares a lot with the famous feminist concept 'glass ceiling', which has to do with the invisible barriers that women experience and make the public space appear more or less accessible and inviting at various times of the day. An approach that is worth investigating in St. Georg- Hamburg due to the cultural conflict between conservative immigrants and LGBTQI groups. Each of them created their own invisible walls and glass ceilings surrounding their physical and metal spaces in order to make sure that their unique identities are performed safely, and sometimes in anonymity. To think of a space as a rich complicated interplay of people with different orientations and beliefs, we need to free ourselves from thinking of it as an equation of facts and figures. A space is not so much of a quality of things, rather the way we choose to think about it, what we decide to emphasize, and how we deal with the other.

Considering that we are tackling the struggle between religious identity and sexual orientations in the neighborhood of St. Georg, we find it important to refer to Castells' book 'the City and the Grassroots'[13]. In his book he argued that the emergence of minority spaces within the city has both a 'defensive' and

'progressive' function, being spaces where some identities could be mobilized and politicized. To him, a public space is responsive, democratic and meaningful; It is responsive because theoretically public space is designed according to users' needs. It is democratic because as public it offers access to everyone and freedom to act in it. It is meaningful because it gives the users the chance to make strong connections between the space, their personal lives and the larger population, and allows for the relationship between the physical and the social context to connect.

3. NUMERICAL FACTS

Germany is the most populous country in the European Union with an estimated population of 83.78 million by the end of 2020. It has three large cities with a population over 1 million: Berlin, Munich, and Hamburg. Of all the 27 European Union states, Germany has the highest percentage of immigrants in its population. Over 10 million living in Germany today were born outside of Germany, that's about 12% of the German population. 21.3 million population with immigrant background, 15% of that number came as asylum-seekers, and 72% came from European countries led by Poland, Romania and Italy for family or employment reasons[14]. It has the second largest Muslim population in Europe at nearly 5 million which is expected to grow significantly in the coming decades. Germany is considered the second most popular destination for immigrants in the world after the United States. Between 1950s and 1970s Germany attracted about 2.6 million migrants from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal. In the early 1990s, about a million people from war-torn Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey applied for asylum.

With the welcome policy in 2015, Germany received around two million refugees from the MENA region and the south of Africa. (Pew Research Center, 2017) The top reasons for immigration were for family (48%), employment (19%), and education (5%)[15]. A study published in May 2019 revealed that 7.4 % of the German population is identified as LGBTQI community, which is more than in any other European country. At the same time, the German anti-homosexual party AfD is the third largest parliamentary group in the Bundestag with 89 seats (the German Federal Ministry in 2019 stated that during the last decade police recorded many cases of violent attacks and hate crimes against them rising to 261 incidents in 2019 alone.) According to 2015 figures, some 94,000 same-sex couples live together in the country, with 43,000 registered as civil partnerships. A 2017 poll found that 83% of Germans are in favor of same-sex marriage, 16% were against. Nowadays 61% of Germans believe most immigrant Muslims in Germany want to be distinct from the larger German society, rather than adopting Germany's customs and way of life[16]. A survey in 2009 concluded that 69% of immigrants perceived Germany as their homeland, while 58% felt part of the German society. Hamburg, the second largest city in Germany, is home to around 1.8 million inhabitants, around a third of them have an immigrant background mostly from Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Eritrea, Afghanistan, Albania,

Kosovo, Poland and Somalia. In line with the so-called "Königsberg quota", Hamburg receives 2.52% of all asylum applicants in Germany. This distribution quota takes many factors into consideration for each of the 16 German states, such as demographics and economic strength. Some 71,000 refugees came to Hamburg from January 2015 until May 2018, only 39,000 of them were assigned to stay in the city state; the others were sent to other states in Germany. At the end of April 2018, 3,390 refugees were living in Hamburg's 12 initial shelters (*Erstaufnahme-Einrichtungen*), and 25,113 in 125 public housing sites (*Folge-Unterkünfte*). This is a total of 28,503 refugees living in publicly funded and operated facilities. In addition, some 10,000 refugees found a haven in Hamburg's normal housing market between January 2015 and April 2018. It is worth to mention that 33% of Hamburg's population have a migration background, and about 50% of the under-18s have a migration background[17].

Amongst the 1.6 million refugees registered in Germany between 2015 and 2018, approximately 60,000 are LGBTQI individuals from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Sudan, Uganda, Algeria, and other places from the MENA region. They fled places where laws are drawn by strict Islamic morals that do not allow homosexuality. Persecution, stigmatization, humiliation, torture, forcing into arranged marriages but also fear of the death penalty due to sexual orientation are reasons for fleeing and immigrating for many people worldwide, especially in the Middle East and Africa. Large numbers of those refugees reach out to Germany where tolerance towards homosexual people has increased over the past decade. With such diversity, the neighborhood of St.Georg is a unique place where one can find both the sexually open gay and the religiously conservative immigrant. Although they share the same neighborhood, yet they don't really share the same streets and public space.

4. THE QUEST FOR A HOMELAND

> 'We no longer are a German society, but the majority society. That means we create parallel worlds through language. If there is a majority society, then there is a minority society. Do we want that?'
>
> Monika Maron[18]

The word homeland is the concept of a place where a cultural, national, or racial identity is shaped. It is also the place in which one's ancestors have lived for generations after immigrating from another homeland. Since the mid of last century, Germany has become the new homeland for many. It all started when West Germany initiated the 'Gastarbeiter' program. Millions of so-called guest-workers, mostly unskilled laborers from Italy, Turkey, Spain, and Greece, arrived in the economic boom years between 1950s and 1970s. With the oil crisis in 1973, Germany ended the program, and many left the country, only 3 million remained fueling a lower but

relatively steady stream of immigrants throughout the 1970s especially with the family-reunification programs that allowed workers' families to join them. In 1980s new waves arrived mostly from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria as asylum-seekers. For most of the second half of the 20th century, German policymakers considered immigrants as temporary guests, and explicitly stated that Germany was not a country of immigration.[19] In 2000s however, the citizenship law was reformatted allowing second generations to obtain German citizenship, which increased societal fear of the growing immigrant population from ethnic Muslim countries accompanied with decreased ethnic Germans.

> 'Invoking religious freedom, Islam changes our everyday life: vegetarian food in preschools and schools, burkinis at swimming pools, mosques in places where Muslims do not live, and with architecture that does not take the cityscape into consideration…I do not want to be accosted by any religion in this way' Monika Maron

The new Germans (second generations of immigrants) find themselves trapped within the triangle of patriarchal gender roles within the family, strict obedience to religious principles and least openness towards sexuality are considered key aspects in the reproduction of this culture. A culture that is more conservative than of the origins of their parents.

To achieve the sense of a new homeland, immigrants as new minorities tend to turn some city spaces within that new habitat into enclaves that are defined as spatial junctures of different elements and traditions. Their goal is to comprise their ethnic society to fit within the different spaces of the city. The term 'fit' is loosely related to common words such as comfort, satisfaction, and efficiency. It is the match between a space and a whole pattern of behaviors, it also depends on culture, expectations, norms, and customary ways of doing things.[20] According to Lynch, public spaces are usually altered to fit ways of behaving, and simultaneously behaviors are changed to fit a given space. There are two ways of observing that fit: the first is to watch people acting in a space, in order to see how well overt actions, match the characteristics of a location. The second method is to ask the users themselves, whose sense of the appropriateness of a space is the final measure of its fit. Unfitting also appears in existing public spaces, which were once acceptable, because expectations have changed in response to possibilities opened up by new spaces elsewhere.

Generally speaking, a city like Hamburg can be defined as a dynamic matrix in which physical spatial forms and symbolic social processes keep interacting with each other within a constant form of change, creating sometimes contested spaces between different groups of users. Conflicting uses of spaces automatically raise issues related to territoriality that reflect the need of users to claim some geography as their own[21]. The

emerging societal conflicts can also sometimes lead to creating 'concealed spaces' with invisible walls, spaces that are geographically invisible with camouflaged uses as in the case of LGBTQI immigrants. This sub-minority utelises public spaces nowadys in Hamburg in a similar disguised way to the times when German gays lived in social condemnation for their homosexuality during the last century. This public denunciation pushed many German gay individuals in the past to seek exclusive gay friendly spaces where they were able to act as they wish without the fear of rejection and homophobia. Some of the new immigrants nowadays also try to use public spaces while balancing between visibility and invisibility. They live in constant fear of being socially pronounced which affects the way they move through the city and experience its spatial potentialities. This evident fact of parallel realities that are revealed through the concealed/hidden uses of some spaces creates a couple of important questions: how some groups become marginalized? How and why their use of space needs to be concealed?

Examining current urban shifts in some of Hamburg's public space as a reflection of a multicolored society governed by a territorial culture will help to understand why some minorities insist on not sharing the same public space within the same homeland.

5. ST. GEORG (ONE NEIGHBORHOOD, TWO WORLDS)

"It seems as if the people of Hamburg have banished to St. Georg everything that they were unwilling or unable to place in the city"
Hess in 'Hamburg topographisch, 1811'

St. Georg is one of Hamburg's oldest districts which has been a space for the marginalized, migrants and social outcasts since its establishment. It all started in 1194 with the construction of 'St. Georg hospital' for leprosy outside the city walls of Hamburg, where the sick cases were relocated and had no access to the actual city area and later treated or buried there. Outside the walls of the city the plague cemetery was laid out in 1564, later forming the burial ground for the poor. Old city plans show that the main crafts practiced in St.Georg were the intolerable ones for hygienic reasons, such as groats makers, distilling, and pig-keeping.[22] In 1606 the unfavorable area was incorporated into the city limits which led to a further upswing. Residential buildings, storage spaces, factories, railway facilities and horse stables were built, which all made St. Georg a gray, unattractive district. After the great fire of Hamburg in 1842, around 20,000 people became homeless, and building activity considerably increased to relieve the housing shortage. In 1868, when industrial expansions started in Germany, the suburb St.Georg became officially a district of Hamburg, and around the turn of the century it had nearly 97,000 residents.[23] As a result of the construction of the main rail station in 1906, the area of St.Georg around the station transformed considerably. The new terminal introduced lively

activity, hotels, boarding houses sprung up in the close vicinity, and all kinds of places of entertainment like theatres and the arts and crafts museum were established. It also developed into a drug scene accompanied with prostitution as additional side effects, which besmeared the image of St. Georg and its streets. The district's current dimensions were established after World War II, the majority of its infra structure was bombed, and many buildings were left uninhabited. Slowly homeless and refugees found refuge in the vacant buildings and St.Georg slowly became a district for minorities.

With the beginning of the Guest-workers immigration to Germany in 1960s, many settled in St. Georg, where the rents were low, apartments were available, and the labour-intense industry was located nearby. In 1979, this area became Hamburg's first senate funded urban renewal zone. This meant the remaining decrepit Art Nouveau buildings after the WWII were preserved, renovated, and sold as condominiums, which drove up the real estate prices and the cost of living. In the 1980s St.Georg was heavily registered in the public perception as red light and drug consumption district, and the gay/lesbian community slowly discovered the neighborhood as a new homeland. The social structure of the area was well below the city average, and by mid-1990s over 56% of the inhabitants were non-Germans originally from over 100 countries. Today 11,384 people live in St. Georg in a total area of 1.8 Km^2, 31.4% of whom do not have a German passport, compared to 14.8% in the whole Hamburg[24]. Since the beginning of the 2000s waves of gentrification have transformed the district, and instead of small retailers; cafés, fancy galleries and boutique chains now dominate the urban scene, which is referred to as latte macchiatoisation" of St. George by the famous German newspaper Die Zeit.

The transformation from a dingy railway station district into one of the most expensive addresses in the city is taking its toll for a while now. Every little loophole in the law is used to persuade small long-time tenants to sell away their properties and leave the area to more affordable places. Not to mention that many second-generation immigrants managed to move to safer and higher status areas, and they only return to practice their religion and meet their friends. Generally speaking, St.Georg is developing into a gentrified district with a population ranging from Germans to east Europeans, to Asians and Arabs. A concentration of Muslim population in the eastern part of St. Georg is constantly growing with the successive waves of immigrants, while a relatively large community of LGBTQI is changing the face of its western part supported by an above-average financial resource.

Both groups are mainly concentrated in two main streets: 'Lange Reihe' and 'Steindamm' (Fig.1) When investigating both streets, there are different but related aspects to be looked at. Since the focus of the research is the relationship between 'marginalized' groups and the public space, the exploration of the

democratic nature of both environments is of key importance. By characterizing Lange Reihe and Steindamm as public domains, the assumption is that they are accessible to everyone and therefore constitutive of democracy allowing for the 'other' to be visible and acceptable. This paper will use the four parameters suggested by Allan Collins in 2004 in order to easily conceptualize the socio-spatial evolution prosses of both streets: pre-condition phase, emergence phase, expansion and diversification phase, and integration phase.

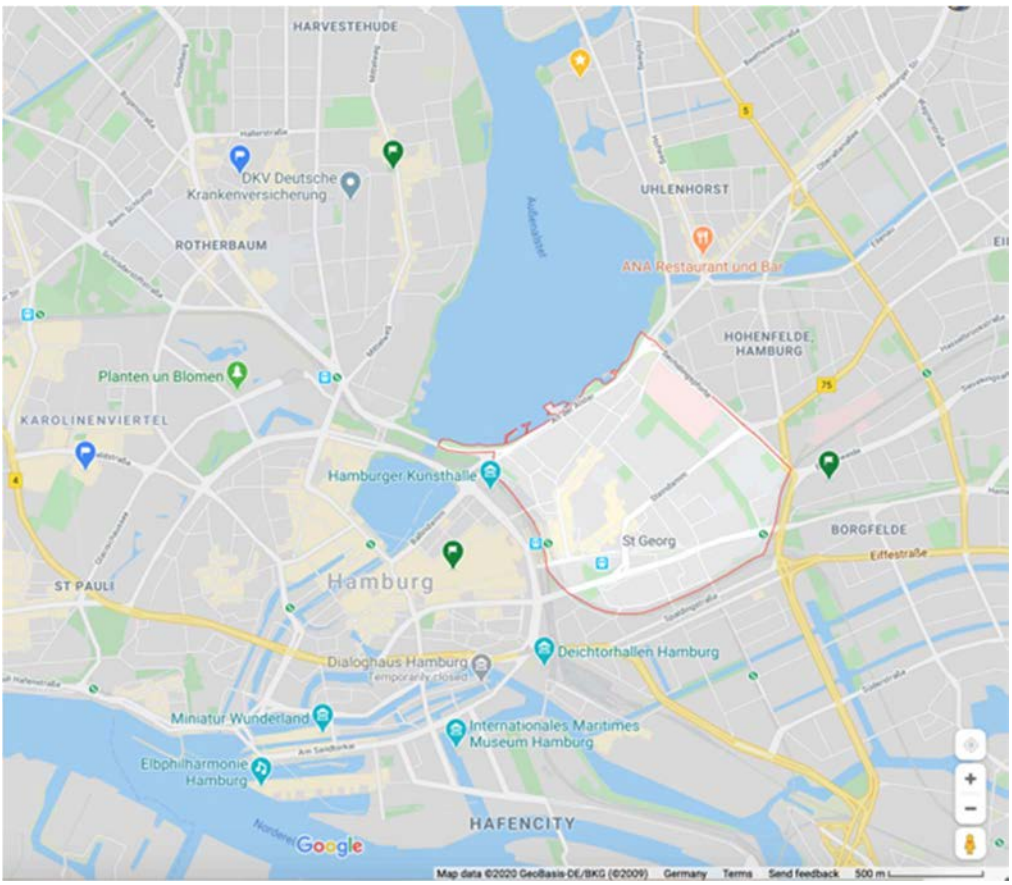

Fig. 1: Map of St. Georg showing the proximity of Lange Reihe and Steindamm, Hamburg-Germany. (Source: Google Maps, 2020)

6. LANGE REIHE STREET (SEE & BE SEEN)

> "There will not be a magic day when we wake up and it's now okay to express ourselves publicly. We make that day by doing things publicly until it's simply the way things are."
>
> Tammy Baldwin[25]

This one kilometer long street is considered the catwalk platform for the LGBTQI scene in St.Georg. It is quite common to see same sex couples walking hand in hand with trendy outfits and unique fashion. Galleries, small eccentric shops, cafes, bars, restaurants, chains and sex shops are lined up along this pulsing

colorful quasi-center. Rainbow flags are predominant, traffic lights even show pictograms of same-sex couples instead of the standard single pedestrian, and of course it is the starting point of the annual Hamburg 'Pride Parade'.

THE PRE-CONDITION PHASE: Two rows of stacked old rare half-timbered buildings are aligned along the street giving it the charming atmosphere and unique architecture, hence the name (Long Row). Before becoming the bustling center for the LGBTQI community in Hamburg, since the 1960s most of those buildings were occupied by homeless and immigrants from East and South Europe as small shops or low rent flats, as well as low-income Germans. The street also hosted the St. Georg Leprosy hospital which does not exist anymore. According to the Monument Protection Office, around 20 houses in the Lange Reihe are listed and under monument protection. During the 1960s and 1970s, as middle-income Germans suburbanized and cleared some spaces within Hamburg, immigrant gays found residence in freshly vacated spaces in Lange Reihe.

THE EMERGENCE PHASE: By the 1990s, a second wave of more affluent young, single, and childless LGBTQI individuals managed to afford the cost of rents, and also to purchase and renovate inexpensive buildings in Lange Reihe slowly replacing poorer gay migrants in the area. Individual lowkey shops, groceries and small craft businesses have largely given way to street cafes, exclusive shops, trendy bookstores, and expensive restaurants, while maintaining the style of the old existing buildings.

THE EXPANSION ANS DIVERSIFICATION PHASE: Slowly the spatial configuration of the street was transformed into a vivid center of social, cultural, and political utility. (Fig.2) With more leniency in the German laws and the societal acceptance toward the LGBTQI community, Lange Reihe became a free zone where they could express their sexual identity openly in a non-normative way. The street became a democratic open space where its users could freely exhibit displays of affection, to interact with their peers, and simply be who they are without fearing the 'Other'. The street also witnessed a steady process of gentrification and became one of the most expensive fifty streets in the city for renting flats. Economists have long speculated about the effects of gay urban spaces on everything from diversity to gentrification to housing prices. Studies show that neighborhoods with a higher-than-average density of gay residents are by definition more diverse and open-minded, with a wider range of racial and ethnic groups[26]. This purposeful effort to populate the Lange Reihe resulted in the cultivation of gay commercial and business enterprises which particularly, reflects their cultural values and serve the special needs of individual LGBTQI society at large.

Fig. 2: Urban features of Lange Reihe, St. Georg. (Source: Braker, 2020)

Fig. 3: Christopher day parade in Lange Reihe. (Source: Braker, 2017)

THE INTEGRATION PHASE: Since the 1990s the street became a cultural pocket where passers-by feel safe strolling around, surrounded by art studios, galleries, trendy bars and outdoor cafes. Lange Reihe is nowadays the center of 'Christopher Street Day' parade and seeing couples of the same sex is not an unusual sight anymore. (Fig.3) Just a few years ago a shy smile, a whisper or even a silent gaze would have been the reason to get attacked by other people as being gay was punishable in Germany until the end of the 1960s. Being gay was only spoken in private, and a public outing was often considered a stigma, the fear of it was great among many men and women. This fear might have been diminished for the Germans and Europeans frequenting the street nowadays, but another form of that fear is still vividly existing for many LGBTQI asylum seekers from MENA region. Those individuals cannot freely frequent Lange Reihe. In many cases, refugees tend to not exposes themselves as gays fearing the out-casting form their national groups especially when they are not originally recognized as gay. Many LGBTQI asylum seekers originally fled their countries due to the constant threat of imprisonment on sodomy charges and forced anal tests. Most of those suppressed silent individuals one can meet a few hundred meters away, in Steindamm Street.

7. STEINDAMM (THE PATRIARCHAL ENCLAVE)

"We don't have gays in Turkey, only in Germany" A resident in Steindamm[27]

Steindamm is a wide thruway full of loud vehicles, confined between oriental eateries, small groceries and betting shops. (Fig.4) With large groups of gathered men, it is a common scene to find police patrols performing random personal checks, which leads to a subjective feeling of insecurity for its visitors. In recent years, Steindamm became more dominated by a conservative connection to traditions and religion, primarily controlled by the strong presence of thirteen mosques in St.Georg alone.

Fig. 5: Urban settings of Steindamm, St. Georg in Hamburg. (Source: Braker, 2020)

Fig. 4: Urban features of Steindamm street, St.Georg. (Source: GeorgDerReisende, 2011 - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=91259843)

THE PRE-CONDITION PHASE: Steindamm street was the first long paved street that was laid outside Hamburg's walls in 1539. Since 1890 it was developed into a main shopping street, and by the beginning of the 20th century seven tram lines ran through it. During the WWII many of its buildings were bombed, and new modern high-rise office buildings and hotels were built instead, and the tram line disappeared[28]. Since the waves of immigration in 1960s, the street accommodated many newcomers from different nationalities especially the guest-workers.

THE EMERGENCE PHASE: In the 1980s and 1990s it was dominated by Turkish and Afghani identities due to the second generations who started their own small businesses there. There oriental shops were closely aligned with sex shops, sports betting kiosks, and casinos which attracted many young men. It was also an open drug scene, where people consumed drugs in the street, passers-by got robbed under the threat of used syringes as weapons. A badly reputed district at the time that led the German newspaper 'Bild' to call it the Slum and 'Vorhof zur Hölle' or the hall of hell.[29] Since the excessive waves of refugees and asylum seekers hit Germany in 2015, Steindamm became strongly controlled by a majority of Muslims coming from Turkey, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and other areas from the MENA region.

Fig. 6: Police patrols around the main mosques in Steindamm. (Source: Braker, 2020)

THE EXPANSION ANS DIVERSIFICATION PHASE: The street scenery became more dominated by new male-hairdressers, numerous halal meat shops, oriental restaurants, shisha cafes. (Fig.5) The perception is mixed with a special exotic smell that one does not get in any other area in Hamburg. The street in general is characterized by a great diversity of different nationalities and currently it represents the new city center for the newcomers. Just like in Lange Reihe, signage is an important element of streetscapes in ethnic enclaves, it also plays an important role in Steindamm. Signage of same languages, letters, symbols defines the street's boundaries, it creates a unique urban environment for its ethnic groups. It performs as a cushion for their first culture shock and provides a comforting and familiar urban environment for the new immigrants. It was clear to us that the presence of co-ethnics increases immigrants' interaction with natives, and thus reduces the likelihood of integration in Steindamm. Many studies also bring attention to the fact that youngsters and second generations experience their youth in a triangle of strictly religious families, the mosque, and the German education system which equips them to integrate within the German society. But do they perceive Germany as their new Homeland? According to a survey by the 'Essen Center for Turkish Studies' in 2005, a considerable segment of young immigrants has accepted its status as troublemakers in Germany where they feel angry, outcast and excluded[30]. Those young generations come from families that are reluctant to shed off traditional values and choose to strictly stick to their religious roots and preserve their distinct ethnic identities (Syrians in Germany for example say many of the mosques are more conservative than those at home). The anger of many young immigrants leads them to rediscover religion, which offers them security,

guidance and a seductive opportunity to isolate themselves from the German majority. It is also a way of forming an identity as well as forming a way of perceiving the other (there is nowadays 17 mosques in the eastern part of St.Gerog in and around Steindamm). (Fig.6)

THE INTEGRATION PHASE: Through our frequent visits to the Steindamm we realized the street was not a space for women to hang out, unlick Lange Reihe for example. The street setting does not give women that chance to freely enjoy strolling through it without feeling watched by men hanging out there. Three types of women visit the street daily, the first type goes for mandatory shopping or dining with their families, the second one is running family business like groceries, the third is prostituting. At the same time one can see clusters of men hanging out at every doorstep or corner, chatting and smoking while observing the women passing by. Steindamm is also visited by some Germans who find it as an exotic area, with its famous westren cinema 'Savoy', the oriental food and the cheap supermarkets. The only type of users that one cannot easily spot in the street are the gays. For LGBTQI the street can be a space full of unnecessry harrasments and verbal abusing once they are acknowledged as LGBTQI. They get catcalled by young men as well as prostitutes, and bluntly get asked to leave the street. For example, Farid Müller (The LGBTQ political spokesman of the Greens in Hamburg) has been hoping for years that the annual parade of Christopher Street Day would cross the Muslim-dominated Steindamm, but this never happened. The Gay Association (LSVD) even complains that there is an increasing tension with the Muslim population. It is "unfortunately no longer the case that a gay couple can still carelessly walk across the Steindamm holding hands," said LSVD chairman Wolfgang Preußner to the "Abendblatt" newspaper.[31]

8. THE HYBRID, A LOST IN SPACE SUB-MINORITY

Just like the urban gentrification in which St.Georg is witnessing at both streets Lange Reihe and Steindamm, there is also a philanthropic gentrification strongly taking place in recent years. A hybrid of both groups: the LGBTQI and the Middle Eastern immigrants which is a sizable group and actively growing in visibility; the LGBTQI immigrants.

This group is originally stemming from Arab communities where the family structure is based on a deep intertwining between tradition and Islamic faith. They sacrifice individuality to maintain family cohesiveness where honor, self-image, security and identity are derived from the conservative family relationships. Those aspects are some of many that steer the lives of many LGBTQI immigrants in St.Georg, and force them to opt for isolation or even hide their sexual identity and lead a double life instead. A social and psychological struggle that leads them to isolation in general could be caused either by the lack of free access to public

spaces that are gay friendly like Lange Reihe, or by the fear of discovery in the local gay space like in Pulverteich street.[32]

Pulverteich is a tiny street located just a few meters away from the main mosque of Steindamm. It hosts some facilities for LGBTQI individuals, like for example the famed 'Dragon sauna' which is considered the most popular gay sauna in northern Germany. It also hosts one of its inconspicuous old buildings where male prostitution takes place, men meet for coffee, chat, and make friends. They are mostly underage refugees and male prostitutes from Eastern Europe, who meet their clients in bars and dark street corners around Steindamm and Pulverteich streets.[33]

Despite the fact that Lange Reihe is located just a few hundred meters away, and it is an open public space that offers safety for LGBTQI groups; for gay immigrants it is almost a prohibited public space where the risk of being judged or outcasted if discovered by their families or Arab peers is high.(Fig.7) The same applies to gays frequenting Steindamm, for them it is a dangerous zone where they get exposed to harassment and aggressive attitude from young men.

Fig. 7: Bridging the gap between Steindamm and Lange Reihe. (Source: Braker, 2020)

9. CONJECTURE (THE VIRTUAL SPACE)

After reviewing the nature of both streets, it becomes clear now why Muslim immigrants and LGBTQI groups are not sharing the same public space. From an urban point of view, both enclaves: Lange Reihe and Steindamm went through four phases of urban transformation as how explained by Collins:

1. The 'Pre-condition' stage: which encompasses a neglected urban district with low rents, occupied by minorities who try to find a refuge and safe accommodation.
2. The 'Emergence' stage: where an increasing number of people belonging to the same group start to patronize the growing number of small enterprises located in the area.
3. The 'expansion and diversification' stage: in which the district becomes an increasingly appealing area for specific groups to live and start related businesses.
4. The 'integration' stage: gentrification and the attractiveness of each street draws other groups of people to the area. Only that in those two specific streets, integration between their own people was difficult if not impossible!

Generally speaking, a space is one of those complex concepts that has been approached from different angles and different levels: philosophical, scientific and social. The changing sexual landscape of cities reflects shifting of social norms and moral sentiments. Shifts that can turn the city into a battleground where those with non-normative sexual orientation seek to territorialize spaces, producing neighborhoods which normalize and promote their identities. St. Georg as explained, is one neighborhood accommodating two minorities that are fearing each other, two minorities who choose not to interact within the same public space, who cannot find common grounds due to cultural prejudices. Yet, both parties manage to find their own safe space as long as there is no one tries to sabotage their beliefs.

A hybrid of both is being forgotten; the LGBTQI immigrants. That group of individuals (men and women) cannot seem to find a secure space within their neighborhood, a space where they can openly act and safely interact. On the contrary, they pursue long distance anonymous relationships while leading a double life at the same time. Their sexuality is intensely restricted to anonymous LGBTQI spaces like underground gay bars and private parties. Sociologist Manuel Castells hypothesized that gays tend to move into far urban spaces where cultural permissiveness permit sexual experimentation. That's exactly the case with many immigrants who said they travel to Berlin and Bremen in order to find that safe space that allows them to meet their friends and partners. There is also a lot of immigrants from other German cities who visit Lange Reihe to find more comfort and acceptance than in Steindamm where their ethnic peers live, a space where they do not feel safe or welcomed. Traveling long distances, or leading double lives while being forced into marriages cannot be the solution. Policy makers and planners need to closely interact with this small yet growing population. This

minority does not fit the heterosexual categories in which planners normally target, and that is why we need to start questioning the core values that affect the lives of this sub-minority, particularly those related to family and community.

We need to promote spaces that ensure inclusivity for different groups, spaces that are safe for future generations without discrimination of any kind. Spaces that are able to inhabit the other and produce justice, safety, accessibility, and affordability in order to foster equality of life for everyone. In the future, although there is a significant research, literature and practice already in existence, there is obviously a pressing need to start tracking social and urban developments of this minority and reinforcing planning practice that can help generate spaces and streets where people feel free to express themselves without falling under intolerant prejudice.

But until this takes place, can we think of some sort of an 'in-between' space where both parties can go and do not feel estranged. Could this in-between space be a 'virtual' space? A safe home where they can establish social interactions and get in touch with their community without having to travel away from home. A safe secret place that can be hardly discovered by their families and gardians.

'Places are more than locations on maps, they are cultural creations with varying meanings to the different people that experience them.' David C. Hodge[34]

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[1] LGBTQI is an umbrella term for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and Intersex. The L, G, and B refer to sexual orientation, who a person feels romantically and/or sexually attracted to. The T refers to gender identity and expression. Q refers to queer in relation to sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, or relationships and sexual practice, but it also represents a critical view of existing norms. I refers to intersex, which is an umbrella term used for a variety of experiences in which a person is born with, or develops, a reproductive or sexual anatomy that does not fit the typical definitions of female or male. An intersex person may identify as female, male, or neither.

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements

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MANAGING UTOPIA: DWELLING IN THE LATE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE (1945-74) THROUGH GUINEA-BISSAU

Rui Aristides Lebre

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MANAGING UTOPIA: DWELLING IN THE LATE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE (1945-74) THROUGH GUINEA-BISSAU

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Until recently, Portugal maintained one of the last European colonial empires. During the twentieth-century, Portugal's tradition and cosmology emerged as a utopia or a virtual destiny: the creation of a trans-continental Portuguese culture made one through miscegenation and acculturation. This work analyzes the management and production of this utopia in the empire's last phase in Africa between 1945-1974, specifically in the former colony of Guinea-Bissau. It does so by looking into the dwelling practices in this territory and how these produced the effects both assembling and disassembling the Portuguese empire. The inquiry is guided by the question: how and through what effects did Portuguese and Guineans dwell in this utopia? By analyzing how dwelling in the former colony was approached, managed, produced and lived, this work aims to reflect on Portugal's enduring imperial utopia, surveying its effects today. This paper looks into spatial practices as both colonial and anti-colonial, submission, and possibility.

1. INTRODUCTION

Je suis reparti de la Guinée avec l'angoisse de celui qui doit abandonner des lieux, qui lui sont devenus chers; où il a laissée des amis, qui ont été très charmant avec lui; d'où il emporte des souvenirs de paix, de beauté, de calme, avec un sens d'admiration profonde pour les portugais européens, qui, lá-bas, l'on peut vraiment le lire, 'partageons avec amour et compétence leur vie avec les indigènes'.[1]

[I left Guinea with the anguish of someone who must abandon places that have become dear to him; where he left friends, who were very charming with him; from where he takes away memories of peace, beauty, calm, with a sense of deep admiration for the European Portuguese, who, over there, we can really read, 'let us share their life with love and competence with the natives'] (Translation by Google Translate 2021)

Wrote the italian journalist Emile Marini in 1959 after a short visit to Guinea-Bissau. For him the Portuguese were not racist, there was no racism in the country's colonial dominion of Guinea, on the contrary, they shamed their European colonial counterparts. Sixty years later the discussion is still, as a primetime televised debate in June 2020 put it: "Portugal, a racist country?" The debate offered no compromise, there were those that firmly observed racist practices in contemporary Portugal and those that, through historical reference and comparison, agree with Marini. The best summary of this ongoing discussion is perhaps that given by the activist Vanusa Coxi: "Portugal itself is not a racist country, but there is racism in Portugal."[2] The problem in part is the question. It is not that important to know if a country itself, as if it could be isolated as an entity, is racist or not, but how certain historical experiences emerging from racist structures of government form our everyday. In the case of Portugal, there is still no getting around the luso-tropical ideal.

In the wake of the work of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Mello Freyre and specially after WWII, *luso-tropicalism* was the idea that the Portuguese were given to creating peaceful multi-racial colonial situations. This was, many believed at the time such as Marini, a benevolent form of colonialism that only the Portuguese possessed due to their inter-cultural, brotherly Christian disposition for social peace. Freyre on its part argued that the miscegenation observed in Portuguese colonies was mainly because of Portugal's historic limited population, when comparing with other imperial powers such as Spain, and the idea that the Portuguese were themselves the result of miscegenation.[3] More than a historic reading of Portugal's role in planetary history, luso-tropicalism became a governing discourse throughout the last phase of Portuguese colonialism, built-up as national truth from the 1950s onwards, becoming a concrete "space-time horizon."[4] We should understand it as an intellectual tradition about the country's long interaction with, as Mbembe says, Europe's "dark continent"[5] and that developed in the nation-building nineteenth-century and from its anxieties about race, essence and culture. This intellectual tradition contained a national utopia: the creation of a trans-continental Portuguese culture made one through miscegenation and acculturation.

This paper examines how this utopia was articulated in the concrete production and managing of dwelling in colonial Guinea-Bissau. Given its peripheral status in the former Portuguese African dominion, the latter is not often the focus of academic attention.[6] For the purposes of advancing the luso-tropical utopia, however, it constituted an early and continuous laboratory for Portuguese colonial practices until 1974, namely regarding housing. Using original archival research and field work, the paper aims to show how architecture practices enabled the luso-tropical horizon as a form of government and as a varied group of concrete experiences.[7] To accomplish this it addresses three moments in Guinea's colonial housing production, discussing how particular house designs articulated Indigenous Law, scientific colonialism and late political strategies of development: 1) the immediate post-WWII and the neighborhood of Santa Luzia; 2) the mid-fifties and early sixties and Portuguese architects attention to dwelling culture; 3) the late sixties until 1974 and the forced villagization program by the Portuguese military. Firstly, however, we must start by placing luso-tropicalism as a spatial argument.

2. ARCHITECTURALLY CRAFTING AN IDEAL PORTUGUESE AFRICA - 1940S

October 2019, ask any taxi-driver in Bissau to go to the center of town and you'll get the question back: "Praça?"[8] You think this refers to a central square, such as where today lays the monument to the heroes of independence, formerly known as the empire square, but no. It refers to the urban perimeter of Bissau's first colonial urban plan, the "New Bissau" of 1919 conceived by the engineer José Guedes Quinhones, implemented by the dictatorship when Bissau became the colony's capital in 1941.[9] The moment we arrive at the urban perimeter of this plan, coming from busy avenues into calm, moderately dense streets, the question

arises: "So where in Praça?" For 'Praça' is the whole former colonial city where the Portuguese settlers used to live and from where the colonial administration ruled the country. Beyond this perimeter lay what Quinhones in 1919 called "suburbs," where the majority of the Guinean population dwelled during the colonial period. This city beyond the perimeter was, is, a totally different kind of city, one made of irregular streets and alleys, and architectures of living materials that do not belong to the architecture historian's lexicon.[10]

This tale of two cities is the repetition of a larger international pattern of exclusion and asymmetrical development that finds its roots in modern colonialism[11] and is clear in capital cities in former Portuguese Colonies.[12] It is also a living reminder that luso-tropicalism and its notion of a multicultural Portuguese modernity was a mirage. The idea itself was not Portuguese, but Brazilian and meant for Brazil's state building problems in the early twentieth century. The famous sociologist Gilberto Freyre developed the historical reading of Portuguese colonialism as grounded on miscegenation in his famous book *Masters and Slaves* originally of 1933.[13] It was a way to advance the idea of Brazil as an essentially multi-racial society. It was picked up by the Portuguese dictatorship in the 1950s and with the growing need to defend the empire leading up to the Bandung Conference of 1955. Freyre, however, was well read by Portuguese elites much before.[14] The word and concept circulated with fluency in colonial institutes and administration. By 1950 it was instrumentally appropriated by the full force of the dictatorship's propaganda apparatuses, involving mistranslation[15] and u-turns, as the dictator Salazar was initially against the historical reading by Freyre exactly because of the miscegenation.[16] By the sixties it was officially part of the curricula of Colonial Administration, Social and Political Science schools, and an official fact about Portuguese culture and its lineage from humanist seafaring explorers. While for some Portuguese at the time luso-tropicalism was clearly a lie, possibly for most and surely for the regime it was a political destiny that made Portuguese colonialism a centuries' old humanist endeavour and its colonial possessions a civilizational right.[17] As Castela has argued it became a concrete "space-time horizon," more than a way to organize and understand colonial priorities and strategies, a desired experience by both Portuguese and Africans.[18] Understandably, it gained the concreteness of its desire through the production of actual bodies in colonial space. In 1947 the ambitious and entrepreneuring colonial administrator Sarmento Rodrigues[19] had this to say about the dual city in which we started:

This event constitutes yet another proof, one of the most expressive at that, not only of the preponderant situation of our country, but particularly of the attention Guinea is deserving among the most illustrious international scientific fields. Who could say to those troubled settlers earlier in this century that that Bissau surrounded by palisades would, in so little time, be the welcoming city of today? That the so disquieted

Guinea would become this appeasing garden, where one lives peacefully in the fraternity of work and mutual respect?[20]

He was addressing the collective of Portuguese colonial administrators gathering in Bissau for their annual meeting a month before the city received the second International West African Conference (Conférence Internationale des Africanistes Occidentaux - CIAO). This conference was an biannual political-scientific event under the initiative of France's *Institute Français d' Afrique Noir* (IFAN) to share knowledge and coordinate development across various African colonies, originating in 1950 the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA). Founded in January 1945, this conference was a response by European colonizers to the growing pressure from the US and the UN for the independence and development of colonial dominions.[21] Bissau in 1947 was the center of this colonial world of modernizing knowledge and coordination. Sarmento Rodrigues was not only celebrating the accomplishment of Quinhones' 'Praça' and the promise of Bissau's luso-tropical future, but also its leading role in this international setting and, of course, his success as colonial innovator and manager.

He had reason to do so. During his time as governor of Bissau he promoted a number of public works, namely the finishing of Quinhones' urban plan, disease control campaigns, topographical and agricultural surveys and founded the Center of Studies of Portuguese Guinea (Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa) with its Cultural Bulletin of Portuguese Guinea, which became a leading scientific publication in the Portuguese colonies. This modernizing impetus, in the wake of the effort by European countries to keep their colonies, mobilized new scientific apparatuses. This developed a concern with ethnography, censuses and a general attention to African custom and ways of life, of respecting the "indigenous" as a form of rule. In the Portuguese case, respecting indigenous culture meant making it a separate entity, socially, legally and politically. With the Indigenous Law of 1928-33 the clear separation between indigenous' and citizen's rights legalized colonial exploitation while containing the notion of a civilizational progression for Africans into the "fraternity of work and mutual respect".[22] The dual city of Bissau was not understood as the result of a strict racial separation, but as the mark of this cultural respect.[23]

If 'Praça' was the Portuguese city and the "suburbs" the indigenous one, then in 1946 Sarmento Rodrigues attempted to advance a third city by proposing the first "Indigenous Urbanization Plan." The Santa Luzia neighborhood was supposed to be the shining example of the colonial ladder set up by the Portuguese dream of a multiracial empire, bridging the ungraspable distance between "indigenous" and "citizen," and the first of its kind in Portuguese colonial housing practices. Although scarce through most of the remainder of the

Portuguese empire, housing programs would hence become a central stage for the creation of a black Portuguese subjectivities along the lines of a desired luso-tropical nation.

The neighborhood was intended for "assimilated" Guineans, which represented the middle way between the indigenous' "inferior degree of civilization," and the "civilized."[24] It meant social ascension from the first category at the price of having to behave like a white Christian Portuguese, with a monogamous relationship, fluency in Portuguese, using modern cutlery and furniture, and among other things, not keeping animals in the house. And the house was the testing ground for this "assimilation." While living in the new neighborhood required this discipline, the design of the Santa Luzia model was the translation into built form of a sense of cultural respect for colonial administrators. The house plan was inspired in the archetype of the Balanta dwelling, with a rectangular core with two rooms framed by a perimetral veranda, at the corners of which were placed the toilet and kitchen. It constituted a functional interpretation of Balanta houses surveyed in the same period, with their wide and multi-purpose verandas, encircling a complex core of family relations, and the use of small windows. The architecture of Santa Luzia inclusively imitated the sensuous aesthetic of curved mud walls in the veranda.

These houses were intended for Guineans that directly worked for the colonial administration, such as Alberto's father, who was a chauffeur for the mosquito mission of the 1940s and one of Santa Luzia's first dwellers.[25] Not all intended dwellers identified themselves as Balanta. The choosing of this ethnicity for framing the house model seemed to derive from the fact that it represented a then relevant portion of Guinea's population in colonial censuses, which helped a certain functional arrangement of the landscape in strict ethnical boundaries.[26] Just as this categorization served the purpose of colonial control through a somewhat arbitrary selection of biological traits and social customs,[27] so did the functionalist interpretation of the Balanta dwelling for a somewhat arbitrary colonial respect that didn't actually allow for the growth of Santa Luzia's dwellers.

Apparently, as soon as people moved in they started altering the house, adding a new room here and there.[28] Since the all-encompassing and well-delimited veranda did not allow for repurpose, this implied subverting the architectural language of the neighborhood. The original grid of streets and lots arranged in blocks was soon lost to a more geometrically attentive appropriation of the city. The houses, originally placed in the middle of the plot, so as to allow for a front and back garden, soon saw both of these occupied with new buildings. Nowadays, the only aspect of the original plan that can be perceived at first glance is the distance between the original houses and the plot size of those facing the main street from 'Praça' to the military barracks, that structured the plan and colonial Bissau's attempt at planned urban growth in the 1940s-50s.

Once we leave this main street and question if we are in the right place, we soon realize the 1946 plan is nowhere to be found in its original shape. Alberto father's house, for instance, is an intense and ongoing living construction work, expanding and contracting as family and funds allow. A proud heritage for Alberto.

The urbanization plan was never fully accomplished, only part of the neighborhood was built. The house model, inspired in an idea of luso-tropical respect, was soon subverted by its actual use. It did, however, promote a Guinean elite that by small instalments over time became proprietors in Sarmento's vision of Bissau.[29] This did not stop people like Alberto's father, however, from joining the independent fighters in the 1960s and choosing a free Guinea over a Luso-tropical Portuguese one. Nevertheless, Santa Luzia was a key experiment in colonial housing practices that coalesced the luso-tropical dream with urban modernization and the creation of an African citizenship, which at the time and following Portuguese Indigenous Law involved assimilation as described above. For this purpose, the house deployed a relationship between ethnographic survey and architectural invention that was slowly developing with the advancement of scientific colonial campaigns.

In tandem with the urbanization plan, the Center of Studies of Portuguese Guinea launched an ethnographic survey of Guinean dwelling customs. Coordinated by navy officer Avelino Teixeira da Mota, it was published as the *Indigenous Dwelling in Portuguese Guinea* and became one of the few comprehensive surveys of common dwelling practices in the Portuguese colonies.[30] Produced with scientific rigor and through a wide team of amateur and professional geographers and ethnographers, it represented the importance of governing by imagined cultural respect, while its detailed mapping of dwelling types served the literal production of the latter in the built form of Santa Luzia neighborhood. Henceforth, the luso-tropicalist utopia would tie anthropology to architecture in a close, albeit difficult, intimacy.

3. RECKONING WITH LIVING LANDSCAPES – 1950'S-60'S

By 1952 Freyre's ideas were officially welcomed by the dictatorship and in 1954 the Indigenous Law was reviewed to facilitate the progression from indigenous to civilized status and accelerate the passage to the luso-tropical empire.[31] The Bandung conference was approaching, and it was in the dictatorship's self-interest to make it as loud as possible that it did not have colonies, but regions with many different kinds of Portuguese. The climax of this illusory progressiveness was 1961 and the appointing of Adriano Moreira as new Overseas Minister, who in his short two-year tenure framed Portuguese colonialism as a pluriracial modernizing endeavor in the wake of Freyre's national fame. He and his supposedly progressive agenda for the colonies were, however, a palliative for the violent period that had just started with the massacres in the

cotton region north of Angola and the official beginning of the liberation wars in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

International pressure and the growing organization of African liberation movements made the 1950s a period of colonial modernization. Several colonial scientific missions were developed, industrial and infrastructural works were accomplished, and urban plans were drawn. During this period, white settler communities increased exponentially particularly in Angola and Mozambique, where economic growth fueled by the European run for raw materials in the aftermath of French and British's colonies independence created a steady stream of jobs for white Portuguese.[32] Many urban studies and plans were commissioned, new development organizations were created, such as the *Juntas Provinciais de Povoamento* and that aimed to modernize colonial rurality. However, little was actually accomplished in the way of colonial planning and housing, particularly regarding the African population. This was the case in Guinea, where the lack of a profitable hinterland made housing and urban modernization even less of a priority. So, while the 1950s was a period of intense luso-tropical propaganda and investment, colonial cities seemed in fact to be whitening and the gap between indigenous and Portuguese to be increasing, until shortly becoming unbridgeable with the start of the war.

At the same time, during this period both Portuguese anthropology and architecture were experimenting with new references and setting new problems. In anthropology social Darwinism was no longer as hegemonic as in the 1940s. The 1950's saw a spade of Boas' inspired anthropologists under the influence of Jorge Dias, no longer so preoccupied with tying people to body and place and then to a particular rung in the civilizational ladder, but more with perceiving the connection between language, ritual and shape.[33] In architecture, a new generation of CIAM inspired architects were developing their own anthropology of modern Portuguese dwelling for a defense of modern form. Studying vernacular Portuguese archetypes throughout the1950s and early 1960s in a famous work titled *Survey of Portuguese Popular Architecture*, this new generation was reinventing a need to connect space to "Land and People."[34] Modern architecture to be truly modern, according to them, had to start from culture.

A number of new architects, either of this new generation or highly influenced by the *Survey*, is going to pick up the idea of building modern form from local cultural needs in order to solve the colonial problem. In a sort of a counter-clockwise movement, given the war was about to start, this new generation of architects understood and produced the luso-tropical utopia as a critical perspective. Critical in the sense of supplying the profession with a way of connecting with a colonial "Land and People" and as a standpoint from which to review past and future colonial planning and architecture. The architect Mário Gonçalves de Oliveira

(1914-2013) is an illustrative example. He graduated in Porto's Fine Arts School in 1943 and worked under eminent modernist architects such as José de Almeida Segurado, starting in 1946 a long career in the Colonial Planning Office of the Overseas Ministry that just ended with the extinction of the office in the Carnation Revolution of 1974.[35] He planned cities all over the former Portuguese empire but was invested in Guinea, especially after a mission to the country in 1958. With a surveyor's mind for vernacular things, Oliveira observed Guinean traditional dwellings much like a decade before Avelino Teixeira da Mota had with his survey of Guinean dwelling. This amateur ethnographic attention shared by many other architects, such as his colleague in the Colonial Planning Office Fernando Schiappa de Campos, made them project luso-tropicalism into urban form.

Oliveira published a lecture in 1962, in the wake of a plan for popular housing in Bissau, that attempted to summarize the rules Portuguese colonial planners should follow in the wake of the problem of creating "urban structures of conviviality and integration," as the title claims.[36] Very close to Moreira's argument of a pluriracial modernization, who according to Diniz was a close friend,[37] the problem for Oliveira was the importance of well-structured urban forms and neighborhood units in the advancement of the "beneficial policy of conviviality and development of pluriracial communities, by us long practiced (...)."[38] The concrete problem was, "especially in Guinea," the clear difference between "more isolated natives and those that live in groups."[39] The "primitive state of development" of the Guineans was not the only problem, but also the primitive state of development of some Portuguese. Observing the presence of "Europeans" in Santa Luzia neighborhood he argued for the settling of "more evolved," with a "more valid culture" Europeans, which according to him had to be a metropolitan minority capable of "civilizing (...) natives and non-natives."[40] Apparently, everybody had a hard time fitting within the luso-tropical horizon. The solution urban planning and architecture could offer, particularly regarding the "well organized distribution of the house," was "The congenial modification of the psychobiological personality of the less evolved natives could be taken to effect (...) by the organization of well elaborated units of conviviality."[41]

This implied for Oliveira and his amateur ethnographer architect colleagues, the designing of house models that answered the different "psychobiological personalities" and of neighborhoods that structured these in well-organized structures of influence, control and proximity. To attain that luso-tropical horizon, urban planning and house design had to make the colonial city a sort of large educational-disciplining apparatus in which some people received "good influences" and others gave them. Oliveira accomplished this in an urban form by proposing a plan for Bissau, published in the same lecture. In it there is a clear arrangement of social groups in neighborhood units whose "organic" plans and arrangements advance a cultural respect, not unlike that of Santa Luzia's veranda balcony with its curved walls.

Oliveira's plan was never built. In fact, during the 1950s and especially in the 1960s there was little, large scale urban construction from the colonial administration. The only exception was the Ajuda neighborhood proposed in 1965 by the colonial government as response to a fire in Bissau's "indigenous suburbs" that destroyed around a hundred houses. Although informed by the new views on the role of modern planning and architecture expounded by Oliveira, the neighborhood's model house and scheme departed very little from the original Santa Luzia: a square plan with three rooms, surrounded by a veranda, located in the middle of the plot. The urban scheme itself followed a straight grid of blocks and the residents misplaced by the fire had, like in Santa Luzia, to acquire "European" habits, namely by purchasing modern furniture and not having animals in the yard. The big change with this neighborhood and Oliveira's and other architects' form of colonial urban planning is the importance given to public spaces, such as school, doctor's office, social center, among others, in creating the desired Portuguese population. As one can observe visiting Ajuda today, these were mostly left on the drawing board.

Given that the urbanism and architecture for "pluriracial communities" proposed by the new generation of architects was not actually coming out of the study and drawing board, the luso-tropical horizon assumed the form of critique. Fernando Varanda (1941), close to the younger generation involved in the *Survey of Portuguese Popular Architecture* and highly influenced by its ethnographic attitude, wrote a scathing analysis of Guinea's colonial housing efforts in 1968.[42] Reviewing the two main housing models until then, Santa Luzia and Ajuda, he claimed these "raised serious doubts about their effective working and reply to the needs of the involved population."[43] Both models were plans, in his words, of "rule and square," meaning abstract and delocalized. Both in Santa Luzia and Ajuda, the veranda was more of a problem than a solution, repeating the "unfortunate tradition of Portuguese economical housing," with nothing regarding the "life system in community's tradition left to blacks in Guinea."[44] Furthermore, the placing of kitchen and bathroom in the veranda, such as in Santa Luzia, was for him little more than the fixation "as principle" of a local custom recognized as faulty. Most important, this was recognized as ineffectual as the exclusion of Islamic ethnicities in the thinking of housing, which constituted then and more so today, the great majority of Guinea's population.[45]

The problem raised by Varanda was that colonial housing, in the sense of one of the best apparatuses through which to promote development and that so desired pluriracial colonial society based on respect, was a failed enterprise, blind to the actual ways of life of the population. Like Oliveira, he had a proposal of course. Departing from the "Land and People" he proposed housing that worked around family units, reinterpreting the idea of *Morança* or the family enclave. Houses were supposed to be co-built in the techniques mastered by Guineans, such as clay walls, wood structure, straw roofs, materials that also offered the best performance for

Guinea's climate. Similarly with the house design that should actively result from a reinterpretation of already accomplished vernacular forms and solutions, such as the use of few and small windows, the use of small verandas, among other elements. It was never built, although this design attitude was recuperated in postcolonial Guinea and Portugal.

We can see in both Oliveira and Varanda the importance played by an ethnographic attention to design traditions in creating what we could call an architecture of colonial respect. Meaning, on the one hand, a new creative path for modern architecture. No longer preoccupied with general formulas and rules, it had to make its rules from the observation of concrete and specific cultures. On the other hand, it meant respect as a social protocol understood as central to nation and empire building. Even though the luso-tropical horizon became at some points, as in the case of Varanda, a propositive critique of the present, opening new forms of questioning and thinking about spatial practices. At the same time, it entangled the production of space in the colonial mechanisms of "civilized" evolution and its undeniable violence. War its result.

4. LUSO-TROPICALISM AS "SOCIAL-ECONOMIC MANEUVERS" - 1960S-70S

The main reason why from the late 1950s onwards almost no new housing initiatives were promoted in Guinea, apart from Ajuda, was the start of the liberation wars in 1961 and the fact that it produced the largest housing experiment ever promoted by the Portuguese. The forced villagization program was a counterinsurgency strategy of "hearts and minds" by the Portuguese military that involved forcibly displacing and resettling Africans, mostly in rural areas, in controlled camps.[46] Starting in 1961 in Angola as an emergency response to returning Angolan refugees, then in the mid-1960s in Mozambique, it developed into a massive forced resettlement program involving around two million people or what constituted at the time 20% of the combined population of the three former colonies.[47] By the late 1960s, the program became the backbone of the Portuguese military war strategy, confronted with multiple fronts in each country and gradually recognizing that the only way out of the war would be to gain the population. This revealed itself to be a lost cause, but it made what was initially a blunt use of architecture as weapon - new villages were akin to concentration camps, surrounded by barbed wire, composed of self-built houses arranged in a military grid - transform into a formula for rural modernization, while fulfilling the military goal of surveilling populations and setting militarized frontiers.

"Socio-economic maneuvers," that is how it was called in secret military reports in Guinea by the 1970s.[48] Forced villagization represented and planned as social development was not exclusive to Guinea. Particular to this war front, however, was the way and scope at which forced villagization was articulated as a wide political vision of national development and autonomy. This was mainly due to General António de Spínola's (1910-

1996) spin on the Portuguese war strategy after 1968, at which time he assumed the supreme command of Guinea's war effort and colonial administration, until 1973.[49] It is important to have in mind that by 1967 the counter-insurgency machine of the Portuguese military was reorganized to absorb all levels of the colonial administration under the idea of "integrated counter-insurgency." Forced villagization was made the forefront of this "integrated" warfare. Louder than all other military commanders and colonial governors, Spínola projected this as a political solution and not only a military one, for the colonies. It was a solution, as he claimed in taking charge of Guinea's governorship in May 1968, for "the civilizational and multiracial attributes of our blissful nation."[50] The luso-tropical utopia was still on the horizon, even with the increasing violence.

Presented as based on respect for Guinean culture and social organization, Spínola articulated forced villagization as a welfare program promoting the autonomy of Guinea. This was done by intensifying the villagization program and widening its social and economic scope, while on the other hand promoting the illusion of Guinean participation in national political affairs. This was particularly accomplished through Spínola's "People's Congress," that annually joined Guinean representatives from various ethnicities to discuss the ongoing "development plan" under the tutorship, of course, of the Portuguese military. Spínola called all this maneuvering "For a Better Guinea."[51] At the same time, commando operations were intensified, secret missions undertaken, and back-stage diplomacy intensified in order to weaken the liberation movement's efforts. Villagization, of course, also kept its military function of control and surveillance, but it became something else altogether at the same time. From a confidential report of 1971 that planned the "socio-economic maneuvers" for the dry season of 1971-72, we learn that the military considered "as priority the fields of education, health, agriculture, roads and the urbanization of population centers."[52] The plan listed the construction of new roads, bridges, dozens of schools of the "villagization type", as well as the construction of new villagizations. Within this plan, the civil colonial administration was responsible for building fountains and electricity networks, refurbishing mosques and churches, the buying of seeds and developing agriculture, for increasing the number of school scholarships, create night courses and request social institutions for support in these various measures, such as the Gulbenkian foundation for an itinerant library.[53] Forced villagization involved a wide array of colonial agents and a concerted action at various socio-economic levels. Villagization was in effect used as a multiple apparatus that, according to the confidential report, served to control certain ethnic groups, promote certain people, establish economic landscapes and create the development or at least its illusion.[54]

Descriptions such as these may lead us to think the actual body and space of the villagization was rich and complex, something akin to its ambitious welfare composition and political message. This couldn't be further

from the truth. Without knowing or not wanting to recognize it, Varanda in 1968 supplied a succinct description of villagization architecture.[55] The model house was a two or four room rectangle plan, with a central corridor and a surrounding veranda, in many ways similar to the Santa Luzia model, except it did not possess a bathroom and kitchen. As Varanda showed, these houses were arranged along roads in an orthogonal grid, wide enough for jeeps and other military vehicles to be able to circulate. The house was made of clay blocks, timber roof structure and either thatch or zinc panels for the roofing, the latter seems to have been more common.[56] They were built by the forced dwellers themselves, with the "help" of the Portuguese military. Public amenities, such as schools, health depots and other small services, were similarly basic in design and construction, known as "villagization type" and conceived from design types emanating from Lisbon's Overseas Ministry and its colonial architects, such as Oliveira and Schiappa de Campos.[57] The 'new villages' in many cases had little to distinguish them from concentration camps, being surrounded by open fields, barbed wire and outposts. The architecture of villagization was bare and violent in comparison with its welfare tones.

The program was, after all, a military strategy that involved the forced displacement of people and its concentration in a surveilled environment. Its welfare ambitions, particularly in Guinea, partly cloudy the fact that it was a violent endeavor. People resisted being moved, escaped new villages, rebelled. Only through a continuous and concerted effort between military, civil colonial agents and local leaders was the process assured.[58] This does not mean, however, that Spínola's vision of a "Better Guinea" with the villagization program did not produce a particular landscape of aspiration and opportunity. For Idris, a middle-aged Bissau urbanite working for the University Amilcar Cabral, forced villagization was a welcomed change. His family was made to move to a 'new village' in Sedengal, in north Guinea. His father was made a sepoy of the local administration and his uncle managed the local depot. He remembers how those bare houses described above were much better than their former houses, which according to him were not well-built, isolated and comfortable. He recollects with cherish the Portuguese school teacher, going to his classes, the social role he had next to the families. His are the fond memories of a school-aged child. Much about the experience of villagization surely escaped his reality, however, this hints at how the villagization was not just an exercise in control. Through it new and old subjectivities were negotiated, namely regarding the role of Africaness in a reinvented luso-tropical nation that, even if through the illusory "People's congress," involved Guineans' decision. It was not only violence that designed the landscape. Even so, Spínola's *better guinea*, as well as all other Portuguese commanders' better Angola and Mozambique lost the population and the war. After 14 years of intense conflict in multiple fronts and even with the most ambitious housing and development plan ever conceived by the Portuguese state, luso-tropicalism was finally defeated or at least what stood as its concrete, albeit imperfect, colonial reality.

5. CONCLUSION

We've seen how the luso-tropical utopia of a pluriracial colonial society played a part in setting the norms and forms of spatial practices. We saw how these established a close dialogue with a particular form of scientific colonialism around ethnography and a notion of cultural respect. In the wake of Teixeira da Mota's survey, Santa Luzia emerged as the first case of "civilizing" through cultural respect. Little else happened afterwards in government sponsored housing, at least until the villagization program, but many architects reinterpreted that vision into new city plans and house designs. Scholars of architecture have interpreted this period as the emergence of a tropical modern architecture trying to respect local needs and in tandem with international modernist trends.[59] What is often forgotten in these accounts and what I am arguing is how the luso-tropical utopia tied the architecture profession and formal spatial practices to colonial apparatuses of knowledge and structures of government, particularly to the governing dichotomy between "indigenous" and "civilized" and its luso-tropical respect. Simultaneously, it tied government strategies and apparatuses to architecture practices, in the effort of making Sarmento's "fraternity of work and mutual respect" an actual place. Well intentioned urban proposals and designs, colonial modernizers, dreams of a Europe in Africa, all came back to the gritty everyday of governing a colonial ladder based on the reproduction of essentialist inequalities. The latter only increased through the last phase of Portugal's colonial dominion.[60] As respectful to indigenous culture as modern architecture and urban planning tried to be, it always came down to establishing the right separation between "primitive development" and the "more valid culture," even though in Varanda we already read the questioning of this validity. The last episode in this violent history is its most brutal, leaving in the fields of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique the evidence of luso-tropicalism's simultaneous world creating power and overwhelming violence. However, we still know too little of the actual impact of the villagization program and, in a more general sense, of how luso-tropicalism as a particular spatial experience entangled new subjectivities with new productions of the landscape, whose legacies are still with us.

So, coming back to the prime-time televised question, is Portugal a racist country? There is no uncertainty that for most of its modern history Portugal ruled through government apparatus and popular belief that were openly racial. By mid-twentieth century luso-tropical propaganda glossed over the dictatorship's racialized rule with a development discourse, however, the actual apparatuses deployed to govern the African dominions were practically and structurally racial. So, the question is more one of how much, how much of this structure of government and feeling exists today and in what forms?

Last year, at the jury of a master's in a Portuguese architecture institution, a student presented the design for a modern urban plan for Bissau. It proposed vast new housing quarters, regulating the urban extension of Bissau, inspired by the Balanta vernacular house produced by Texeira da Mota's survey of Guinean dwelling

in 1948. When questioned by the jury why the selection of the Balanta ethnicity for a modern house model, giving it only represents today 30% of the population, the student replied that it was representative of the majority. The debate that ensued moved through a muddy terrain of postcolonial guilt that simply bypassed the fact that seventy years after we are thinking in a manner similar to the colonial officers of Guinea-Bissau in the post-War. Varanda's critique of 1968 was nowhere to be found, particularly his admonishing of the fact that Portuguese authorities did not design for the Islamic majority.[61] The master student did not even think to consider polygamy.

A year earlier, in October of 2019, I found myself having coffee in the most famous pastry shop in Bissau with a Guinean architectural researcher that was starting her PhD about Bissau's urban history. I was commenting on the calm and stillness felt in 'Praça' and how it contrasted with the excitement of the rest of the city. She eagerly informed me that that was about transport regulation. The local transport for the majority are private buses, blue and yellow Mercedes vans called *toca-toca* that through their cheap rates and vast numbers constitute an undeniable urban presence. It so happened that some years earlier, when this transport network was first growing, the local government established the limit of 'Praça' as a no-go zone for *toca-tocas*. A person travelling in these has to descend at the old perimeter of the colonial plan and then walk or catch a taxi to reach any place within. I did not study why the local government decided to take this measure and did not want to bore my interlocutor with more questions, but here the colonial imaginary became a contemporary one.

Discussed in broad terms, how much the racial structures of government and feeling seep into our present day, is a very confused and confusing terrain. If, however, we look at the problem from the lens of architecture and urban planning, then it becomes quite clear we are still within the luso-tropical horizon. As argued by Castela this could be a good thing if we understood Luso-tropicalism as a prospective and productive process, a concrete utopia with which we could work.[62] This, however, implies that we already learned the lesson of all those decades of rule through "cultural respect" and that we actually know the difference between needing to respect in order to rule, and respecting in order to liberate. But this is not the case. Without first grasping the actual scope of effects, multiple and international, produced by luso-tropical spatial practices, we are perhaps mostly doomed to repeat the mantra of the friendlier colonialist. The in-depth biography of colonial dwelling history, as a history of subject and environment formation and not solely as architecture history, may help with the way.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Emile Marini, *Liste dês prises de que de la Guinée Portugaise à travers l'objectif du jornaliste Emile Marini*, 1959, from Guinea-Bissau's National Archive INEP, folder A6/A12. Document can be digitally consulted in http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=09868.009, accessed March 29, 2021. James Fernandes, a Goan independent fighter and journalist had this to say of Marini: "…an unscrupulous mercenary, and had been commissioned by the Portuguese Government to write and publish in english newspapers favorable reports of the conditions in Goa", J. Fernandes, *In Quest for Freedom* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990) pp. 82-83.

[2] J. Carlos, "Portugal não é um país racista, mas existe racismo em Portugal", *in* Deutsche Welle (DW), July 2, 2020, in https://p.dw.com/p/3eh38 accessed March 29, 2021.

[3] G. Freyre, *Casa-grande e senzala* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1933), the english translation is titled *The Masters and Slaves* (New York: Knopf, 1946).

[4] T. Castela, "Daydream Continent: Europe as a Space-Time Horizon in Architectural History", in *Architectural Histories*, vol.6, 5, 2018, 1-7.

[5] A. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p.2.

[6] A key exception is A. V. Milheiro, *Guiné-Bissau, 2011* (Porto: Circo de Ideias, 2012) and with F. Fiúza, *Urbanidades: Arquitecturas e Sítios Históricos da Guiné-Bissau* (Lisbon: Mário Soares Foundation, 2016). For a history of Guinea-bissau see R. Pélissier, *História da Guiné: Portugueses e africanos na Senegâmbia: 1841-1936* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1989).

[7] This paper results from a postdoctoral research developed at the Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, through which original archival research was conducted in Lisbon's Overseas Historic Archive, the national archive of Torre do Tombo, the University of Coimbra Historical Archive and Guinea-Bissau's national archive of INEP. The research also involved a sojourn in Bissau in October 2019 and a number of interviews of former Portuguese military in Portugal. The identity of all informants referenced in this paper is safeguarded by the use of pseudonyms. An additional note is necessary regarding Bissau's INEP archive that, having been raided during Guinea's civil war, suffered considerable damage to its collection. The archive is, at present, a chaotic landscape to navigate with the great majority of documents untreated and misplaced. In many of the ensuing references to documents found in this archive the information will consist mostly, thus, in the title of individual documents and page numbers.

[8] Literally translated as "square" or "piazza," in its common meaning as the central public place of a community.

[9] A. V. Milheiro, *Guiné-Bissau, 2011*.

[10] Inside *Praça*, as if in a walled condominium, Portuguese settlers dwelled in a kind of garden-city, with the civic buildings constituting a central axis into the old colonial fort and port, surrounded by a grid of low-density dwellings, mostly single-story individual houses. This ambient persists today. Beyond this perimeter, irregular streets grew from key avenues connecting the central city to the military barracks and the airport, built by assemblages of single-story, mostly mud brick, houses with zinc panels for roofs.

[11] J. Holston, Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford, U.K.: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[12] T. Castela, "Imperial Garden: Planning Practices and the Utopia of Luso-Tropicalism in Portugal/Mozambique, 1945-1975" In International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Proceedings - Architecture, Tradition, and the Utopia of the Nation-State, vol. 238, 2010, pp. 75-98.

[13] G. Freyre, *The Masters and Slaves* (New York: Knopf, 1946).

[14] For the long intellectual history of luso-tropicalism in Portugal see M.V. Almeida, *An earth-colored sea: 'Race', Culture and the Politics of Identity in the Post-Colonial Portuguese-Speaking World* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004).

[15] L. Macagno, "As ironias pós-coloniais da lusofonia: a propósito de um "erro de tradução" na edição portuguesa de Casa Grande & Senzala" In M. Cahen and R. Braga eds., *Para além do pós(-)colonial*, (São Paulo: Alameda, 2018, pp. 223-234).

[16] In the 1930s and 1940s the Portuguese dictatorship promoted a "blood and soil" cultural policy, emphasizing racial purity just like all other European fascists. In anthropology, for instance, there was a great concern with essentialist traits and forms of cultural and racialized distinction, see M.V. Almeida, "Anthropology and ethnography of the Portuguese-speaking empire", In *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature. Continental Europe and its Empires*, P. Poddar, R. Patke and L. Jensen eds. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008, pp. 435-439). After WWII it changed the emphasis on purity, namely because of the emergent problem of arguing for Portugal's colonial possessions. Thus, the emerging importance in the 1950s of Freyre's argument for the dictatorship's case against the rising liberation movements and UN pressures.

[17] C. Castelo and V. M. Alves, "On the distance between the "colonial situation in Mozambique and the luso-tropicalism: letter of António Rita Ferreira to Jorge Dias, with attached article" In *Etnográfica*, vol. 23, 2, 2019, pp. 417-438.

[18] T. Castela, "Daydream Continent: Europe as a Space-Time Horizon in Architectural History".

[19] Manuel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues was a navy officer that had a stellar career in the dictatorship, nominated governor of Guinea-Bissau from 1945-49, a year later minister of the colonies in Lisbon and from 1961-64 governor of Mozambique, receiving several prizes and condecorations by the regime and understood by historians as one of the dictatorship's reformers. See Silva, 2008 (https://journals.openedition.org/cultura/586).

[20] Opening speech of Sarmento Rodrigues at the second annual conference of colonial administrators, November 27 of 1947, INEP archive, untreated folder and document, p. 20.

[21] According to an untreated report on the preparation to the second CIAO conference in Bissau's INEP archive, the first conference of West Africanists was in Dakar in January 1945 and gathered ethnologists, botanists, geographers, physicians, among other colonial scientific fields from Spain, Portugal, France and England. Later the CIAO or *Congrès Internationale des Africanistes Occidentaux* was also joined by Belgium. In the first conference the permanent committee for CIAO was formed by Spanish archeologist Jose Martinez, Professor Théodore Monod from France's IFAN and Paul Rivet from the *Musée de l'homme*, C. Daryl Forde from England's International African Institute and the Portuguese anthropologist António Mendes Correia, director of the Colonial Superior School in Lisbon, then being reformulated for a "scientific approach" to the colonies. The literature is very scarce on the formation and role of CIAO in the immediate post-WWII reorganization of colonial government. It is clear, however, these conferences created a network of knowledge sharing that served the practical arts of governing colonial fields and bodies as, for instance, argued by F. Ágoas and C. Castelo, "Social sciences, diplomacy and late colonialism: the Portuguese

participation in the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA)" In *Estudos Históricos*, vol. 32, 67, 2019, pp. 409-428.

[22] J. C. Ferreira and V. S. da Veiga, *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique*, 2nd edition, Lisbon, 1957. The legislation was first formulated with a colonial laboral law of 1928, then the Colonial Act of 1930, legally integrated in 1933 with the constitution of the dictatorship, reviewed in 1954 and only finally abolished, in its original 1928 indigenous laboral law format in 1961, when the wars for liberation started. On the social articulations of indigenous law see M. P. Meneses, "O 'indígena' africano e o colono 'europeu': a construção da diferença por processos legais," In S. R. Maeso, ed., *Identidades, Cidadanias e Estado: Estratégias Políticas e Governamentalidade* (Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Sociais, 2010).

[23] T. Castela, "Imperial Garden: Planning Practices and the Utopia of Luso-Tropicalism in Portugal/Mozambique, 1945-1975", p. 81.

[24] J. C. Ferreira and V. S. da Veiga, *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique*, p. 11.

[25] Alberto is the pseudonym for a middle-aged Guinean, inhabiting with his family one of Santa Luzia's original homes, and who was kind enough to show me their family house, passed on from his father. Interview and site visit conducted in October 2019.

[26] For a comprehensive analysis of the ethnological surveys of early and mid twentieth-century and their use for Portuguese colonialism in Africa see A. L. deGrassi, *Provisional Reconstructions: Geo-Histories of Infrastructure and Agrarian Configuration in Malanje, Angola*, PhD dissertation in Geography, University of California, Berkeley, 2015.

[27] A. L. deGrassi, *Provisional Reconstructions: Geo-Histories of Infrastructure and Agrarian Configuration in Malanje, Angola*, p. 101. Portuguese anthropology throughout the 1930s and 40s was dominated by António Mendes Correia's bio-geological studies, grounded on colonial evolutionist anthropology. Mendes Correia was a prominent figure in the colonial apparatus, leading the Colonial Institute in Lisbon in post-WWII and representing Portugal in the CIAO, see M. V. Almeida, "Anthropology and ethnography of the Portuguese-speaking empire".

[28] F. Varanda, "Um estudo de habitação para indígenas em Bissau", In *Geographica*, 15, July 1968, pp. 22-44: p. 32.

[29] The neighborhood used a scheme common at the time for state promoted housing in Portugal that involved creating small proprietors over time, through a system of low mortgage payments. For an overview of housing policies and their spatial practices in Portugal see R. Agarez (ed.), *Habitação: cem anos de políticas públicas em Portugal, 1918-2018* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2018).

[30] A. T. da Mota and M. G. V. Neves, *A Habitação Indígena na Guiné Portuguesa* (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1948).

[31] The revision of the Indigenous Law of 1954 removed the legal and social figure of the *assimilado* or "assimilated" as the social in-between the "indigenous" and the "civilized," according to the colonial modernizers of the day, this was a way of establishing a shorter legal bridge between one and the other civil category.

[32] P. Hansen and S. Jonsson, *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism* (London, Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2014).

[33] For a historical overview of modern Portuguese anthropology see S. M. Viegas and J. Pina-Cabral, "Na encruzilhada portuguesa: a antropologia contemporânea e a sua história", In *Etnográfica*, vol. 18, 2, 2014, pp. 311-332.

[34] On the impact of this survey of popular architecture for modern Portuguese architecture and its affinities with geography, anthropology and government discourses see R. Aristides, *From the organization of space to the organization of society: a study of the political commitments in post-war Portuguese architecture, 1945-69*, PhD in Architecture, University of Coimbra, 2017.

[35] C. M. Diniz, *Urbanismo no ultramar Português: a abordagem de Mário de Oliveira (1946-1974)*, Master's dissertation, ISCTE - Lisbon's University Institute, 2013; A. V. Milheiro, "À procura de Mário de Oliveira: um arquitecto do Estado Novo", In Jornal dos Arquitetos, 245, 2012, pp. 24-37.

[36] M. Oliveira, *Urbanismo no Ultramar: problemas essenciais do urbanismo no ultramar - estruturas urbanas de integração e convivência* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1962).

[37] C. M. Diniz, *Urbanismo no ultramar Português: a abordagem de Mário de Oliveira (1946-1974).*

[38] M. Oliveira, *Urbanismo no Ultramar: problemas essenciais do urbanismo no ultramar - estruturas urbanas de integração e convivência*, p. 10.

[39] Idem, p. 12.

[40] Idem, pp. 16 and 27.

[41] Idem, p. 12.

[42] F. Varanda, "Um estudo de habitação para indígenas em Bissau".

[43] Idem, pp. 36-38

[44] Idem, p. 38.

[45] He also criticized construction methods, particularly the substitution of clay, dirt and straw construction for concrete and zinc, which according to him was a blind rejection of a working environment sensitive model. Idem, p. 39.

[46] This section of the paper is informed by original and ongoing research of the forced villagization program conducted by Tiago Castela and myself, namely through the research project RegRural - Regulating the Colonial Rural: wartime villagization in late Portuguese colonialism, in which the former is principal investigator. A first succinct approach to the program may be found in G. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese, the myth and the reality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

[47] Numbers concerning the total population involved are sketchy at this point, early research shows that the projected scale of the program did in fact involve such a percentage of the African population, however, it is important to further research what was actually accomplished and what was just planned.

[48] Untreated document in Guinea-Bissau's national archive of INEP, titled "Manobras Sócio-Económicas" and dated August 5 of 1971, within a folder titled "Diversos (Confidencial)."

[49] Spínola by 1968 was an eminent figure in the dictatorship, rallying behind him important political voices and sectors of the regime. After leaving Guinea in 1973 he became an outspoken critic of the regime's

solution for the African colonies, offering his own, Gaullist inspired, federalist solution for a revised pluri-continental nation. His fame, weight in the military and political establishment made him the first president of Portuguese democracy after the Carnation Revolution of April 1974. For a biography on Spínola see L. N. Rodrigues, *Spínola: biografia* (Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2010).

[50] Spínola *apud* M. Barbosa, "Spinola, Portugal e o Mundo: pensamento e acção política nos anos da Guiné, 1968-73", In *Revista de Historia das Ideias*, vol. 28, 2007, pp. 391-427: 394.

[51] *For a Better Guinea* was a compilation of speeches and essays by Spínola from 1970, summing up two years at the command of Guinea's war effort, while making his case for the war strategy of promoting welfare as a way towards victory. A. Spínola, *For a Better Guinea* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1970)

[52] See note 18, page 2 of the confidential report.

[53] Idem. page 7.

[54] In the same confidential report of 1971 we find, for instance, that villagization was understood as the key apparatus for rallying populations to the colonial cause. Point "e" of the plan for the 1971-72 dry season, page 2, reads: "Intensify the motivation of the Balanta ethnicity with a view to accelerate the process of psychological unsettling that has been verified, improving villagization and its collective benefits and creating new villagizations in its respective territory."

[55] F. Varanda, "Um estudo de habitação para indígenas em Bissau".

[56] Confidential report of 1973, untreated document INEP, folder "Diversos (Confidencial)."

[57] A. L. P. Nunes, *Resenha Histórico-Militar das Campanhas de África, 6º Volume "Aspectos da Actividade Operacional, Tomo I - Angola, Livro II* (Lisbon: Centro de Audiovisuais do Exército, 2006), pp. 477-80.

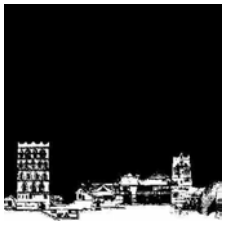
[58] Folder PPT/TT/SCCIM/A/23/7, titled "Aldeamentos do distrito do Niassa e Tete" in the national archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, concerning villagization in Mozambique contains a number of reports of escaped and resisting populations, as well as the Portuguese authorities mechanisms for dealing with these situations. The confidential reports already mentioned concerning the operations for the dry season of 1971-72 in Guinea, on the other hand, detail the coordination between military, civil colonial authorities and local leaders in advancing the villagization program.

[59] This reading was particularly crystalised in A. V. Milheiro, *Nos Trópicos sem Le Corbusier: arquitectura luso-africana no Estado novo* (Lisbon: Relógio d'Água, 2012).

[60] Two reasons, among others, can be presented for this: 1) the growing migration of white Portuguese that took for granted their racial and cultural superiority over Africans, taught so by the dictatorship's education system and propaganda apparatuses; 2) the growing control and surveillance of African populations, namely in big and medium cities in the effort to contain the independence movements.

[61] F. Varanda, "Um estudo de habitação para indígenas em Bissau".

[62] T. Castela, "Daydream Continent: Europe as a Space-Time Horizon in Architectural History".



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Contributors

PLANNING AND PLACEMAKING

Manas Murthy
University of Oregon
U.S.A.
mmurthy@uoregon.edu

Hatice Sadikogu Asan
Stanford University
U.S.A.
haticesadikoglu@gmail.com

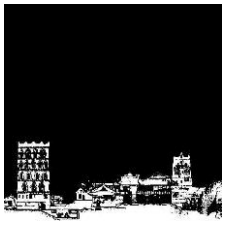
Chistakis Chatzichristou
University of Cyrpus
Cyprus
hadjichristos@ucy.ac.cy

Kyriakos Miltiadous
University of Cyrpus
Cyprus
kmilti02@ucy.ac.cy

Bedour Braker
Jan Braker Architect
Germany

Jan Braker
Jan Braker Architect
Germany
Jan.braker@janbraker.de

Rui Artistides Lebre
University of Coimbra
Portugal
ruiaristides@gmail.com



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