

# TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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END

# TRADITION?

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# TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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# Contents

#### 10 EDITOR'S NOTE

Nezar AlSayyad

#### 11 I. PLENARY SESSION: GLOBALIZATION, DETERRITORIALIZA-TION AND THE END OF TRADITION

THE GLOBAL DOMESTIC: DETERRITORIALIZING GLOBALIZATON Jane M. Jacobs

TOURISM'S EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES IN CANCUN, CUBA, AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA: CONSUMPTION AND PROTECTION OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

Robert Mugerauer

### 12 II. PLENARY SESSION: THE END OF TRADITION: SCHOLARLY DISCOURSES

THE END IS NEAR: APOCALYPSE AND UTOPIA IN CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

Katharyne Mitchell

TRADITIONS OF THE MODERN: A CORRUPT VIEW Ananya Roy

#### 12 III. ITALIAN PLENARY ADDRESSES

WHAT DOES TRADITION MEAN FOR ARCHITECTURE?

Francesco Dal Co

THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT AND ITS CONSTRUCTION

Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri

#### 13 A.1 TERRITORIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR A PLACELESS SOCIETY

SUPERIMPOSED HORIZONS: EXISTENCE AT THE INTERSECTION OF THE REAL AND THE VIRTUAL

Brian Cavanaugh

SEOUL'S WEB SITE AND THE "VIRTUAL SEOUL" VIDEO GAME: TOWARD THE END OF A TRADITIONAL URBAN VISION?

Marie-Helene Fabre Faustino

CIVILIZATION WITHOUT TERRITORY, TERRITORY WITHOUT CIVILIZATION

Anna Menghini

PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION: PLACE, PLACELESSNESS, AND BEIRUT'S POPULATION, 1975-1990

Sofia Shwayri

TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS: SO FAR, NO FURTHER?

Raid Hanna

### 15 B.1 USURPING TRADITIONAL FORMS: STABILIZATION OR HOMOGENIZATION?

THE "ONTARIO" COTTAGE: GLOBALIZATION OF A BRITISH FORM DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Lynne DiStefano

DESTABILIZATION AND HOMOGENIZATION OF THE CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTHWESTERN SUMBA ISLAND, INDONESIA Joanna Mross

PAST/PRESENT: NEW URBANISM AND THE SALVAGE PARADIGM Amy Murphy

URBAN HERITAGE PROTECTION PRACTICES AND THEIR HOMOGENIZING EFFECTS: THE CASE OF OLD-QUEBEC

Anne Vallières

VARIATIONS ON PLACE AND IDENTITY: THE PRODUCTION OF KITSCH IN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE OF THE POST-1980S Didem Kilickiran

#### 18 C.1 TECHNOLOGY AND THE MAKING OF URBAN LANDSCAPES

THE HOUSE THAT BREATHES: ON THE EXTINCTION OF SANGIRESE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Gunawan Tjahjono

THE ARCHITECTURAL ORGANISM: TRADITION AND CHANGES Michele Beccu

VOIDS: THE RE-PRESENTATION OF CULTURE

Li Lian Chee

MAKING URBAN LANDSCAPE BY DISCLOSING TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS: THE CASE OF TOCHIGI CITY IN JAPAN

Nobuo Mitsuhashi and Nobuyoshi Fujimoto

UNDERGROUND QUARRY TRADITION: AN ALTERNATIVE TO AN ANTROPIC LANDSCAPE

Calogero Montalbano

### 21 A.2 LOCAL TRADITIONS IN THE POSTIMPERIAL/COLONIAL CITY

MADE IN HONG KONG; MADE IN MACAU: A TALE OF TWO POSTCOLONIAL CITIES

David Lung

PERMANENCE/IMPERMANENCE IN CREOLE STYLE (FRENCH WEST INDIES)

Anne Hublin

THE COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF SEOUL: TRADITION, WESTERNIZATION AND SPACE

Changmii Bae

THE END OR REBIRTH OF SPATIAL TRADITION IN TAIWAN: THE SPATIAL MEANING OF HISTORIC CITIES IN TRANSITION

Pai-hwai Wu and Min-Fu Hsu

PERMANENCY AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORIC SITE: THE CASE OF TIRADENTES, BRAZIL

Jurema Rugani

### 23 B.2 MOBILE/IZING SPATIAL SCALES: THE SHIFTING POLITICS OF TRADITION

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND THE PARK REMOVALS: TRADITIONALIZATION AS JUSTIFICATION AND RESISTANCE

Michael Ann Williams

TRADITIONAL FICTIONS: NARRATIVES OF NATURE, CULTURE AND EXCHANGE IN THE GIFT GARDEN

Gini Lee Dip

A SATELLITE DISH AND A BAMBOO HUT? THE POLITICS OF

TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS IN INDONESIA

Leena Avonius

IT'S ALL IN A NAME: THE LOSS OF EXPERTISE AND THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION

Peter Schneider

TURNING AND BREAKING A CENTURY: A SEARCH FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTINUITY THROUGH THE RUPTURES IN SHANGHAI POLITICAL HISTORY

Vimalin Rujivacharakul

#### 26 C.2 DISCOURSES OF TRADITION AND GLOBALIZATION

"TRADITION BY ITSELF . . . "

Paul Oliver

VERNACULAR AS INVENTED TRADITION

Rowan Roenisch

THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN

ITALIAN TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Nicola Marzot

REDEFINING TRADITION FOR MULTIPLE GEOGRAPHIES: TOWARD JUXTAPOSED TRADITIONS AND THE CASE OF ISLAM IN ISTANBUL

AS A DISCURSIVE ACT

Rerin Gu

THE INSIDIOUS REVIVAL OF TRADITION: INVISIBLE FENCES, CAS-

TIGLIONE DI SICILIA

Antonella Romagnolo

### 29 A.3 LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS: CONTEMPORARY SCENARIOS

LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS IN EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE:

THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Aly Gabr and Khaled Ahmed Kamel

IDENTITY AS A MODE OF RESISTANCE TO GLOBALIZATION:

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY

Pietro Cali and Christopher Jarrett

"DISCIPLINE" IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: CAIRO'S LANDSCAPE,

BETWEEN WESTERN EFFECTS AND LOCAL RESPONSES

Mohamed Abdel-Kader

CULTURAL COMPLEXES: RECUPERATING TRADITION FOR THE

GLOBAL MARKETPLACE

Sabir Khan and Mark Cottle

VILLARD DE LANS: GLOBAL INTERVENTION AND LOCAL RESURGENCE

Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Keith Loftin III

#### 32 B.3 PRESERVATION PARADIGMS IN EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

TEACHING ARCHITECTS TRADITION

William Bechhoefer

THE URBAN CODE AND THE REFOUNDATION OF NORMATIVE

INSTRUMENTS GOVERNING TERRITORY USE

Paolo Bertozzi and Agnese Ghini

NEW HOPI VILLAGE: HOUSING COMMUNITY FOR SUSTAINABILITY Jeffrey Cook

THE CONSERVATION OF THE BUILDING TYPOLOGY OF TWO TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS IN THE TRENTINO REGION

Antonio Frattari and Michela Dalpra

AL TORJUMAN PROJECT: MULTICULTURALISM AS A NEW

PARADIGM

Dalila Elkerdany

#### 35 C.3 LEARNING FROM PLACE: THE CULTURE OF BUILDING

NOT QUITE THE END OF TRADITION: THE BUILDING CULTURE OF LALITPUR, NEPAL

Howard Davis

EASTERN SICILY'S HISTORICAL RESORTS: BETWEEN CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION

Fabio Todesco

CORRELATIONS OF SPATIAL USE AND HOUSE FORMS ACROSS

AUSTRONESIA

Lai Chee-Kien

BUILDING ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN ARCHITECTURE IN JAPAN

Hajo Neis

HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURES, URBAN RETRAINING, AND MAINTE-

NANCE OF A PATRIMONY AT RISK IN ITALY

Massimo Lo Curzio

### 38 A.4 LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS: HISTORIC PRECEDENTS

THE REMAKING OF CAIRO: LOOKING AT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FOR INSPIRATION

Heba Ahmed

THE POSTCOLONIAL CITY: ASPECTS OF THE ARCHITECTURE AND

URBAN DESIGN OF DAR ES SALAAM

Erik Sigge and Kim Einarsson

COMMERCE AND CULTURE: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Nadia Alhasani

MAINTAINING ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AS AN URBAN DESIGN METHODOLOGY FOR THE CONTEMPORARY CITY: THE EXAMPLE OF

CIVITA CASTELLANA

Marco Maretto

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WORKS OF FORTIFICATION AS A

PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION: THE ADAPTATION TO TRADITIONAL

URBAN STRUCTURES

Margarida Valla

#### 41 B.4 ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS AS TRADITIONALISTS

THE END OF INTERNATIONALISM: THE ISSUE OF TRANSLATION, FROM THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION TO BETRAYAL

Marta Alieri

A CASE FOR MODERNITY AND TRADITION

Ela Ci

A DETACHED ENGAGEMENT: TRADITION AND THE POETICS OF ÉMIGRÉ PRACTICE

Sabir Khan and Mark Cottle

CRAFTING TRADITION: THE LAURIE BAKER PHENOMENON

Malini Krishnankutty

SANDSTONE'S UNIFYING HUE: THE WORLD BANK DELHI REGIONAL MISSION HEADQUARTERS BUILDING IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Samia Rab

#### 43 C.4 "TRADITIONAL" KNOWLEDGE: LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE

THE LORE OF THE MASTER BUILDER: WORKING WITH LOCAL MATERIAL AND LOCAL KNOWLEDGE IN SANA'A, YEMEN

Trevor Marchand

WOODEN ARCHITECTURE AND EARTHQUAKES IN TURKEY

Stephen Tobriner

TRADITION AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN NORTHERN ITALIAN **BUILDING PRACTICE** 

Anna Barozzi and Luca Guardigli

A NEW ROLE FOR TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE: THE CREATION OF A TECHNOLOGICAL PARADIGM FOR SAVING NATURAL RESOURCES

SPACES OF ALIENATION AND CREATIVE RESISTANCE: RAILWAY TECHNOLOGY EXCHANGE BETWEEN EGYPT AND EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Hazem Ziada

#### 46 A.5 **DISCOURSES OF PLACE/DETERRITORIALIZATION**

DRESDEN'S KULTURMEILE AND THE HETEROLOGY OF BAUEN Mark Jarzombek

REPRESENTING CULTURE: RESISTING GLOBALIZATION THROUGH THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION

Lisa Findley

LOCAL AND TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AS A PART OF TODAY'S REGION

Eeva Aarrevaara

THE END OF TRADITION/THE REINVENTION OF TRADITION: STORYTELLING AND BUILDING IN A CHANGING WORLD

Leonardo Castriota

THE CONCEPTION OF SPACE AMONG THE SAN: SPACE AND SOCIETY IN THE KALAHARI DESERT

Giovanni Fontana Antonelli

#### 49 B.5 INVENTED NATIONS/INVENTED TRADITIONS: IDENTITY AND **SPACE**

MANUFACTURING ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

Howayda Al-Harithy

REMEMBERING THROUGH SPACE: A COMMUNAL HALL IN

POSTCOLONIAL HONG KONG

Sidney Chin Huna Cheuna

CONTEMPLATION ON BUILT HERITAGE IN IRELAND: BETWEEN

DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION

Rumiko Handa

A GIFT FOR THE ENEMY: PRE-ISLAMIC CONCEPTS, FORMS AND

ICONS ON THE JAVANESE MOSQUE

Hendrajaya Isnaeni

STATE IMAGE AND SPACE IN POSTWAR CAIRO: THE CASE OF

TAHRIR SQUARE FROM 1940 TO 1970

Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah

#### 51 C.5 TOURISM, COMMODIFICATION, AND THE CONSTRUCTION **OF TRADITION**

TOURISM AND THE REGIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF AN ALBERTIAN TRADITION

Magdalena Saura

MORE IRISH THAN THE IRISH: THE COMMODIFICATION OF ETHNIC **IDENTITY** 

Kymberly A. Helbig

SEARCHING FOR MEANING: THE USE OF INDUSTRIAL TRADITION TO DEFINE MEANING IN AN AGE OF GLOBAL TOURISM AND **PLACELESSNESS** 

Christine Landorf

SHEEP STATION SETTLEMENTS IN PATAGONIA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION AND ITS REVITALIZATION THROUGH TOURISM

Marcela Pizzi and Maria Paz Valenzuela

THE SMALLEST VILLAGE IN THE WORLD: MONTAFON, AUSTRIA Gabriela Muri

### 54 A.6 MARKETING, CONSUMPTION, AND THE TRADITIONS OF

MARKETING TRADITION: POST-TRADITIONAL PLACES AND META-URBANISM

Lineu Castello

THE RE-CREATION OF HISTORIC SITES BETWEEN FANTASY AND REALITY: WHAT LAS VEGAS LEARNED

Basil Kamel

THE CONSUMING STRATEGIES OF YANGPYONG: MEGALOPOLITAN SEOUL AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SURROUNDING CITIES

Bong-hee Jeon and Won-Joon Choi

THE STRUGGLE FOR URBAN SPACE: SELF-IDENTITY IN THE

SHADOWS OF GLOBALIZATION

Amer Moustafa

NEW PLANNING VERSUS TRADITIONAL PLANNING: CROATIAN **EXPERIENCE** 

Nenad Lipovac

#### 57 B.6 INVENTED NATIONS/INVENTED TRADITIONS: ARCHITECTURAL **DISCOURSES**

TRADITION AS A MEANS TO THE END OF TRADITION: ITALIAN FASCIST NEW TOWNS IN THE 1930S

Mia Fuller

REINVENTING SINGAPORE'S CHINATOWN

Heng Chye Kiang and Quah Cheng Ee

THE TURKIFICATION OF ISTANBUL IN THE 1950S

lpek Akpinar

PORTUGUESE TRADITIONAL URBANISM: THE SYNTHESIS OF

VERNACULAR AND INTELLECTUAL MODELS

Manuel Teixeira

SEARCHING FOR A NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE: THE ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

T. Elvan Ergut

#### 60 C.6 TOURISM, CONSUMPTION, AND TRADITION

PRESERVATION VERSUS PROFIT: RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN VILLAGE TOURISM IN CHINA

Puay-Peng Ho

TRADITION FOR THE OTHER: ON VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND TOURISM IN YONGDING COUNTY, CHINA

Duanfang Lu

KALEKOY: A MEDITERRANEAN VILLAGE FROZEN IN TIME FOR GLOBAL TOURISTIC CONSUMPTION

Gaye Culcuoglu and Emine Onaran Incirlioglu

MODERNITY OF TRADITION AND THE TRADITION OF MODERNITY: LEGACIES OF THE SPANISH VILLAGE AND THE GERMAN PAVILION

AT BARCELONA Donald Watts

UZBEKISTAN: IN THE SHADOW OF TRADITION *Manu Sobti* 

#### 63 A.7 MUTATIONS OF LANGUAGE AND THE MAKING OF PLACE

WORDS AND BUILDINGS

Rosemary Latter

FROM THE "CHINESE TOWN" TO THE "MEDINA": THE

TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUI MUSLIM DISTRICT IN XI'AN

Jean-Paul Loubes

INTRACULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS IN THE TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE: CAST(E)ING OFF THE CHAINS THAT BIND

William Duncanson

Jeffrey Hartnett

MAO'S CHINA: THE OPTION OF BEAUTY, THE ABSENCE OF HISTORY,

THE END OF TRADITION

#### 65 B.7 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE POLITICS OF SPACE

REBUILDING BOSNIA, AN INTERNATIONAL PROJECT FOR THE CITY OF MOSTAR

Judith Bing

IMPORTING ARCHITECTURE: THE CASE OF BEIRUT

Elie George Haddad and Charles Meyer

ISRAELIZING JERUSALEM: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE POSTWAR

ARCHITECTURAL DISCIPLINE

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan

TABULA RASA AS TRADITION: REBUILDING MANCHESTER AGAIN

Eamonn Canniffe

#### 68 C.7 RECONFIGURING THE DWELLING

RETHINKING TRADITION: ANOTHER LOOK AT THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MEANINGS OF THE TRADITIONAL THAI HOUSE

Piyalada Devakula

HOME COOKING, NOSTALGIA, AND THE PURCHASE OF TRADITION Jean Duruz

LEAN SILVER BOXES AND LIVING TRADITIONS: THE CHANGING IDENTITY OF THE AUSTRALIAN KITCHEN

Jane Lawrence and Rachel Hurst

THE DIGITAL HALL: TECHNOLOGY AND THE TRADITION OF THE

SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE

June P. Williamson

#### 71 A.8 SITES AND AGENTS OF GLOBALIZATION

THE ARCHITECTURES OF GLOBALIZATION: PLACES, PRACTICES AND PEDAGOGIES

Greig Crysler

COSMETIC HERITAGE: THE FABRICATION OF PEDESTRIAN SHOPPING STREETS IN SOUTH CHINA, 1993-2000

Jeffrey Cody and Wallace Ping-hung Chang

FAMILIARITY ON THE FRONTLINES: ACCOMMODATING U.S.

MILITARY BASES ABROAD

Mark L. Gillem

MAIN STREETS AND SHOPPING CENTERS: BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND PLACELESS SITES OF CONSUMPTION

Gianpiero Moretti

THE SHIFTING PRESENCE OF THE TURKISH VILLAGE: ARE THEY

(STILL) IMPORTANT?

Alison Snyder

### 74 B.8 THE RHETORIC OF TRADITION: THE CO-OPTION OF PARTICIPATION

TRADITION AS YOU LIKE IT: TRANSFORMATIONS OF TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS IN KYOTO AND PLOVDIV FROM AN

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Milena Metalkova-Markova

URBAN INVASIONS AND NEW TRADITIONS OF SELF-BUILD

CONSTRUCTION

Paul Simpson

THE UNSTATED AGGRESSIONS OF TRADITION: PRESERVATION AT

WHAT COST?

J. Brooke Harrington

SHACKITECTURE: A NEVER-ENDING TRADITION?

John Webster

PLACING PEOPLE FIRST: PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES TO A

SUSTAINABLE FUTURE IN TAMBACOUNDA, SENEGAL

Emmanuel I. Ede and Ekkehard Stückemann

#### 76 C.8 CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE SPACE OF RESISTANCE

INFORMALITY AND EVERYDAY URBANISM: BETWEEN PLANNING PRACTICES AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN CONTEMPORARY CAIRO *Omar Nagati* 

INDIGENOUS PLANNING

Ted Jojola

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE SPACE OF RESISTANCE: TADEUSZ

KANTOR'S AND DANIEL LIBESKIND'S TECHNOLOGY OF

**ANAMNESIS** 

Michal Kobialka

TRADITIONS AND THE SPACES OF RESISTANCE: TAOS INDIANS' CONTESTATION FOR BLUE LAKE, AND AN "INDIAN MEMORIAL" AT

THE LITTLE BIG HORN BATTLEFIELD

Lynn Paxson

REGIONAL INFLECTIONS: A STUDY OF THE PASSAGE AND MALL

AS CIVIC CONNECTORS

Sevinç Yavuz

### 80 A.9 PRACTICE AND THE RISE OF POST-TRADITIONAL PLACES

PRESERVING CULTURAL LEGACIES IN AFFORDABLE HOUSING:

CASE STUDIES FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA

Abimbola Asojo and Betty Harris

COUNCIL HOUSING IN TRANSITION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{A}}$ 

PROTOTYPE HOUSE IN INDONESIA

Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto

PUBLIC HOUSING: BETWEEN CONTROLLED SPACE AND CONTESTED

SPACE

Rachel Kallus

REMEMBERING THE TRADITION: "VERNACULAR USAGE" AND THE SPIRIT OF MODERNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES IN VIENNA

Marina Pecar

TELEMATIC SUPPORTS TO HOUSING IN MARGINALIZED MOUNTAIN TERRITORIES: A PROJECT IN THE FRIULI V. GIULIA REGION

Mauro Bertagnin

#### 82 B.9 HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOODS AND LANDSCAPES

TRADITION, INNOVATION, LANDSCAPE: TOWARD A CORRECT USE OF TYPOLOGICAL VALUES

Enrico Genovesi

MODERNITY OR CONTEMPORARY TRADITION? A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN A HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOOD OF CAIRO

Debora Rodrigues and Seif El Rashidi

THE END OF TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE? LOOKING FOR CULTURAL

LANDSCAPE RELICS IN ITALY'S ASOLO REGION

Giorgio Gianighian and Matteo Paolucci

THE OLD ALLEY AND TRADITIONAL URBAN HOUSING IN SEOUL Inho Sona

TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF APULIAN FARMS

Mauro Scionti and Cito Lucio Adriano

#### 84 C.9 PRACTICE AND TECHNOLOGIES OF MATERIALS

REMEDIAL TREATMENT OF HUMIDITY DAMAGE IN HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Chiara Campo and Michele Stella

LOCAL MATERIALS AND GLOBAL MEANINGS: AN EXPLORATION OF CHANGING BUILDING TECHNIQUES AND PROCESSES OF GLOBALIZATION

Suzanne Ewing and Peter Kellett

IN PURSUIT OF A CONTEMPORARY FORM FOR STONE ARCHITECTURE

Marco Mannino and Carlo Moccia

MASONRY TECHNIQUES OF CONSTRUCTION IN APULIA, ITALY Dino Mongelli

THE STONE ENVELOPE: DESIGN METHODS FOR CONTEMPORARY URBAN FACADES IN THE NORTH EUROPEAN METROPOLIS Eliana de Nichilo

### 86 A.10 GLOBALIZING THE LOCAL

LOCAL HERITAGE AS HOSTAGE: RECENT URBAN HERITAGE POLICY IN XI'AN, CHINA

Bruno Fayolle Lussac

THE SPATIAL FOUNDATION OF URBANISM IN YAZD, IRAN

Rafi Samizav

GLOBALIZING THE LOCAL: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF HONG

KONG'S URBAN LANDSCAPE

Weijen Wang and Li-Tsui Fu

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE IN THE BO-KAAP,

CAPE TOWN

Derek Japha and Fabio Todeschini

### 89 B.10 ARCHITECTURE AND THE MAKING OF TRADITION

BREAD AND BUILDING IN MÉRTOLA

Fernando Varanda

LOUIS KAHN IN DHAKA: FROM UNIVERSALISM TO NATIONALISM Maryam Gusheh

INNOVATION/TRADITION, GLOBALIZATION/GENIUS LOCI: A CASE STUDY OF CASTIGLIONE, SICILY

Maria Anna Caminiti

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: CHINESE *HUIGUAN* ARCHITECTURE IN THE MALACCA STRAITS

Mei Qing

### 92 C.10 ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSES ON TRADITION AND GLOBALIZATION

THE TERRITORY AROUND ETNA: DISCOURSES OF PLACE OR DETERRITORIALIZATION?

Giuseppe Arcidiacono

THE DISCIPLINE OF BUILDING: TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AS THE BASIS OF MODERN DESIGN

Giovanni Leoni

CULTURAL HYBRIDITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF EASTERN POLAND Andrzej Piotrowski

TOWARD POST-TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT: THE ROLE OF MEANING IN THE FORMATION OF COMMON SPACE

Mas Santosa

#### 94 A.11 LOCALIZING THE GLOBAL

LOCALIZING GLOBAL ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS: POSTMODERN INTERPRETATIONS IN CURITIBA, BRAZIL

Clara Irazabal

LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS OR GLOBALIZING LOCAL TRADITIONS? RURAL SETTLEMENTS ON MADURA ISLAND, INDONESIA

Muhammad Faqih

NEIGHBORS MAKE GOOD FENCES: MEDIEVAL MYTHS AND TALMUDIC TALES IN THE HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB Jennifer Rachel Cousineau

NINETEENTH-CENTURY GLOBALIZATION: TRANSFORMING THE HISTORIC CENTER OF CAIRO

Yasser Elsheshtawy

#### 97 B.11 DETERRITORIALIZATION AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF TRADITION

TRADITION, PROPAGANDA AND POWER

James Steele

FROM DETERRITORIALIZATION TO RETERRITORIALIZATION: GLOCALIZATION AND THE IMAGINED GEOGRAPHIES OF EMERGING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS

Matthew Sparke

THE ORIGIN OF "WORLD HERITAGE"

Walter Lanchet

TRADITION AND CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE Joseph Aranha

#### 99 C.11 PRESERVING TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS: FIELD CHAL-LENGES

HOUSE HUNTING, OR I'VE NEVER "LIVED" IN MY HOUSE André Casault

AN AUTHENTIC FUTURE? CONTEMPORARY ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL BUILDING ASPIRATION AND PROCESS IN EASTERN TIBET Suzanne Ewing

DEFINING TERRITORY FOR THE PEOPLE ALONG THE CILIWUNG RIVER IN JAKARTA

Yulia Nurliani Harahap

VILLAGE CULTURE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF ADAPTIVE REUSE OF A HAKKA VILLAGE AND ITS ENVIRONS Alex Lui

### 101 IV. SPECIAL PANEL: EMERGING TECHNOLOGY FOR HERITAGE: EXAMPLES FROM ITALY

Alonzo C. Addison, Bernard Frischer, and Marco Gaiani

# EDITOR'S NOTE

This special issue of *TDSR* is devoted to the 2000 IASTE conference to be held in Trani, Italy. Its purpose is to provide IASTE's individual members who do not attend with a means of being informed about the details of the conference. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing the abstracts of all papers accepted for presentation.

The theme of this, our seventh IASTE conference, is "The End of Tradition?" As we approach the next millennium, there is a great deal of contentious debate regarding the "end of history," the "end of geography," and the "end of tradition." The emergence of the term "post," as in postdevelopmentalism, postmodernism, and now post-traditionalism, serves as an indicator of our present-day discourse.

In past conferences, IASTE scholars and practitioners have attempted to make sense of this everchanging intellectual landscape, and have grappled with how processes of globalization are irrevocably restructuring space and place. This conference will be concerned with a specific historical moment, one where a seemingly all-consuming late capitalism levels differences and particularities, but where there is at the same time a resurgence of localisms, populisms and fundamentalisms. It is this paradoxical simultaneity which necessitates our question: The End of Tradition?

The conference will be structured around three broad themes: Deterritorialization/Globalization; Tradition as a Call to Arms; and Practice and the New Technologies of Place. Papers in the first track (denoted track A in the conference preliminaries) examine how the idea of globalization has unsettled the conventional connections between place and culture. While some see these dislocations as new traditions in and of themselves, others argue that the spatial basis of tradition is still firmly grounded. Both groups, however, have come to accept that globalization is forcing a rethinking of the very idea of tradition.

Papers in the second track (B) demonstrate how the fervent revival of some place-based traditions marks the landscape of much of the world at the end of the millennium. From the ravages of the Balkans to the nitty-gritty neighborhood battles of postindustrial First World cities, "the politics of difference" are playing a major role in shaping cities, nations, and entire regions. Such exclusionary, often segregationist invocations of tradition have destroyed the Archimedean vantage point, and the supposed neutrality, of vernacular studies and research on traditional settlements.

Papers in the third track (C) show how technology has often been seen as a positive force in everyday practice. However, lurking within the liberatory possibilities of technology are its hegemonic tendencies. The new professional practices in the field demonstrate that traditional environments may need to engage in self-critique, examining not only the implications of technology but also its subversive potential.

IASTE has always been dedicated to studying traditional dwellings and settlements as a means of exploring the conflicts brought about by the necessity of adaptation and change. Scholars from many disciplines, including architecture, art history, anthropology, folklore, geography, history, planning, sociology and urban studies, have submitted over 300 papers for this conference, of which we could only accommodate 120 papers accepted by 39 reviewers.

I would like to end this by thanking our host in Trani, the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Ambientali, Architettonici, Artistici e Storici della Puglia; our co-organizers, the Polytechnic of Bari and IRIS, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche; and our local conference co-directors, Michele Stella and Attilio Petruccioli.

We hope all of those in attendance will find this year's conference intellectually stimulating, and that those who miss this conference will get some sense of the event itself from this special issue.

NEZAR ALSAYYAD

# I. PLENARY SESSION: GLOBALIZATION, DETERRITORIALIZATION AND THE END OF TRADITION

### THE GLOBAL DOMESTIC: DETERRITORIALIZING GLOBALIZATON Jane M. Jacobs

Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne, Australia

# TOURISM'S EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES IN CANCUN, CUBA, AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA: CONSUMPTION AND PROTECTION OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

Robert Mugerauer

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

### THE GLOBAL DOMESTIC: DETERRITORIALIZING GLOBALIZATON Jane M. Jacobs

Globalization is generally accepted as scripting a future of homogenization and deterritorialization. Some would say it has marked the end of the local. There is one particular built form that is often considered to be emblematic of such processes: the residential highrise. The highrise is a peculiarly positioned artifact of modernity, something that might be likened to an urban Coca-Cola bottle, a form which has proliferated across the globe. Some would say it has marked the end of tradition.

This paper will reconsider the highrise as that spectacular "meta-symbol" of a globalized urban modernity. It questions this status so that the highrise may be brought back into view through the contingencies of its making and inhabitation. Can we start to see the highrise as something more than a colonizing "Western" export? As something other than a uniform technology of homogenization? Can we imagine it as playing varied roles in many other modernities? If we begin to follow this form on its global journeys, then we see that it has been variously domesticated by incorporation into nation-building projects, universally framed social welfare projects, differently conceived projects of modernization, and an array of cosmopolitan imaginings. Through attending to these diverse, contextualized stories of the domestication of the highrise, we can begin to see it is an object peculiarly placed to reveal the creative dialectic between similarity and difference which constitutes all modernities. This a dialectic that may in part be expressed by this formula: "tradition is (not) modern."

# TOURISM'S EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES IN CANCUN, CUBA, AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA: CONSUMPTION AND PROTECTION OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS Robert Mugerauer

The case studies of Cancun, Cuba, and South Florida provide a basis for a critique of mass tourism. The cases demonstrate that the implications of eco- and mass tourism are complex — even contradictory — since both forms partially consume and may partially support traditional environments and practices, and because locally autonomous projects to nurture traditional environments simultaneously hold off and manipulate tourism and capitalism.

The research shows that ecotourism's critique of mass tourism (e.g., Honey, *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?*) is largely justified. Corporations stereotype features of these landscapes as "tropical" and "exotically pleasurable," with little concern for existing environmental or cultural traditions. This marginalizes residents and environments such as backstage Cuidad Cancun, the countryside off Yucatan Highway I, the sugar, tobacco, and coffee plantations on Cuba, the rural landscape outside Miami, and nonbeach areas in that city. The public sector "sacrifices" these touristic sites, severing them from the fabric of everyday life. The visiting tourists have little interest in the local natural and social patterns, instead demanding specific types of accommodations, services and "entertainments."

Neither is ecotourism sufficiently self-critical. The natural environments favored by the international environmental community are constituted by "aesthetic" and "exoticizing" filters that preclude attention to the culturally maintained environments at the core of local traditions. The fragile coral reefs, colorful marine life, and tropical forests forming the fantastic image of "paradise" important to Europeans and Americans are attended to, but there is no ecotouristic concern for ordinary agricultural land. In addition, ecotourism is a means though which capitalism opens everything, demanding that all local secrets be yielded up: all the wonderful local foods, places, rituals, and even domestic habitats. Not only intrusive and naive, ecotourism threatens alternative social and economic systems, for example, in Cuba, where the movement of visitors into rural habitats and distribution of international currencies directly to individuals undermines the central government's legitimate control and the social-economic system chosen at substantial cost by Cubans themselves.

Nor are the local power groups passive. Tourism is an instrument for accomplishing multiple legitimate and not-so-just agendas. Because Cubans have experienced how tourism prostitutes people and place, officials paternalistically segregate "dangerous" foreigners to protect Cubans and their traditions (Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*). The Mexican and Cuban governments use "isolated" tourist reserves in Cancun and outside Havana according to the public policy of generating external income for use in other programs and areas of the country, while minimalizing the impact of outside visitors on local ways of life. Perversely — acting only out of self-interest and not for a broad public good — chamber-of-commerce interests in South Florida control the "loss" of profit to marginalized working populations.

All three cases demonstrate the unfolding of a subtle, complex and dangerous process in which diverse groups attempt variously to use capitalist tourism not only for profit but also as an instrument for active resistance and the possibility of asserting alternative traditions and environments.

# II. PLENNARY SESSION: THE END OF TRADITION: SCHOLARLY DISCOURSES

### THE END IS NEAR: APOCALYPSE AND UTOPIA IN CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

Katharyne Mitchell University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.

### TRADITIONS OF THE MODERN: A CORRUPT VIEW Ananya Roy

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

# THE END IS NEAR: APOCALYPSE AND UTOPIA IN CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

Katharyne Mitchell

The paper examines the plethora of recent scholarship in geography, urban planning and architecture that addresses the themes of apocalypse and utopia. Why does the discourse of globalization so often lead to a sense of "endings" and equally to a quest for new "beginnings"? What are the hidden fears, hopes, and agendas implicit in much of this literature? What are its spatial implications? In this paper the author examines a number of key, spatially oriented texts of the last few years, with an eye to answering these questions and contextualizing both the scholarship and the scholars who have furthered this intellectual trend.

### TRADITIONS OF THE MODERN: A CORRUPT VIEW Ananya Roy

In this essay, I explore the question of tradition through the trope of modernity. In particular, I focus on three guises of the modern. The first is a rigidly dualistic narrative that marks off the traditional from the modern. Taking hold during the fin-de-siècle, this is an unshakably teleological and Eurocentric modern that weaves its way through quite a bit of the social and political theory of the twentieth century. Ironically, in recent years, this discourse has been echoed by its seeming arch-rival: populist celebrations of Third World traditions. But the enemy has turned out to be a mirror image, merely reversing the hierarchy of modern and traditional while keeping intact its dualistic logic.

Second, I investigate the possibility of multiple modernities. I mean this not simply in terms of a globalized modern, diverse in its localizations, but instead as a modernity that is inherently and inevitably tainted. I thus re-present the modern/traditional axis through instances of inauthenticity, such as colonialism.

Third, such corruptions of the modern lead to a brief consideration of epistemological and ontological challenges. Drawing upon contemporary debates in feminism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism, I offer the "post" not as the end of intellectual traditions, but rather as a surplus present within the modern itself. Indeed, I argue that this excess offers renewed privileges of re-presentation. Undeniably discomforting, this view of/from the "corrupt" modern is nevertheless exciting.

### III. ITALIAN PLENARY ADDRESSES

#### WHAT DOES TRADITION MEAN FOR ARCHITECTURE?

Francesco Dal Co

Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, Italy

### THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT AND ITS CONSTRUCTION

Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

### WHAT DOES TRADITION MEAN FOR ARCHITECTURE? Francesco Dal Co

The talk will be devoted to the different meanings that the idea of "tradition" has had during the different stages of development of modern architecture. After referring briefly to the concept of tradition in the major works of the Renaissance, the lecture will analyze the way in which this idea was discussed and "used" by some important architects during the twentieth century. The conclusion of the lecture will analyze what remains today of this idea in the experiences of contemporary architects.

# THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT AND ITS CONSTRUCTION

Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri

One of the fundamental problems of contemporary design praxis is the division into "phases" of the project's formative process (generally, the architect carries out the "artistic" one, while the "executive" one is delegated to the engineer).

The reconquest of the theoretical and practical unity of these two phases involves the recognition of the inseparable unity of design and construction.

Globalization has made more difficult this process of recomposition, because it assumes on the one hand specialization and division into separate sectors of knowledge, and on the other the homologation of different cultural traditions.

For these reasons the main goal in architecture research has to be facing the challenge of recomposing the design/construction process. This may be achieved by using the huge potentialities offered by electronic technologies. At different levels these are represented by the following: the architectural design process; the production of building components using CAD/CAM applications (CNC, computer numerically controlled machines); and the complete automation of the construction site (CIC, computer-integrated construction).

# A.1 TERRITORIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR A PLACELESS SOCIETY

## SUPERIMPOSED HORIZONS: EXISTENCE AT THE INTERSECTION OF THE REAL AND THE VIRTUAL

Brian Cavanaugh

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# SEOUL'S WEB SITE AND THE "VIRTUAL SEOUL" VIDEO GAME: TOWARD THE END OF A TRADITIONAL URBAN VISION?

Marie-Helene Fabre Faustino

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### CIVILIZATION WITHOUT TERRITORY, TERRITORY WITHOUT CIVILIZATION

Anna Menghini

Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

### PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION: PLACE, PLACELESSNESS, AND BEIRUT'S POPULATION, 1975-1990

Sofia Shwayri

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

### TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS: SO FAR, NO FURTHER?

Raid Hanna

University of Glasgow, U.K.

# SUPERIMPOSED HORIZONS: EXISTENCE AT THE INTERSECTION OF THE REAL AND THE VIRTUAL *Brian Cavanaugh*

Late afternoon, Cambridge, England. I sit at the desk of a Xerox PARC researcher. Outside, through the grimy window to the street, I can glimpse the sun setting over stone spires. Simultaneously, through the electronic window before me, I see an empty office at Xerox PARC headquarters in Palo Alto, California. And, through the window of that distant office, that same sun is visible rising over the ochre Palo Alto hills. I am in the media space that has been constructed to weld two distant office buildings together by adding continuously open, two-way, electronic windows at both ends.

- William Mitchell

This scenario described in Mitchell's *City of Bits* illustrates the ever-growing spatial phenomenon that is transforming the visual process by which we orient ourselves in the world. A condition that, some would argue, has broad-reaching implications for our built environment through the minimization of our material infrastructure in favor of the development of virtual infrastructure. it is dimin-

ishing the binary distinctions that have helped define our conception of the world. Outside and inside, near and far, here and there: these oppositions begin to lose their meaning in a world no longer defined in primarily visual-spatial terms. Real time, in this new condition, is establishing a primacy over real space. The now is becoming more important than the where, resulting in the dematerialization of the visual-spatial horizon of our phenomenal world and the emergence of a new horizon. This is the horizon without distance, of instant arrival without journey, a horizon not spatially but temporally based. Paul Virilio has referred to this as the "Third Horizon" or the "transapparent horizon." This horizon replaces the apparent horizon that has dominated our visual history and acted as a perceptual as well as conceptual threshold to our experiences.

It is because of the primacy of vision in Western culture that the development of these new technologies is having such a profound effect. This "ocularcentrism" coincides with our philosophical conflation of Being with objects. As Frances Dyson has stated, "... of all the attributes of objects, visibility and extension are primary, thus vision and occupation of spaces are deeply implicated in the constitution of existence." Generally speaking, our visual input has, until recently, corresponded directly with our physical surroundings. Now a stereoscopic spatial condition has developed which calls into question the compromised ability of our traditional visually based thinking. As the Mitchell example cited previously illustrates, the light that illuminates our vision has been split between the direct light of the real world and the indirect light of the screen. The usefulness of the horizon, and thus the perspectival orientation that aids us in our recognition of the here and now, has been all but diminished. The here can now be here and there simultaneously, with no apparent distance or duration between — a state of telepresence.

Once, the world in which we lived was defined by walls and horizons; the days by sunrises and sunsets. Now this world is increasingly being defined temporally rather than spatially. What has become important is the present, the past and future disappearing with the horizon of real space. Virilio has spoken of a "catastrophic sense of incarceration" that is being brought upon humanity as a result of being deprived of the horizon. Can we really live if there is no more here, only now? Can we expect to be able to manage the split, not only between virtual and actual realities, but also more to the point, between the apparent horizon and the trans-apparent horizon of the screen that suddenly opens a kind of temporal window for us to interact elsewhere at any moment? As Mitchell has written: "Soon we will be able to create holes in space wherever and whenever we want them. Every place with a network connection will potentially have every other such place just outside the window."

# SEOUL'S WEB SITE AND THE "VIRTUAL SEOUL" VIDEO GAME: TOWARD THE END OF A TRADITIONAL URBAN VISION? Marie-Helene Fabre Faustino

Along with globalization, the development of new technologies, especially the Internet, is enhancing the idea of deterritorialization and placelessness. Nevertheless, a reterritorialization

seems to be occurring simultaneously within and outside the virtual space that is being shaped. Internet-related terms such as site, access, network and link refer more conventionally to a sense of materiality as well. In this new environment, the creation of Web sites is not only of commercial benefit to private companies but also serves as a promotional tool for such public entities as local governments. It is a means to communicate the image of a city that allows for greater flexibility than more traditional mediabased promotional material. Yet one might wonder, if this innovative communication tool leads to an accurate representation, which aspects are highlighted and which are kept in the dark?

Recently, the emergence of local autonomy in South Korea has resulted in the proliferation of local events of all kinds, particularly festivals reviving traditional or folk customs. Several cities, including major ones, have developed their own mascots reflecting regional values and specificities, such as folk tales. These municipal and provincial governments have all jumped very eagerly into the "Internet era" and are proud to have an Internet presence. But what is hiding behind the pixel screen?

The case of Seoul is indeed interesting. A quick glance at its Web site (www.metro.seoul.kr) conveys a striking vision of a latent schizophrenia. On the one hand, the site emphasizes icons referring to "tradition," including royal palaces and mountains (which are central geomantic elements in the city's establishment). On the other hand, it publicizes the release of a video game called "Virtual Seoul," in which the player, who becomes the mayor, is supposed to create a perfect city. In the game, Seoul appears as "the capital of the Unified Korea and hub of the global economy in the 21st century." Moreover, since the more realistic representation of the city on the same Web site gives an overview of the actual state of affairs, we find ourselves facing a double-crossed fiction that reveals a simultaneous moment of territorialization/deterritorialization.

Is the video game only "designed for promoting Seoul City worldwide," as the site describes, or is it a tool to promote a new urban vision and an attempt to understand the city in a different way? What about the use of tradition as an instrument to present this "global city" and the city's present situation, and its actual (not virtual) future? Our paper will try to explore the complexity of these dimensions and will emphasize the ambiguity of the reterritorialization implemented through and within the placeless environment of the Internet and the placeless society promoted by globalization. Finally, it will attempt to reconsider the intellectual tradition of "urban thought" via this case study.

# CIVILIZATION WITHOUT TERRITORY, TERRITORY WITHOUT CIVILIZATION

Anna Menghini

This paper will examine the ground-breaking theoretical framework about territory expressed by Saverio Muratori in *Civiltà e territorio* (1967) and further developed in theoretical and applied studies by later proponents of his ideas. Muratori's conception of territory as an organism, a physical and cultural entity,

a union of geography and history, a "total preserving register" of human actions, and a "frame" of historical events contrasts with the modern conception of territory as a tabula rasa. There has been a transition from the ideology of "civilization without territory" (globalization and "atopia" as the utopia of the modern age), to the present condition of a "territory without civilization." In fact, in the contemporary world the split between cultures and territories has constituted a root cause of environmental degradation, and led to the improper and unconditional exploitation of that "no-man's land" which lacks identity. Thus, "preserving by exploiting and exploiting by preserving" is the end result of conceiving of territory as a mere economic good, an inexhaustible resource. Within Muratori's schema, such a view contradicts the environment's inherent nature as vital organism. Territory is to be meant as a dialectical synthesis of natural structure, inherited structures, and present culture (nature, history and culture).

Since the environment is the meeting place of different cultures, the phenomenon of exchange should also be accepted as a positive element in the development of architectonic cultures — as has occurred over the centuries. In order to confirm the close link between territory, civilization and architecture, the exact relationship between physical structures, typical settlement structures, and civilizations can be pinpointed, thus finding a scalar relation between territory, urban settlement, and building structures. In this regard, the relations between settlements, landed structures and road systems in the colonized areas of the Mediterranean during the Roman age must be taken into account.

### PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION: PLACE, PLACELESSNESS, AND BEIRUT'S POPULATION, 1975-1990 Sofia Shwayri

Much has been said about the 1990s having been the decade of greatest capital and population mobility. During the decade, waves of people, both as individuals and groups, crossed and recrossed national as well as continental borders. In fact, throughout the last three decades, conflicts in urban and rural areas in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Africa have often led to major population displacements. And a parallel, equally important, phenomenon has been the movement of individuals within the same country and the same city. Though most of the discussion in the scholarly literature has been focused on international displacements and the impact migrants have had on their "new homes," little mention has been made of the impact of internal displacement within cities. While displacement from one country to another is often a result of one direct move from an original home to a new one in a new country, the recurrent displacements within the same country and city that usually take place and precede the big move across international borders are often ignored.

The sixteen-year-long Lebanese Civil War, just like other wars, caused waves of population displacement within the city of Beirut, within Lebanon as a whole, and also across continents. According to recent studies, an estimated two-thirds of the popu-

lation of Beirut was displaced at least once during the war. What makes the case of Beirut unique is the frequency with which those movements happened. Short time intervals — often weeks, rarely months, and sometimes as little as a few days — separated one move from the next.

This paper will examine the various patterns of movement of the different population groups in Beirut between 1975 and 1990. It looks at how individuals, families, and other groups transformed place for defensive purposes in times of conflict. Such subtle changes in the shaping and reshaping of space have led to the new architectural types and spatial patterns that characterize contemporary Beirut.

### TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS: SO FAR, NO FURTHER? Raid Hanna

This paper argues that there have been three major developments, or big bangs, that can be used to influence the on-going debate about the future of tradition and traditional settlements. First, there is the emergence of new ideas about the nature of place and space, which have become the focus of the newly established "cyberurbanity" concept. This has largely come about through modern communication technologies, including the Internet, which are changing the world from a fragmented entity to a global village. Second, there are now conflicting claims about the thermal performance of traditional settlements. Some empirical work by the author has led to a questioning of the thermal performance of the traditional courtyard form in hot/dry climates. Third, there is the development of certain theoretical frameworks in architectural theory based on analogies which are inductive statements and can be used to examine the relationship between "form" and "context" in traditional frameworks of urban design.

To examine the issues above, this paper examines three case studies. The first is theoretical, concerned with the development of the Gibsonian cyberspace and its influence on perceptions of territoriality, reality, space and place. The second line of investigation is empirical and deals with measurements and analysis of climatic modification of the traditional courtyard form. The third case study deals with the evolution of traditional form through biological analogies. The results from the case studies will be used to establish a framework, qualitative in nature, within which problems and issues related to the evolution, and the appraisal of the success or failure of traditional urban forms and settlements can be addressed.

# B.1 USURPING TRADITIONAL FORMS: STABILIZATION OR HOMOGENIZATION?

# THE "ONTARIO" COTTAGE: GLOBALIZATION OF A BRITISH FORM DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Lynne DiStefano

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

# DESTABILIZATION AND HOMOGENIZATION OF THE CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTHWESTERN SUMBA ISLAND, INDONESIA

Joanna Mross

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

### PAST/PRESENT: NEW URBANISM AND THE SALVAGE PARADIGM

Amy Murphy

University of Southern California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

# URBAN HERITAGE PROTECTION PRACTICES AND THEIR HOMOGENIZING EFFECTS: THE CASE OF OLD-QUEBEC Anne Vallières

Université Laval, Sainte Foy, Canada

# VARIATIONS ON PLACE AND IDENTITY: THE PRODUCTION OF KITSCH IN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE OF THE POST-1980S

Didem Kilickiran

University College London, U.K.

# THE "ONTARIO" COTTAGE: GLOBALIZATION OF A BRITISH FORM DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY Lynne DiStefano

This paper explores and documents the spread of the diminutive, symmetrical, hip-roof cottage throughout the British Empire during the nineteenth century. This intriguing topic reveals, through the careful study of a vernacular form in a specific country, the tendency to view that form as unique — an understandable, but nonetheless myopic point of view. In Ontario, Canada, the popular name of the symmetrical, hip-roof cottage — the "Ontario Cottage" — clearly shows this phenomenon. In actuality, the "Ontario cottage" can be found throughout the British Empire, and its history is one of nineteenth-century globalization. This pattern, of course, is not unlike that of today, and it calls into question the current mind-set, which suggests we are only now facing the "end of history," the "end of geography," and most importantly the "end of tradition."

The paper looks first at the introduction of the hip-roof cottage form to Ontario. The author explores its local "roots" and the reasons for its rapid adoption in the southern part of the

province. In addition, the author documents distinct regional variations of the form, and then relates these to geographical and settlement patterns.

The presence of the hip-roof cottage in Ontario is then placed within the broader context of the British Empire. Not surprisingly, the principal source for the form was Great Britain — namely, England, Scotland, and to a lesser extent Ireland. To demonstrate this, the author examines key "pattern books" and emigrant guides that helped popularize the form. In addition, the author explains that events in other colonies, such as British India, influenced the development of the form, creating a complex interplay of cross-influences.

# DESTABILIZATION AND HOMOGENIZATION OF THE CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTHWESTERN SUMBA ISLAND, INDONESIA

Joanna Mross

The evolving culture and architecture of southwestern Sumba Island exemplify a general pattern of destabilization and homogenization which has led to a trivialization of the time-honored architecture of a Southeast Asian region in a state of flux. Sumba simultaneously illustrates a historic tradition of place, the destabilizing impact of outside forces, the absorption and homogenization of contemporary influences, and a new reality — one that minimally connects to the past. Tradition itself is being challenged on Sumba, both by globalization and by Indonesianization, with the result being the creation of new cultural, political and economic tensions.

The roots of the issue may be traced to the introduction of Christianity to the island in the early twentieth century. This destabilized the animistic and spiritual practice called Marapu, and led to a subversion of the spiritual and content-rich traditional architecture of ancestral clan-house, tomb, lithic monument, and settlement. This indigenous architecture had provided a time-honored vernacular pattern based in ancestral practices, and it had exhibited a tight fit of form, context, and intellectual content. Today, while the animistic beliefs and the centuries-old agrarian and water-buffalo economy continues to be expressed in traditional settlements, the spiritual, political and economic structures of the culture and its historic architecture have been destabilized, diminishing meaning and sense of place.

Homogenization is most evident today in the Sumbanesestyle house. This architecture of the Christianized indigenous population appropriates and integrates new materials and technologies with traditional Sumbanese clan-houses. Pervasive throughout the island during the latter half of the twentieth century, this architecture has challenged the very essence of the timehonored vernacular. Without spiritual meaning or spiritual function, these Sumbanese-style houses, while reflecting the adoption of a common belief system not based in warfare also reflect a diminution of content, a loss of cultural diversity.

In addition to these forces, contemporary reality and the presence on the island of foreign investors, Indonesian government

officials, and entrepreneurs generally apathetic to the rich, local heritage, have led to the usurpation and trivialization of time-honored architectural forms. In particular, the misapplication of vestiges of the vernacular by tourist developments and government building programs has compromised the importance and meaning of traditional forms. Thus, the Sumbanese archetypal high-towered roof has been applied as a stylistic veneer, and even reduced to a common icon for government signage in a disingenuous attempt to identify with the local populous. At the same time, such foreign and bastardized architectural forms as ethnic-Chinese shophouses and Christian churches express no intention of becoming part of the local architectural identity. As with other contemporary global issues, architecture from the outside, which ignores or trivializes the traditional, and expresses outside cultural arrogance and political corruption, only contributes to local tensions. Recently in southwestern Sumba this has included bloodshed.

The indigenous land-owning and working classes, striving for status as they have for centuries, are today confronted with a dilemma: maintain the time-honored, embrace the new and imported, or establish a hybrid that does not erase the past? In Sumba, apathetic local builders and traditional architects, apparently not adequately aware of the uniqueness and value of the time-honored, have yet to successfully integrate the historic patterns of architecture with contemporary needs and realities.

# PAST/PRESENT: NEW URBANISM AND THE SALVAGE PARADIGM

Amy Murphy

The political and commercial success of New Urbanism in America, with its effective use of historical reference as a marketing tool, suggests that a substantial reassessment of the American ideology of progress may be underway. In the most extreme sense, the success of New Urbanism could suggest a substantial rethinking of the social/spatial experiment understood as America. In a less extreme sense, it might only represent a period of ideological "hesitation."

Though a shift away from past ideals of progress is long overdue in terms of environmental sustainability, the creation of historical memory is by no means a neutral act. As cultural ethnographer James Clifford has written: "'we' have history, 'they' have myths." In the case of the New Urbanists, when myths become history, "we" would be remiss not to critically examine them for what they might say about the state of things.

In this paper I will take a critical look at the impulses underlying the New Urbanist agenda in America. My first goal will be to locate this movement in relation to other arguments concerning the ideology of progress in contemporary society. While American culture needs to move away from consumptive, nonsustainable planning, image does matter. Thus, while certain traditional typologies might be able to address environmental problems, their effect on progress in social relations, attained in a contemporary and nontraditional manner, must also be examined.

My second goal in the paper will be to examine the Euro-American impulse for "collecting" traditional iconography and "constructing" historical memory. I will argue that the inclusion of historical quotation by the New Urbanists — however "authentic" cannot be regarded as a benign effect of creative marketing. Instead, I will suggest that the acquisition of historic imagery promotes what anthropologists call the "salvage" paradigm. This refers to the tendency of Westerners to "salvage" traditional cultures in order to promote the vision that all history is linear and culminates in Euro-Western development. This paradigm further justifies the salvaging of traditional histories when such histories are endangered by world forces (i.e., when traditions are "vanishing"). As Clifford has written: "The salvage paradigm, reflecting a desire to rescue 'authenticity' out of destructive historical change, is alive and well. It is found not only in ethnographic writing but also in the connoisseurships and collections of the art world and in a range of familiar nostalgias."

While the salvaging of an "authentic" American past might, in fact, offer a means of cultural resistance to technological hegemony and globalization, I believe it is not without consequences. The paper will contrast the American experience with that of the European New Urbanist approach to further examine the role of tradition and historical inscription in American architecture.

# URBAN HERITAGE PROTECTION PRACTICES AND THEIR HOMOGENIZING EFFECTS: THE CASE OF OLD-QUEBEC Anne Vallières

The notion of historical urban heritage is relatively recent, having emerged and consolidated only in reaction to the urbanization process of the industrial era. Issues related to its protection have generally also only been revealed throughout the Western world as a result of consciousness-raising by citizens groups beginning in the 1950s.

In Quebec City numerous public debates have marked the transformation of the city's oldest district, which began after 1945. Progressively, citizen pressures and political interests advocated a solution that could preserve the district from the multiple demolitions and interventions that threatened its intrinsic qualities. As a result, in 1963 the provincial government decreed Old-Quebec a "historical district."

General acceptance of the conservation objective of Old-Quebec has led to the adoption of a variety of programs. The first specific measures aimed at guiding intervention in its environment were adopted at the beginning of the 1980s. Since then, the district's architectural scenery has generally improved, especially as a result of the restoration of building envelopes. But important questions remain about the long-term consequences of measures to ensure the conservation of Old-Quebec's historic identity. After being applied for about twenty years, some of the measures' negative effects are now becoming perceptible. For instance, a certain homogenization of architectural forms is coming to characterize this urban environment, despite its formerly rich diversity which resulted from an urbanization process begun almost 400 years ago. This uniformitization has taken two main forms, readable at two different scales.

First, the considerable attention given to building envelopes has produced a kind of "Old-Quebec code," most often visible in cases of renovations. This is indicated by the display of certain standard elements considered typical of Old-Quebec (windows, attic windows, gables, etc.), which are applied to structures without due regard for context. This practice uniformitizes the urban scenery, which then appears the result of a sole historical moment, prolonged arbitrarily. Meanwhile, the coherence between architectural forms and their spatial and/or technological correspondences is diluted.

Second, when new buildings are erected on vacant lots, they are often inserted into the urban fabric in the same way they would be in any urban expansion area, without consideration for the character of the place other than the stylistic conformity referred to above. The consequences of this practice are multiple: some qualities of the urban fabric are lost; plots are densified to the death; and only formal relations seem to be maintained, to the detriment of more structural ones.

Analysis of the formation and transformation of the urban fabric of Old-Quebec gives some insight to important issues of urban heritage management other than pure stylistic concerns. What must we conserve? What latitude should there be to replace existing elements? And how should new elements be introduced?

# VARIATIONS ON PLACE AND IDENTITY: THE PRODUCTION OF KITSCH IN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE OF THE POST-1980S Didem Kilickiran

Since the military coup of September 1980, a rapid transformation has taken place in the cultural panorama of Turkey, including the opening of the country to global capitalism. In a variety of cultural arenas, ranging from popular music to literature and cinema, this has allowed a search for new forms of expression extending beyond the norms of the official modernism established as part of the country's Republican ideology. Turkey has in the last two decades witnessed the emancipation of marginal identities, hitherto suppressed. Feminists, homosexuals, religious fundamentalists, and Kurds, together with migrant populations who have introduced their rural ways to the cities, have all begun to search for their own places within this fast-changing socio-cultural context.

Parallel to the struggle of these groups for their own identities and places, architectural discourse (theory and practice) has attempted to interpret these issues in a multiplicity of ways — what I call "variations on place and identity." On the one hand, the question of identity (which has been on the architectural agenda since the construction of the Republic in the 1920s, oscillating between the questions of nationalism and internationalism) has gained new momentum recently by being associated with the question of place. On the other hand, the question of identity has been coupled with an increasing enthusiasm for the past, which in the main is now seen as a series of images that stimulate the fantasies of the present rather than reflect real

understanding of historical conditions. Where end-products are concerned, architectural attempts to address issues of place and identity have ranged from general efforts to revive lost places still believed to exist in the collective memory of society, to specific attempts to materialize cultural differences in the Anatolian vernacular or in Islamic traditions. However, it would be hard to contend that any of these attempts have resulted in much more than an uncritical eclecticism, pastiche, or stylistic mishmash.

I will discuss the validity of some of these claims with reference to selected cases of tourist and residential architecture — two prominent areas in the post-1980s building sector in Turkey. My contention will be that mainline discourse about place and identity in Turkey has to a significant extent served to legitimize new formal experiments and facadist attitudes based on the stylistic needs of these sectors. I will highlight the limits of architectural production within this discourse by referring to the notion of kitsch as a deceptive attitude and as an ideology of escapism, both in its aesthetic and sociological connotations. I believe this long-forgotten concept, when elaborated in detail, can become a new category that will allow discussion of the complexities of architectural production today.

# C.1 TECHNOLOGY AND THE MAKING OF URBAN LANDSCAPES

# THE HOUSE THAT BREATHES: ON THE EXTINCTION OF SANGIRESE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Gunawan Tjahjono

University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

### THE ARCHITECTURAL ORGANISM: TRADITION AND CHANGES

Michele Beccu

Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

#### **VOIDS: THE RE-PRESENTATION OF CULTURE**

Li Lian Chee

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# MAKING URBAN LANDSCAPE BY DISCLOSING TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS: THE CASE OF TOCHIGI CITY IN JAPAN

Nobuo Mitsuhashi and Nobuyoshi Fujimoto Utsunomiya University, Japan

# UNDERGROUND QUARRY TRADITION: AN ALTERNATIVE TO AN ANTROPIC LANDSCAPE

Calogero Montalbano Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

# THE HOUSE THAT BREATHES: ON THE EXTINCTION OF SANGIRESE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Gunawan Tjahjono

The Sangirese of North Sulawesi once believed that breath manifested life, and that life emerged in a house, which materialized the living pattern on earth. Thus, each house needed to have its own breath, and if a house stopped breathing, its residents would experience a bad life. The breathing process took place at the center of the house through a tree trunk that established its constructed order. This belief produced a tradition of dwelling culture and a unique house plan and construction practice.

This once-strong belief first began to wane on account of new construction methods introduced during colonization by the Dutch. More recently, however, it has suffered from a development process promoted by the Indonesian government. This process has gradually altered the way Sangirese view the world, so that today development is equated with modernity and progress, while tradition is equated with backwardness. Almost none of today's younger generation of Sangirese has ever built an indigenous house or dwelled in one. And because this generation knows so little about these things, without positive action to critically interpret, develop and reactivate the Sangirese building

tradition, this unique way of living with nature will soon become extinct. An entire architectural tradition will then only be available in museums, or in the collective memory of the people.

This paper examines the interplay of various factors in the extinction of a distinct building tradition. It shows how intervention in local cultural values by an external system over time has deterritorialized the local system. The worst condition occurs when natives are powerless to reterritorialize their mental territory. The paper also argues that native knowledge contains virtues that could be developed by the new generation. An imposition of outside ideas will not always bring a better life, and new knowledge is not always superior to the old. But it is more difficult to restore a traditional view when it is totally lost. Thus, the end of a tradition can hardly be considered the beginning of the old in new form.

From in-depth interviews with Sangirese informants who were carpenters or custom leaders this paper demonstrates that a local community's mental inferiority increases as its consumer attitude expands. These trends lead to questions about the form of change brought by globalization.

#### THE ARCHITECTURAL ORGANISM: TRADITION AND CHANGES Michele Beccu

The traditional architectural organism is characterized by its rootedness to the ground, its visible solidity and coherence, and the organicism of its parts. This clarity is no longer legible in contemporary architecture. With modernity, the base stratifications and complex articulation of the ground line have come to accompany impromptu, autonomous development of elevations. The coordination between structure and "shell" has been broken.

The shell of a building, usually conceived as its "exterior finish," both shows and hides the building's real identity. Dense stratification of bases, diaphragms, veilings and vibrations condition its communicative properties. The building's image becomes increasingly complex and ambiguous; the idea of a "new opacity" seems to be suggested.

The image tends to become a "structure" like a Byzantine roodscreen, yet it cannot be arbitrarily separated from the "construction." The material processes of construction, the discipline of structural design, and the rediscovery of premodern construction techniques bring the earthly and corporal substance of architecture to the forefront. As with ancient architecture, this is perceived only through complex tactile, visual and sensorial phenomenology.

The complex bioclimatic heating and cooling functions of the building update the classic atrium, which is used as a central building "core." The concept of "respiration" is reintroduced in the active and reactive performance of the facade "skins," which relate themselves to the external environment. A new sensibility between building and environment becomes apparent. Here lies the renewed survival of tradition, a trace of which allows flashes of the idea of a "new organicism" to appear.

### VOIDS: THE RE-PRESENTATION OF CULTURE Li Lian Chee

The recovery of spatial identity in a place of accelerated change such as Singapore is problematic in two regards. First, a particular identity is presumed to have been lost, and hence must be recovered. Second, the enterprise of recovery is contingent upon a search for perceived absolutes (strangely, with predetermined physical forms) that constitute this elusive identity. These physical absolutes are in part the result of a postcolonial syndrome that continues to foster a double-edged anxiety: embodying both the desire to be autonomous, and yet also to belong to some larger, higher order. The push and pull of this dilemma necessitates the presencing of physical evidence that locates, and ultimately fixes, a city like Singapore.

In Singapore spatial identity is imagined as being reinforced by the preservation and accumulation of colonial monuments and traditional shophouses. Yet these are also forms that were appropriated or borrowed in their own day. Calls for the strengthening of identity through history on site and in sight should therefore be critically reexamined on the basis of their visual ideology. The preservation of these physical absolutes is at best biased, and at worst sterile, excluding the dirt and the pain (Abbas, 1993). Hence, if tradition may be defined as part of a "lived experience," then would this definition not also preclude the significance of such absolutes as prerequisites for the state's spatial identity? If so, where does such an experience exist?

The author proposes that the search for the "vernacular tradition" may be found in the anonymous spaces, the faceless places, or "voids," that consume the landscape. These are faceless and void by virtue of Singapore's motivation to continually upgrade, downsize and reinvent — spaces that remain devoid of permanence for fear of obsolescence. Yet these voids have served as square, street, home and monument in ways parallel to the "superior" absolutes that presumably define the nation's spatial identity. Curiously built upon contingency, speed and commerce, the culture of the borrowed, the culture of the in-between, the culture of exchange, and the culture of the routine may indeed become parameters to critically relocate the face of a city of indeterminants like Singapore.

Diana Agrest's intriguing proposition that it is one thing to look at the city from the point of view of architecture, and quite another to look at architecture from the point of view of the city, aligns in many ways to the mode of seeing proposed here. The visual ideology of fixation upon absolutes (searching for the monuments to define the city) will be challenged by the definition of the city through a filmic experience (panning the scene to catch a reality that is "twenty-four times per second," as Jean-Luc Godard observed).

It is interesting also that while the anxiety of recovering "tradition" is utmost on the agenda of many such cities (this anxiety is a global phenomenon, not restricted to Singapore), the relevance of "tradition" in its traditional sense may now be questionable. The "end of tradition" is examined through an inventory of anonymous voids in the urban sprawl, the continual limbo that attests to this dialectical statement.

# MAKING URBAN LANDSCAPE BY DISCLOSING TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS: THE CASE OF TOCHIGI CITY IN JAPAN

Nobuo Mitsuhashi and Nobuyoshi Fujimoto

From the middle of the 1970s the conservation of historic districts has gradually become a political issue in Japan. People have finally come to realize that many historic buildings were ruined in exchange for economic progress. Various practices and regulations have since been instituted to recover the historic landscape. Tochigi City is an example.

Tochigi was once a flourishing trade center. After frequent disastrous fires in the middle of the nineteenth century, many of its wealthy merchants accepted the building of fireproof structures. It was at this time that the building type called *kura* (warehouse), with a wooden skeleton covered with thick loam and lime plaster, spread over the town. By the early twentieth century *kura* technology was also applied to stores (*mise-kura*) and houses.

During the recent period of economic growth people came to regard kura as antiquities. And the facades of stores (*mise-kura*) were without exception covered with modernized adornments and arcades that were considered symbolic of a modern shopping district. But the decorated buildings and arcades never showed the same noble appearance as *kura* buildings.

By the 1980s the remaining uncovered *kura* buildings scattered in the area began to fascinate tourists. A turning point came when historic district planning was discussed with a grant from Tochigi Prefecture. A report entitled "Renaissance of *Kura*" was finally published in 1989 after many discussions among scholars, merchants, community boards, administrative officers, and citizens. Thereafter, local symposiums and national conferences concerning conservation of historic districts finally convinced residents of the value of *kura* buildings.

Following the authorized plan, administrative authorities soon put a number of projects into practice, including the removal of arcades from *kura* buildings in the historic district and the construction of a promenade. The city planning division also instituted a landscape management system for private buildings, consisting of regulations promoting the removal of ornament to disclose historical buildings in as original a form as possible. A total of 58 historic buildings had been renewed by 1999.

These government actions have been accompanied by the organization of several private groups interested in city revitalization. One such volunteer organization now undertakes visitors' tours. In addition, young people have launched enterprises to manage vacant stores in the shopping district, and an annual music festival is developing. Tochigi City has all the inner-city problems typical of most cities of its size. To address these, new forms of sustainable settlement should be explored through planning and design partnerships between community groups, businesses, and the public. These should include the creative reevaluation of historic traditional buildings. Because of their appearance, and especially their authenticity, it is fortunate that *kura*, a product of the frontier technology of their time, have not been destroyed.

### UNDERGROUND QUARRY TRADITION: AN ALTERNATIVE TO AN ANTROPIC LANDSCAPE

Calogero Montalbano

The main purpose of this paper is to present a status report of a quarrying technology that is more appropriate to environmental protection today. During the last few years this theme has taken on increasing importance in the extractive stone field, since for aesthetic and functional reasons the environmental consequences of deep mining operations can no longer be ignored.

The European Community has begun a program of research to prevent the damage caused by the extractive industry. A significant choice with regard to this problem involves the conversion of traditional open-air quarrying to an underground system. New underground techniques can assure a reduction of environmental impacts, high stone production levels, and high stone quality.

Using underground methods, it is possible to avoid altering the earth's surface, and at the same time it is possible to drastically reduce quarry rejects, which, in the open-air system, are a considerable problem. A main innovative characteristic of this underground production system ("in rooms" or "in pillars") is the creation of wide, earth-sheltered spaces. After quarrying is complete, these remain excellent spaces which permit a great flexibility of postproductive use and allow a complex integration between ground and underground. Underground spaces, as some American and northern European experiences have shown, increase spatial potentialities and may contain functions essential to the management of contemporary antropic systems.

Underground locations have a number of advantages that have been recognized for many years in such areas as space-saving, security, stability, environmental, aesthetic, and weather-protection reasons with regard to power plants, municipal-transport facilities, liquid-fuel storage, national-defense structures, public utilities, and parking garages. "Going underground" is now commonplace in many cities where underground shopping plazas, trade centers, and manufacturing, commercial, institutional and industrial offices have introduced a new way of living for entire populations.

# A.2 LOCAL TRADITIONS IN THE POSTIMPERIAL/COLONIAL CITY

# MADE IN HONG KONG, MADE IN MACAU: A TALE OF TWO POSTCOLONIAL CITIES

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## PERMANENCE/IMPERMANENCE IN CREOLE STYLE (FRENCH WEST INDIES)

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### THE COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF SEOUL: TRADITION, WESTERNIZATION AND SPACE

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# THE END OR REBIRTH OF SPATIAL TRADITION IN TAIWAN: THE SPATIAL MEANING OF HISTORIC CITIES IN TRANSITION

Pai-hwai Wu and Min-Fu Hsu

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# PERMANENCY AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORIC SITE: THE CASE OF TIRADENTES, BRAZIL

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# MADE IN HONG KONG, MADE IN MACAU: A TALE OF TWO POSTCOLONIAL CITIES

David Lung

Two remarkable events marked the final years of the second millennium: the handover of British Hong Kong and Portuguese Macau to China in 1997 and 1999, respectively. The peaceful return of these two tiny cities by former imperial masters to the Chinese motherland signifies the definite end of centuries of Western colonialism in the Far East. As 155 years of British administration in Hong Kong and some 440 years of Portuguese control in Macau come to an end, these two former treaty ports are faced with the issue of re-creating themselves in a postcolonial era. It is interesting to examine what colonial legacies the new Special Administrative Region governments of Hong Kong and Macau have chosen to preserve or discard, and what the hopes and dreams of the people of Hong Kong and Macau are as they search for a new identity, given a colonial past they can neither ignore or deny.

While Hong Kong and Macau are only about 70km. apart, the course of their development throughout colonial history was quite

different. This is because the colonizers of the two lands differed in almost every aspect: from their geo-political ambitions, socio-cultural traditions, and ways of colonial administration, to their tactics in dealing with local people. Thus, by the time the colonial status of Hong Kong and Macau ceased, the two cities had become different socio-cultural entities — although bound by a common Cantonese language and cultural traditions. This difference can be seen in their urban forms, in the way of life of the local inhabitants, and in what has been embedded in people's hearts and minds by their former colonial masters. The very fact that the two decolonized cities have not been given the independence to pursue their own socio-political destiny, but are bound by the sovereignty of China, makes it even more complicated for the people of Hong Kong and Macau to find their own cultural identities.

This paper attempts to examine the issue of socio-cultural identity development in Hong Kong and Macau at the dawn of postcolonialism via their respective urban forms, architecture, cultural landscape, socio-political and socioeconomic developments, cultural traditions, and societal values. Through this comparative analysis, we hope to understand the problems and opportunities of heritage conservation presented in these two Cantonese-based, European-influenced cities.

# PERMANENCE/IMPERMANENCE IN CREOLE STYLE (FRENCH WEST INDIES)

Anne Hublin

It seems that mythic realms are predestined, as soon as they are produced, to be dismantled, so as from their fragments, new universes can emerge.

— Franz Boas

This paper develops a topic suggested by Saverio Muratori concerning change in architectural typology described as "the production of a continuously renovating individuality." The evolution of architectural types in the French West Indies, from the colonial to postcolonial era, may illustrate this permanent/impermanent movement.

The first section will describe the process of creolization in architecture during the period of slavery. From 1635 to 1848 various forms of bourgeois and polite constructions, including skilled but also simple rustic constructions, were developed, resulting in the "French Creole" style. This process may be compared to the linguistic response to the colonial confrontation that gave birth to a genuine language combining diverse sources.

From the abolition of slavery in 1848 until the cessation of colonial status in 1946, governmental buildings in the French West Indies were more directly influenced by metropolitan patterns, but creative constructions were elaborated by freed peasants and low-class people in urban areas, while bourgeois dwellings kept to the local style, partly mimicking some fashionable American or British traits.

Since the cessation of colonial status, the French government has reproduced identical metropolitan types of buildings

without any local adaptation. Meanwhile most ancient houses have been abandoned, while the emergence of large spontaneous settlements in urban areas has led to the proliferation of makeshift shelters. More recently, however, the Creole style has come back on stage, resulting in new architectural forms, more or less imitating some decorative aspects of the old Creole style.

The conclusion will discuss the notion of permanent crisis as a basic trait of colonial and postcolonial societies, and will refute the ideal of authenticity in their architectural production. Antillese societies today, as in the past, are confronted with external patterns imposed by metropolitan authorities. Moreover, rooted in a history of slavery, these societies have always been deeply marked by a basic disjunction between masters and slaves. However, when they have been able to overcome these primary contradictions, these societies have created a culture of their own by assimilating various influences.

Presently, globalization in the French West Indies has resulted in an increase in external influences. But present obvious contradictions in the making of built form may conceal the future ability of Antillese people to once again forge their own distinctive creolized style. The present crisis in architectural form embodies a confrontation of opposing aspirations: the desire for modernity on the one hand, and a paradoxical nostalgia for some aspects of the colonial period on the other. In this conflict, deploring the lack of authenticity of contemporary production has no significance. According to James Clifford, ethnic history cannot be preserved as an intact component of modernity; rather, another history must come forth, one which includes items of past experiences. In that perspective, Antillese architectural creation, as ambiguous as it may be, is part of a global dilemma: the making of new styles, based altogether on modern techniques and on local heritage.

### THE COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION OF SEOUL: TRADITION, WESTERNIZATION AND SPACE

Changmii Bae

This paper will discuss the transformation of Seoul, the capital of Korea, during the Japanese colonial occupation (1910-1945) and its symbolic meaning. The Japanese colonialists superimposed a Baroque planning model onto the existing traditional urban fabric of Seoul, and forged a new urban system suitable for colonial rule. The Westernization of Seoul was a symbol of Japanese superiority as well as an instrument of colonial power. However, colonization did not abolish the traditional city entirely, but rather incorporated its traditional characteristics to reinforce the perception of colonialists and colonized. In other words, Seoul was colonized via a paradoxical process of Westernization and Orientalization.

The impact of colonialism was not limited to the political economic arena. The culture of the colony was also manipulated by the colonialists to facilitate and justify colonial occupation. Edward Said's Orientalism (1979) analyzed the Eurocentric way of

understanding the Orient, mediated by the relation of the colonizers and colonized. Orientalization in this paper is conceptualized as the process of making Oriental identity by emphasizing traditional characteristics, identified through difference, imposed and developed by the Europeans. Imperial Japan adopted the image of the Orient and made a spatial index of the Koreans through the selective preservation of traditional artifacts. My analysis is grounded in existing literature which has examined the various themes of colonial urban form, including the traditional urban form identified by colonizers as the spatial identity of the indigenous population in French colonialism (Wright, 1991); colonial space as a modern experiment (Rabinow, 1989); the colonial city as facilitator of the political and economic structure of the periphery in the world system (King, 1990); the relationship of colonialism and culture (Said, 1979); and the various spatial strategies and urban design devices of colonial force (AlSayyad, 1992).

While the colonial transformation of Seoul has been analyzed as the inscription of Japanese imperial power and the subjugation of Koreans (Sohn, 1989), the interplay of Western and traditional spatial organization in colonial Seoul has not received attention. This analysis reveals a paradox in the process of modernization in the creation of a Japanese colonial city by both importing a Western planning principle and practicing the preservation of traditional artifacts, which aimed to serve the purpose of the colonizers. The city's history will be examined through archival materials, including newspaper articles, colonial government documents, maps, and city plans. Those materials were collected from visits in Korea as a part of the field research of my dissertation.

### THE END OR REBIRTH OF SPATIAL TRADITION IN TAIWAN: THE SPATIAL MEANING OF HISTORIC CITIES IN TRANSITION Pai-hwai Wu and Min-Fu Hsu

In this paper, we will explore two aspects of spatial tradition in Taiwanese cities. First, we will examine the historic ambiguities of these cities, as derived from the successive influence of Dutch culture for 40 years, Chinese Han culture for more than 130 years, a Japanese occupation of 50 years in the 1900s, and finally, Western culture since the 1960s. As a result of this checkered past, spatial tradition is a myth generated from a mixture of different cultures operating at the edge of their spheres of influence. Second, we will look at how urban conservation is now being initiated in these cities both by the public and private sectors. This movement has triggered a timely rethinking of the correlation between the historical sense of city space and traditional culture.

Based on these two investigations, several further issues will be raised and discussed: the spatial meaning of Taiwan's historic cities in the twenty-first century; the transformations of the spatial formation in these cities; and the adaptation of daily life in modern cities. Finally, by choosing Tainan, the oldest historic city in Taiwan, as a case study, we hope to ground our discourse on the end or rebirth of spatial tradition in Taiwan by rediscovering the spatial meaning of historic cities in transition.

# PERMANENCY AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORIC SITE: THE CASE OF TIRADENTES, BRAZIL

Jurema Rugani

In an attempt to participate in the global economy, many countries, especially in Asia and Latin America, have been openly exposing the fragile fabric of their historic areas to the flood of tourists from overseas. Considering the scope of this conference, which interrogates the "end of tradition" in context of the globalization process, this paper will discuss the rapid and decharacterizing process of spatial transformation in the historic sites of Brazil, as they have been imposed by hegemonic systems. In particular, we will analyze the city of Tiradentes in the state of Minas Gerais, one of the first urban colonial settlements in Brazil.

Tiradentes, the former Vila of São José del Rei, owed its origin and subsequent development to gold mining, which began in the eighteenth century. The city is still representative of Brazilian's colonial culture. Its character is revealed in its urban organization, rich examples of religious and civic architecture, and its musical tradition. When gold ran out in the late 1800s, leading to a drastic population decline, the economy of Tiradentes became mired in a chronic state of stagnation. Paradoxically, this inactivity contributed to maintaining the city in an almost untouched state, preserving its original urban layout, framed by the mountain of São José, with its *largos* (squares), rows of houses accented in green, and alleyways placed in a natural response to human need and the local terrain.

Until the middle of the twentieth century Tiradentes was still a small and sleepy town, whose urban zone was restricted to the limits of the colonial nucleus. However, with the rise of urbanization and industrialization in Brazil since the late 1960s, the city has experienced a remarkable transformation and rapid expansion around the historic urban center. In the last two decades the tourist industry has encouraged an influx of new residents and business people in search of the environmental and historic qualities still preserved there. This veritable flood of people has stressed the historic core both physically and culturally, endangering the maintenance of the local attributes which make the town so distinctive.

This article will focus on two extensive research projects: one for a zoning plan developed by the federal institution SPHAN (National Historical and Artistic Landmarks Commission), the other an urban and architectural inventory carried out by the School of Architecture of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. Both projects approach this representative historic settlement with the aim of respectfully preserving its colonial structures and revitalizing expressive architectural qualities. Our analysis will reveal the unstable dialogue between dynamic market forces and a fragile local urban fabric, and demonstrate how increasing development means ultimately exacerbating the loss of local tradition and cultural heritage.

# B.2 MOBILE/IZING SPATIAL SCALES: THE SHIFTING POLITICS OF TRADITION

# VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND THE PARK REMOVALS: TRADITIONALIZATION AS JUSTIFICATION AND RESISTANCE

Michael Ann Williams

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# TRADITIONAL FICTIONS: NARRATIVES OF NATURE, CULTURE AND EXCHANGE IN THE GIFT GARDEN

Gini Lee Dip

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# A SATELLITE DISH AND A BAMBOO HUT? THE POLITICS OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS IN INDONESIA

Leena Avonius

University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

### IT'S ALL IN A NAME: THE LOSS OF EXPERTISE AND THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION

Peter Schneider

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

# TURNING AND BREAKING A CENTURY: A SEARCH FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTINUITY THROUGH THE RUPTURES IN SHANGHAI POLITICAL HISTORY

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# VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND THE PARK REMOVALS: TRADITIONALIZATION AS JUSTIFICATION AND RESISTANCE Michael Ann Williams

In order to accommodate a perceived need for "wilderness" in the rapidly urbanizing eastern United States, three national parks were created during the 1930s. Although all three entailed the removal of local populations, the largest park removal was in the Great Smoky Mountains. Initially in all three parks, most of the material remnants of the local populations were destroyed. However, in the Smokies, a policy was soon developed to preserve at least some of the traditional architecture within the park borders. During the 1930s Civilian Conservation Corps worker Charles Grossman systematically surveyed and documented all the existing structures in the park, one of the first comprehensive surveys of folk architecture conducted in the United States.

While Grossman's survey was broadly based, the use it was put to was not. Park officials chose to obliterate most traces of recent habitation. The resulting interpretation emphasized pioneer life and suggested that this "cultural island" could only be preserved through a zoo-like environment. The creation of the park was justi-

fied not only by claims of "preserving" a wilderness (already denuded by timbering), but also by the claim of preserving folk heritage. While the traditionalization of architecture by the Park Service neatly eradicated the story of the park removals, the families removed also ascribed new meanings to the structures. Although before the removal, houses were often routinely abandoned, or even burned for firewood, after the creation of the park, they acquired new symbolic significance. To the removed park families, the structures were emblematic of living families and individual histories, not a distant and generalized pioneer past. Former home sites and cemeteries became the focus of active, and passive, resistance.

An examination of the uses of tradition in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park removals provides a provocative case study through which we can understand more recent examples of the politics of tradition. The seemingly neutral and well-intentioned research of Grossman was used to justify the removals and deny park families public recognition of their displacement. While the use of tradition in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park can be seen as yet another example of its "hegemonic and oppressive nature," tradition as a call to arms was also used by the forces of resistance to governmental action. In examining this particular historical moment, this paper calls into question any distinctions between "invented" and "authentic" tradition. All tradition is inherently constructed, and the symbolic power of constructed tradition has always been available for use by individuals and groups with diverse agendas.

### TRADITIONAL FICTIONS: NARRATIVES OF NATURE, CULTURE AND EXCHANGE IN THE GIFT GARDEN Gini Lee Dip

Following the post-World War II establishment of the Sister City movement, many cities forged new relationships with places across the globe. Australia, in particular, eagerly embraced the opportunity for cultural exchange with sister-city organizations springing up in every major city and many rural regions as well. Perhaps not surprisingly, by the end of the twentieth century, the underpinning principle of these relationships, to foster world peace and hence encourage cultural discourse and understanding, has now given way to the imperative of establishing lucrative business relationships: cultural sensitivities thus being predicated on economic value.

A most visible manifestation of these relationships has been the insertion of Oriental gift gardens into public areas of Australian cities over the past twenty years or so. Principally from Japan and China, these gift gardens have been constructed following traditional Eastern aesthetics of nature as an idealized landscape, in miniature form. Thus, the Garden of Friendship is a faithful reproduction of an idealized Chinese landscape sited in one of the newest, most densely urbanized areas of Sydney's inner city. It takes the form of a public space that is walled, bounded and privatized. For some, its invitation to enter a different realm, where the cares of the city and the everyday clamor of existence can be calmed, engenders an uneasy sense of space and place, a dislocation from the reality of scale, materiality and the broader landscape.

A similar recent sister-city gift to, and collaboration with, Melbourne is the (somewhat generically named) Chinese Garden, installed as a gateway to the Chinatown streets and lanes in the city. This urban plaza contains stylized elements of the traditional garden, executed in current Western urban landscape styles. It is open to all, yet its "otherness" in the urban fabric of the older place is still present in its elements — the pool, the particular rocks, the shelter.

If the garden can be regarded as an easily identifiable site for a reading and translation of the social, cultural and political ideals of a time and a society, then these gardens are potent indicators of how cross-cultural relationships are confirmed. The paper will examine these and other ideas through an investigation of the origin and translation of Eastern garden and landscape traditions to a Western, largely European, urban landscape tradition. By looking at mappings of temporal/spatial journeys and the elemental detail of these places, the narrative, spatial and material structures of gift gardens and landscapes will be revealed. Further, the response may result in a collection of slight fictions on certain nature/culture relationships, guided finally by the metaphysical and aesthetic principles inherent in the tradition that is garden (and ultimately place) making.

# THE POLITICS OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS IN INDONESIA

Leena Avonius

Examining our living environments in historical context shows clearly that "the end of tradition" needs to be questioned. There is no straightforward process from "traditional" to "global," but the appearance of signs and symbols of what we often interpret as belonging to the latter carry far more ambiguous and complicated messages. They can refer to local, regional, national as well as international discourses. Based on my anthropological fieldwork, I will present a case study of Indonesian West Lombok, examining the discourses that have shaped the living environment in this multiethnic and multireligious region during and after Soeharto's New Order regime. The aim is to broaden the anthropological discussion on the processes of modernization and globalization, until now largely limited to the study of language and ritual practices, toward an understanding of changes in living environments.

In Lombok, the neighborhoods built since the 1970s are strikingly different from "traditional" neighborhoods. One could interpret this as a change from traditional bamboo-hut architecture, based on strong symbolism and belief system, to modern, secular housing. However, such an interpretation is limited, as it ignores local political and religious disputes that have played major roles in shaping the environment. The paper claims it was an inter-Islamic conflict that pushed forward the building of new kinds of houses in villages. Thus, a white concrete house was not merely a sign of being modern, but also of being a true Muslim, distinct from the followers of localized, syncretistic forms of Islam. This development was manipulated by the New Order regime that wasted much time and energy in often-violent attacks on religious and ethnic minorities. As can be seen throughout Indonesian cities, the

New Order created its very own aesthetics of the "modern." Any environments that differed from it were considered potentially rebel, communist, backward and uncivilized. As such, they were threatening to the uniform image of Indonesia.

Contemporary post-Soeharto Indonesia has its own discourses on environments, and today the variety of Indonesia's cultural traditions — earlier only celebrated in museums and exhibitions — has become a main argument for regional autonomy. To this view, "traditional" environments are physical evidence of local forms of living that should have a right to sovereignty. This new discourse is not necessarily less oppressive for those who happen to live in "traditional" environments: now they are not allowed to make any changes that would make their houses look less traditional.

On Lombok such "tradition fascism" today goes hand in hand with the project of building up international tourism. Tourists are brought to gaze at the poor, distant, primitive and traditional villages. The point is, of course, that the villages should stay that way. The paper argues that all these discourses see the "traditional villages" as a manifestation of the Other, something that can be reflected upon one's own environment. Thus, the end of tradition is not in anyone's interests.

### THE LOSS OF EXPERTISE AND THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION Peter Schneider

John Gatto, the great American public school teacher, once observed in a lecture, "experts can certainly claim to possess superior knowledge." But then he went on to say, "they cannot, though, claim with any certainty at all to posses superior wisdom. Knowledge and wisdom are far from the same things, and to conflate the two is madness." This paper deals directly with Gatto's clear assertion that knowledge and wisdom are distinct and different phenomena. It relates its discussions to the conference's theme by linking the term knowledge with expertise and the term wisdom with tradition, and by focusing on the tension generated by and between these coupled terms. In forging these linkages, the paper engages and deals directly with the current crisis of confidence in the professions — a crisis that has called into question the legitimacy and validity of the "modern" tradition of expertise based in the primacy of sophisticated knowledge and the values of authority, infallibility, privilege, power and control that support, sustain and give validity to the idea of the expert's role.

To accomplish its purposes, the paper examines the roots and causes of the current crisis, using the concept of the specialized "sociological imagination" developed by C. Wright Mills in the 1950s to describe the way in which the idea of expertise is shaped and sustained. It suggests that a reliance on the concept of expertise has trapped the contemporary professions in a category error of their own making. And it probes the modern obsession with the idea of restricted knowledge, exclusive expertise, and specialized practice, suggesting that these have been fashioned by a "professional imagination" that has increasingly lost all connection to its historical roots in the cross-cultural tradition of mastery and accomplishment: in

short, of wisdom. The paper then explores the nature of the traditions of mastery and its accomplished practices, and examines the way that that tradition supports the idea of "good work" in a broad range of cultures. It looks at the range of traditions surrounding the designer's role within the culture of "good work" and "good works." Flowing from that exploration, it suggests that that role and method was one in and through which the designer acted as a wise advocate, intercessor and intermediary in a complex process that reconciles the conflicting demands of nature and culture in all design dilemmas.

The paper finally takes the position that the ideas of expertise and mastery are in many respects antithetical, and that the current crisis of confidence can perhaps be best resolved through the conscious recovery of tradition: through a deliberate forsaking of the idea of expertise, and the recovery of the ideas and practices which support a mastery of the art and craft of design. It will only be in and through that act of losing expertise and recovering tradition that the act of design can once again become an act of intervention and intercession, of affirmation and empowerment, and even of revelation, reconciliation and redemption.

# TURNING AND BREAKING A CENTURY: A SEARCH FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTINUITY THROUGH THE RUPTURES IN SHANGHAI POLITICAL HISTORY

Vimalin Rujivacharakul

"Historical Shanghai" is commonly defined by the image of the city as it was around the beginning of the twentieth century, the city where the Chinese immigrated, resided and searched for new lives outside the circumscribed orthodoxy of the late Imperial China. In the urban space of that imagined Shanghai, new political ideologies were formulated amidst new socio-political practices created by classes of Shanghai urbanites resisting the traditional Chinese ideologies of state control over society. To many Shanghai residents, as well as its visitors, the myth of resisting traditional ideologies made the historical Shanghai a model of the world's early "modern" city, modernity being equated with the end of old traditions.

Yet, I argue, Shanghai of the past century emerged from a much more sophisticated historical terrain. As a home and a birthplace to many major Chinese ideologies during the last hundred years, historical Shanghai has been formulated by different political movements that shared and shaped the city's discursive characteristics of "being modern." From imperialism to republicanism, communism to capitalism, a series of different ideologies imposed their own authorities upon Shanghai's cultural and social spheres by critiquing, denying, breaking or eventually rupturing the preceding and existing patterns of social practices and political traditions. In the usual recounting of Shanghai's political history, these processes of rupturing existing socio-political practices are frequently subordinated to and/or presented as integral to the overarching process of re-creating "modern" Shanghai.

The "ruptures" in Shanghai political history, I propose, are less than complete endings of existing traditions and beginnings of new political thoughts and patterns, but more than mere changes in the social practices of everyday life. This project explores and reexamines the complexity of those socio-political events by tracing and reexamining their changes and effects on architectural design and development around the political turning points of Shanghai history. The study focuses on architecture of prominent Shanghai residents, particularly those of the political parties and the municipal governments. In these buildings, changes in both social practices and sociopolitical patterns can be traced from the design of forms and spatial uses. Space and room arrangements reflected living patterns and community of the houses, whereas adjustment and negotiation between family/native customs and the in-fashion European-style building patterns suggested the cultural negotiation process occurring in the social practice and interactions of family members. Moreover, the settings of public and private areas in each residence reflected how the owners represented themselves, both socially and politically, and how their guests, both "allies" and "enemies," were represented in their domains.

This project therefore explores histories/stories of different people — the house owners, the house visitors, and the house builders — in conjunction with the studies of architectural development and architectural history of the historical Shanghai. The number of house owners includes several eminent politicians of different periods, military leaders, and Shanghai executives and philanthropists. Through the interpretations of building envelopes and plans and histories of people and architecture, the project attempts to show the deviations and continuities of Shanghai socio-political practices among different ruptures in Shanghai political history through the analyses of domestic spaces in modern architecture of historical Shanghai. On a larger scale, the project looks forward to presenting a discursive formulation of "modern" Shanghai in which its residents have broken, differentiated, negotiated and continued their socio-political statuses amidst several dramatic political changes and the unstable social ground of China over the past century.

# C.2 DISCOURSES OF TRADITION AND GLOBALIZATION

#### "TRADITION BY ITSELF . . . "

Paul Oliver

Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

#### VERNACULAR AS INVENTED TRADITION

Rowan Roenisch

De Montfort University, Leicester, U.K.

### THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN ITALIAN TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Nicola Marzot

University of Bologna, Italy

# REDEFINING TRADITION FOR MULTIPLE GEOGRAPHIES: TOWARD JUXTAPOSED TRADITIONS AND THE CASE OF ISLAM IN ISTANBUL AS A DISCURSIVE ACT

Berin Gur

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

### THE INSIDIOUS REVIVAL OF TRADITION: INVISIBLE FENCES, CASTIGLIONE DI SICILIA

Antonella Romagnolo

University of Reggio Calabria, Italy

#### "TRADITION BY ITSELF . . . "

Paul Oliver

"Tradition by itself is not enough," wrote T.S. Eliot in 1934. It is true that the reification of tradition as habit or as mere repetition is suspect, providing little but models for imitation, sentimental associations, stereotypes and contempt. But tradition as the transmission and utilization of accumulated experience, technical knowledge, and the embodiment of standards and values is another matter. Such tradition is not simply "of itself," but involves a complex continuity from the past, through the present to the future. It embodies concepts, processes and meanings of both practice and materiality whose persistence ensures reliability and identity.

In vernacular architecture traditions maintain the definition of spaces, the means and methods of construction, the forms and features of dwellings, and the mores of living in families and communities. Together, these constitute the lifeways and habitats of diverse cultures. Though such traditions may be customary, they are also frequently modified over time. Vernacular traditions are not resistant to change; by experiment, trial and evaluation, they embrace it when it is perceived as beneficial. But the values by which they flourish or evolve are not those of nations and multinational corpo-

rations, whose hegemonic domination is inimical to their survival. Globalization of economies depends on ruthless exploitation, and the keeping in poverty and repression those who are powerless to oppose it. Spurious claims of the "end of tradition" and "postdevelopmentalism" are designed to enforce their subjugation by disparagement and the abrogation of responsibilities.

The almost total failure to address the realities of population growth and the global crisis in housing on the part of nations across the world is culpable in the extreme. Already the world population has reached six billion people; and all projections agree that within the next half-century this will have grown to nine billion, or half as much again as the current population. But where do we hear of the means by which these thousands of millions will be accommodated? Vernacular architecture, by any criterion, constitutes the majority of global housing. Largely ignored or dismissed, never costed or accounted in human effort, vernacular architecture remains a prime, but unrecognized constituent of national economies in all continents.

Indeed, tradition by itself is not enough. Neither need we despair of the end of tradition, but instead, recognize, celebrate and actively support it. Only support through the responsible management of resources, the encouragement of inherited skills and training in new ones, respect for the values of those who build and occupy, and provision of services as they are needed, is likely to ensure adequate housing for the exponentially expanding populations of the twenty-first century. Some of the major issues that have to be confronted will be considered in this presentation.

### VERNACULAR AS INVENTED TRADITION Rowan Roenisch

This paper arises out of a study of vernacular architecture in Zimbabwe and challenges the notion of tradition as something homogenous and unchanging. The study of north and northeastern Shona and Tonga homes in Zimbabwe demonstrates that vernacular traditions are varied and constantly invented.

The word "tradition" and the development of architectural history occurred simultaneously in the West during the eighteenth century at the time of the Enlightenment. The developing market economies, international travel and trade, colonialism, industrialization and radical movements for social change such as the French Revolution confronted European communities with a plethora of different global traditions, encouraging a systematic interrogation of tradition, revivalism, and a search for a modern practice.

According to Giddens, traditions have the following distinguishing features:

- Ritual and repetition.
- They are the property of a group rather than individuals.
- They involve a focus on a truth/stored up wisdom/action that is unquestioned and which provides a framework for action.

However, there seem to be three concepts of "tradition":

- A premodern notion, which sees tradition as natural, continuing, homogenous and something unconsciously embedded in society.
- An Enlightenment or modernist notion, in which there is a break with the past, an in which traditions are seen as in decline, outmoded, and reaching their end as modernization and modernism take hold globally.
- A postmodern concept, which recognizes that all traditions, including modernism itself, are an infinitely complex amalgam, a mix of old and new, and that alongside similarities and group identities they reveal difference, individuality and agency, and are constantly invented and reinvented.

In my own field research between 1990 and 1996 into contemporary north and northeastern Zimbabwean vernacular traditions, an initial commonality identified in the villages and buildings examined gave way to stark awareness of difference. But this soon revealed not only difference but also continual change, individual agency, invention, and pragmatic innovation.

These varied contemporary characteristics raise the question of whether such complexity and invention is a recent phenomenon, a product of colonial and postcolonial disruption and population movement, or whether it has longer historical roots. Within Zimbabwe there is scanty evidence prior to the nineteenth century, and what there is requires further investigation. There is, however, tangential evidence and comparative historical evidence from elsewhere which would seem to support the view that vernacular traditions, like other traditions, are not "pure," but rather constantly draw upon an array of cultural resources and are constantly being invented. This evidence suggests that traditional architecture has never been merely "traditional."

"Tradition" comprises a dialectic involving both the traditional and the modern. Vernacular architecture is varied and constantly invented. It combines the old and the new, as contemporary practice is enriched with what is seen as relevant from available traditions and modernizing tendencies.

# THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN ITALIAN TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Nicola Marzot

Following the crisis of the Modern Movement, Italian culture played a fundamental role in renewing interest in typological studies. Such typological analysis found its basis in attempts to reconcile modernity with tradition. These efforts in Italy dated to the beginning of the twentieth century thanks to the contributions of Gustavo Giovannoni and Giuseppe Pagano, and matured beginning in the 1950s with the work of Saverio Muratori. Today Muratori's school represents a significant advancement toward a way of planning that considers the importance of inherited history.

Muratori's work represented a starting point for further work by those who progressively developed their own research, independently of his model (Gianfranco Caniggia, Carlo Aymonino, Aldo Rossi, Giorgio Grassi, etc.). These different contributions also played a fundamental role in the development of debate abroad — specifically in relation to the European and American situation — and helped establish the idea of architecture as a discipline independent of sociology, politics and economics.

We think that because of the fundamental necessity of the relations between analysis and planning there can be no objective interpretation of urban phenomena. Each interpretation is subjective, its results bound by the nature of the parameters chosen for investigation.

This paper validates the thesis that the interpretation of the "urban facts" in Italian studies has always been characterized by a different assumption of the dialectic between innovation and tradition, according to the specific interpretations of the terms of different authors. I will analyze this theme from different points of view: the "method of work," the "context," the "language," and the "landscape."

- The "method of work" section focuses on the difference between a traditional and an innovative approach to urban planning and architecture: while the first emphasizes the importance of the object as the basis of critical reflection, the second considers the program as a priority.
- The "context" section focuses on the difference between a traditional and an innovative interpretation of the dialectic between urban planning and architecture: while the first considers the two as interrelated aspects of the same problem, the second interprets them as different problems.
- The "language" section focuses on the difference between a traditional and an innovative interpretation of urban planning and architecture as communicative tools: while the first considers the individuality of each single manifestation, the second emphasizes the common aspects through successive abstractions.
- Finally, the "landscape" section focuses on the difference between a traditional and an innovative comprehension of urban planning and architecture: while the first considers the continuous interrelation between objects and users, the second emphasizes the reciprocal autonomy.

# REDEFINING TRADITION FOR MULTIPLE GEOGRAPHIES: TOWARD JUXTAPOSED TRADITIONS AND THE CASE OF ISLAM IN ISTANBUL AS A DISCURSIVE ACT Berin Gur

This study is about the changing meaning of tradition in the age of globalization, and particularly about its reassertion in a way that suggests its reconfiguration and reconceptualization in relation to shifts in political-economic-social-cultural domains. To be understood completely, tradition should be viewed as a

process, rather than an outcome. As a process, it is a discursive act which is embodied in political-economic-social-cultural domains. Tradition is thus spatial, and presumably social and historical, and it involves the production and transformation of knowledge with respect to cultural, geographic and identity positions. In this way tradition constitutes social relations and practical consciousness: it makes history.

The main concern of this paper, the way in which tradition is being utilized and approached, will be studied in reference to the city of Istanbul, Turkey. Istanbul is used for indicative purposes primarily in order to explain the interventions of Islamic tradition as a discursive act into the city's spatial structure. The current context, which carries implications for the term tradition, emerges from a global-local dialectics. Drawing a boundary around a particular local area is a relational act that depends on the figuration of other local areas. The local is thus simultaneously constituent of and constituted by the global. This coexistence and/or juxtaposition has recently led to two types of struggles: struggles over the direction of globalization, and struggles to individualize the local in the globalizing world. There is also a struggle for representation that proceeds with all discursive acts. This study asserts that self-reconstruction of a local identity cannot be considered apart from changing patterns of global relations.

Islam is a global religious discourse organized in local structures. It is both a constituent subject and constituted object of the contemporary globalization, of which capitalism is one aspect. In the case of Turkey, Islam has become a powerful discourse to articulate and socially ground an identity with a sense of trust and rootedness. Islam has been legitimated through its relationship with tradition, and it has become a social-political force in localizing the global, and globalizing the local. As such, it has sought to establish an alternative social order. Consequently, tradition appears to be a political-economic-social-cultural instrument: an institutionalized device that seeks to constitute a political-social identity. The (spatial) means of tradition become utilized for social, historical and political legitimation. Tradition is approached as a discursive and yet defensive act that searches for difference, with the necessity of identity. Today the more people explore the power of tradition, the more their search for difference takes form in accordance with the cultural politics of the dominant mode of production (i.e., capitalism), and becomes a homogenizing search using the predominant (spatial) means of the consumer society, where difference becomes sameness.

# THE INSIDIOUS REVIVAL OF TRADITION: INVISIBLE FENCES, CASTIGLIONE DI SICILIA

Antonella Romagnolo

We cannot make a choice between the traditional and the contemporary city. The city is a unicum, combining archaeological ruins with Gothic cathedrals and abandoned industrial areas. Today the "huge dimension" and complete urbanization have also created a city with no limits, emblematic not of "living," but

of "passing through" as fast as possible. We wonder why the beauty and size of the historic town reassures us. But in a society with accelerated rhythms, we are inclined to interpret absence not as loss, but as value. Thus, we accept the fragmentation and transparency of the modern city as necessary, and we allude to a unity which is different from the original one. Maybe this value is that of a fence between the visible-unitary (the historic town) and the invisible-fragmentary (new value). It is a limit we can choose to retain or overcome.

The contemporary landscape belongs to the tradition of the *tabula rasa*, whose clones of the Maison-Domino are the consumer goods exportable everywhere and anyway.

Homologation/globalization is opposed to the place-identity values which have returned today in localisms. However, these two conditions seems to have long coexisted in Mediterranean cultures and landscapes as a result of an indigenous way of being that opened itself to the richness of other cultures. These then became plaited together over the centuries.

This can clearly be seen in landscapes. Mediterranean landscapes have never been natural: man has built terraces here for farms, homes and cities. Examples of this appropriation/handling of the soil are the troglodytic dwellings, the "Granada *cuevas*," the Matera stones, the Gothic lots, but also the houses of Gaudi, where the cave is not the dwelling, but the dwelling alludes to the quarry (Pedrera).

Among the examples which better retain features and themes of the Mediterranean tradition is Castiglione di Sicilia, a massive step-molded rocky spur on the Alcantara Valley. Appropriation of space here involved physical excavation of the rock in order to obtain cavities to live in as well as materials to build with. Dwellings here have a strong vertical development, at the top of which there projects a small hemispheric element. This is the stone oven, which is not an addition, but a plastic event of the building, a pure volume under the Mediterranean sun (Le Corbusier). Sometimes, if the building stands out against the rocky wall, the room which isolates the house from moisture becomes a stone garden: natural rock on one side, rocky facade on the opposite one. Today this linear garden can be translated into the Souto de Moura house in Moledo, built on a natural slope — where house, terracing, and sustaining walls are still elements of a Mediterranean tradition, but where the innovative element of the glazed wall allows continuity between rocks, garden and house interior.

# A.3 LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS: CONTEMPORARY SCENARIOS

LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS IN EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE: THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY Aly Gabr and Khaled Ahmed Kamel University of Cairo, Egypt

# IDENTITY AS A MODE OF RESISTANCE TO GLOBALIZATION: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY

Pietro Cali and Christopher Jarrett

University of Reggio Calabria and Georgia Institute of Technology, Italy/U.S.A.

# "DISCIPLINE" IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: CAIRO'S LANDSCAPE, BETWEEN WESTERN EFFECTS AND LOCAL RESPONSES

Mohamed Abdel-Kader University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

### CULTURAL COMPLEXES: RECUPERATING TRADITION FOR THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE

Sabir Khan and Mark Cottle Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, U.S.A.

### VILLARD DE LANS: GLOBAL INTERVENTION AND LOCAL RESURGENCE

Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Keith Loftin III
University of Denver and University of Colorado, Denver, U.S.A.

# LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS IN EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE: THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY Aly Gabr and Khaled Ahmed Kamel

At the dawn of the new millennium we step into an epoch of great transition holding prospects never before witnessed or experienced. Within this context, the powerful forces of globalization tamper with the aspects of collective identity and therefore deal with processes of transformation and change — two seeming adversaries of tradition. Collectively, identity includes a complex set of aspects that forms a continuous dimension in the background of any architectural creation. This complex set covers geography, culture, religion, societal organization, economy, politics and history. Accordingly, the absolute meaning in architecture becomes the expression of this collective identity.

Contrary to mainstream writings, we argue that globalization is not a phenomenon without precedent. Within history, for instance, the Macedonian conquests and the Roman Empire can be considered as manifestations of similar forces of universality and globalization. Furthermore, the universal character of

Taking the various aspects of collective identity as its point of departure, this paper focuses on the dynamics of localizing global traditions as expressed architecturally in the Egyptian historic experience. Those global traditions have acted on the local tradition as initiators of change, while the dynamics of localizing those traditions have resulted from "wise" collective choices in the face of the inevitable consequences of that change.

The major transformations in Egyptian history can be classified into five major epochs: the Ancient Egyptian, the Greco-Roman, the Coptic, the Islamic, and finally the modern Westernized. These epochs have involved transformations and changes, each with its own local as well as global characteristics which have had a direct impact on Egyptian architecture. Through a selection of architectural examples, however, the paper approaches the issue of Egyptian architectural identity in its five main historical epochs as a product of one continuum.

Knowing that investigating the roots of architectural forms is never conclusive, the paper adopts the standpoint that the so-called ruptures seen from the Ancient Egyptian to the Coptic, and from the Coptic to the Muslim periods in architecture are misleading. That is, in the Egyptian case, a gradual layering of premodern transformations saw the birth of new forms from old ones, in contrast to the rapid ruptures that occurred during the transformations of modernist Westernization. The paper thus concludes that the transformations in the premodern cases engulfed the elements of continuity and change at the same time, defining the key to understanding the process of localizing global traditions. To the polarized intellectual, the holistic synthesis of opposites — that is, continuity and change - remains disintegrated in the modern case. This leads to the question: are we heading toward the end of tradition? According to this paper, the collective subconscious takes on the task to synthesize the apparent opposites and ultimately answer that question.

# IDENTITY AS A MODE OF RESISTANCE TO GLOBALIZATION: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY *Pietro Cali and Christopher Jarrett*

Are the growing effects of postindustrial culture, of high technology and late capitalism, eroding our sense of identity, our sense of place in history? Or are the "purist" advocates for preservation and tradition, those who wish to prevent the transformation of existing sites and artifacts, the greater force behind the erosion of identity? In the face of globalization, is there an appropriate relationship between past and present, old and new? How much does the weight of the present have the right to intervene or interfere with the past, with history? This paper will attempt to address these questions as they face architects in the United States and Italy today.

Design interventions in the United States have largely been limited to defining relationships between one building object, called

"old," and another, called "new." On the one hand are those U.S. architects who look to their craft solely as an act of personal identity, of creativity in the narrowest sense: creating "new" architecture for a constantly renewable, boundless environment, an empty landscape, a blank slate. On the other hand is the great body of architecture today that is merely marked by pastiche and past styles, lacking in all kinds of sensibility toward place. In the U.S. there is very little critical interpretation of the past or given conditions. More often than not, there is little regard for the site as a piece of constructed history or identity. Consequently, the notion of design intervention as an "intermediary object" in a multilayered fabric (as discussed by Mark Hewitt in the Journal of Architectural Education) is difficult for both the architect and conservator to embrace. Defining the site more inclusively, and the problem more broadly, threatens to dismantle architects' and conservators' senses of identity and intellectual property. This attitude is reinforced in design education in the United States. However, an increase in sensibilities toward the smallest of concerns around place may offer a legitimate method of resistance, a form of friction against the forces of globalization.

In Italy, history is a big deal. It is the core in which we find a sense of our evolution. There are two opposite schools of thinking with respect to identity and preservation in Italy. One is "pure conservation thought," dominated by the obsession that nothing must be lost, even the smallest piece of mortar. "Pure conservationists" act as if we are the last generation on the face of this world. They believe that architects do not have the right to modify what is found, and that we should pass through our era never daring to touch what history has made. The second school of thought embodies the ambiguous frustrations of a generation of architects who try to legitimize their designs by playing with history, using it to legitimize a purely egoistic agenda. Is this dialectic between conservation and modernity too reductive? Undoubtedly yes, but at the same time, it provides a rough idea of the distance that still divides conservationists and designers at this time, when the link between the past and the future is often taken for granted. We fortunately find in the middle the fertile earth of the theoretical debate about context and modification: in Italy, we simply do not have any space that hasn't been already interpreted by a tradition. Exploring the "rules" (regola) that measure and organize a settlement or an edifice, recuperating ancient building techniques, and using local materials might represent an effective way to resist the current massification of architecture and urbanism in Italy.

If the imperatives of a renewed consciousness of identity are to have meaning for architects and preservationists in the new millennium, is it not necessary for all of us to recognize our work as contingent rather than formally exclusive or isolated in time? Hasn't history taught us that to live is to transform? Isn't interfering with history part of history itself? Interpreting tradition with a creative attitude, steeped in sensitivity, is an appropriate response to globalization. In this way, sites and built artifacts may be seen as a dynamic system of flows in which the degree and pace of change are invariably altered by different modes of human and environmental action — thus, in fact, a part of the larger natural order of things.

# "DISCIPLINE" IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: CAIRO'S LANDSCAPE, BETWEEN WESTERN EFFECTS AND LOCAL RESPONSES

Mohamed Abdel-Kader

In his book *Colonising Egypt* Timothy Mitchell argued that planning processes targeting the Old City of Cairo in the second half of nineteenth century were driven by the Foucaultian notion of "discipline," imposed by the rulers on both the people and their built environment. The concept of discipline emerged out of an ideology of modernization and Westernization pioneered by the country's rulers.

The argument put forward in this paper is that the "discipline" of both the built environment and people, which has governed the planning tradition in Cairo from the late nineteenth century until today, works on two different platforms. The first platform establishes a top-down relationship, guided by the rulers' ideologies. The second platform operates from the bottom up, mainly guided by the country's social elite (in the formal sector) or the lower classes (in the informal sector), trying to create a new image for themselves and imposing it, directly or indirectly, on overall planning strategies of the city. Both platforms aim to create a new identity for the city or its inhabitants. Physical transformations in Cairo have oscillated between these two platforms throughout the city's "modern" history.

In this paper I will first address the main paths that planning decisions took in late nineteenth century, in what is called the "modernization" of Egypt. I will then address contemporary planning decisions made regarding the New Settlements and actions taken toward the informal sector. In different periods — Khedive Ismail's Cairo (1863-1879), Egypt's Liberal Age (1922-1952), and Cairo's economic liberalization age (1990-the present) — I will analyze planning decisions by focusing on the identification of the agent(s), motivations, and consequent actions taken regarding the built environment.

The main conclusion to be drawn is that the production of the built environment in Cairo's modern history can be studied through two different platforms, representing a top-down or bottom-up processes administered by political ideologies and identity formation, where the notion of the discipline of either the built environment or the people governs.

# CULTURAL COMPLEXES: RECUPERATING TRADITION FOR THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE

Sabir Khan and Mark Cottle

Showcase cultural centers in the postcolonial world (government-sponsored projects that aim toward local cultural enfranchisement, while simultaneously positioning themselves in the global cultural marketplace) are ripe with contradiction, subsuming within themselves a range of competing desires. Even as they recuperate tradition and reaffirm the importance of place, the models of "culture" and "architectural type" they employ are, to a great degree, Eurocentric. This has set up a complicated dynamic in which the

consolidation, celebration and projection of "unique" national forms and authentic national cultures now occurs within a transcultural discourse — one that, in turn, is burdened with all the imbalances, reversals and discontinuities that mark postcolonial transactions.

This paper looks at the inter- and intracultural narratives that shape the conceptualization, production and reception of projects for cultural centers. It focuses on two recent international competitions: the Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts (IGNCA) in New Delhi, India; and the Tjibaou Cultural Center in Nouméa, (French) New Caledonia. The winners of both competitions were foreign architects: Ralph Lerner, an American academic, won the IGNCA commission; while the Tjibaou commission went to Renzo Piano, the Italian architect responsible for many cultural centers and museums, including the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris and the Menil Collection in Houston. The Tjibaou Cultural Center opened to considerable international acclaim last year; IGNCA remains mired in the politics of post-Congress India.

Both projects exemplify the questions at issue: whose cultural traditions, for whom, in what forms, and in which ways? Both exist in multiple contexts and require multiple descriptions. In both cases colonial legacies and postcolonial power relations, disciplinary (architectural) histories and current tendencies, the geopolitics of international juried competitions, and the idiosyncrasies of personal voice are all woven into complicated narratives of affirmation and recuperation that belie the simplistic formulation: the end of tradition. Tradition, they suggest, is not a static notion; as a process that is continually unfolding, it is invariably in play.

Among the issues investigated by this paper are the following:

- The connections between IGNCA and the "cultural plaza" planned by Lutyens at the site of the IGNCA (at the intersection of Kingsway and Rajpath, and Queensway and Iannath).
- French imperialism and its complicated relationship to its "territories," as exemplified in Mitterand's and Jean Marie Tjibaou's endgame (the independence struggle and political negotiations that took on a cultural complexion, resulting not in political independence but in cultural enfranchisement in the form of Mitterand's last "Grand Projet").
- The tropes through which contemporary architecture addresses desires for authenticity and symbolic form (in Piano's case, "interpreting traditional and natural forms in contemporary technologies"; in Lerner's case, a nod of the head toward Indian metaphysics and formal geometries mandalas, chakras, etc.).
- The appeals to ethnography or cosmopolitan urbanity for legitimacy (Piano, who "consulted" with ethnographers to help him "think Kanak"; Lerner, who plumbed the density of reference offered by the cities of India).

### VILLARD DE LANS: GLOBAL INTERVENTION AND LOCAL RESURGENCE

Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Keith Loftin III

Villard de Lans was once an isolated farming community high in the French Alps above Grenoble. In the past one hundred years the outside world has increasingly encroached on its traditional values and lifestyle. This is a familiar tale of the collision of traditional dwelling with the drive for modernization by a global economy. This paper identifies "dwelling" (per Heidegger) as a particular mode of life which has been successively displaced by the different modes of "modernization" and "modernity" (per Heyhen). The distinction between modernization and modernity will be carefully developed in a series of case studies. The progression of these studies will indicate the successive and near inevitable planning mistakes that have led to the beginnings of a strategy for cultural continuity.

This paper is in two parts. The first recounts the history of the village from its earliest inception some 2,000 years ago. Its long and varied growth from religious and market center will be detailed, as will be its recent transformation to a *station climatique*. Despite these changes, a careful examination will be made of the continuum of patrimony expressed in the physical environment. Issues of place, character and image will be examined in detail, highlighted by recent construction, adaptation and policy. The essential characteristics of "dwelling" will be made clear, as well as the unavoidable challenge of modernization.

The second part of the paper develops the distinction between modernization and modernity. Modernization will be defined as the contemporary cultural drive for increased socioeconomic welfare — in contrast to "modernity," which is the personal, experiential loss of rootedness and traditional life which results from modernization. This distinction and connection between modernization and modernity will be developed in terms of three specific case studies: the modernization and resulting disconnection of the hamlet from the fundamentals of "dwelling" as it is absorbed into the fabric of the village; the destructive effect of modernity on the development of the local ski resort; and the development of a "wave-pool" entertainment center near the center of town, which ultimately combines the worst of modernization and modernity. The elucidation of these two terms will clarify the kind of dangers that traditional communities face, and suggests ways of circumventing such dangers.

The paper concludes that Villard de Lans has recently recognized the need for participating in the socioeconomic aspects of modernization, while avoiding the deleterious effects of modernity. The unexpected result is a new emphasis on the experience of rootedness in, and connection to the landscape. This experience of connection to the land is characteristic of Heidegger's notion of dwelling. It is this experience which seems to have become the tourist destination: not a place, but a state of mind.

The dangers of superficial historicism and kitschy nostalgia are today being avoided, as the people of Villard de Lans unite behind the common goal of developing land-planning, zoning, and construction guidelines which support an experience of dwelling, as opposed to an experience of modernity.

# B.3 PRESERVATION PARADIGMS IN EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

#### TEACHING ARCHITECTS TRADITION

William Bechhoefer

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## THE URBAN CODE AND THE REFOUNDATION OF NORMATIVE INSTRUMENTS GOVERNING TERRITORY USE

Paolo Bertozzi and Agnese Ghini University of Parma and DAPT, Italy

### NEW HOPI VILLAGE: HOUSING COMMUNITY FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Jeffrey Cook

Arizona State University, Tempe, U.S.A.

### THE CONSERVATION OF THE BUILDING TYPOLOGY OF TWO TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS IN THE TRENTINO REGION

Antonio Frattari and Michela Dalpra University of Trento, Italy

### AL TORJUMAN PROJECT: MULTICULTURALISM AS A NEW PARADIGM

Dalila Elkerdany Cairo University, Egypt

#### TEACHING ARCHITECTS TRADITION

William Bechhoefer

Conveyance of tradition is one of the goals of education, whether it takes place in formal settings such as schools and universities, practical settings such as the workplace, or informal settings around the dining table. In reference to dictionary definitions of "tradition," it is clear that architects base their work on "beliefs, legends, customs and information"; that they are the recipients of "inherited ways of thinking or acting"; and that they perpetuate "a continuous pattern of culture, beliefs, or practices." Schools of architecture today have primary responsibilities in the formation of curricula that communicate attitudes about architecture and its role in society. Inevitably then, the question of which traditions are explicitly or implicitly taught should be at the core of faculty deliberations on the meaning of offerings to students.

During the twentieth century, modernism in architecture and urban design was developed primarily in Europe and America. For a variety of socio-political reasons, this modernism — in the guise of the International Style and its many variants — was then adopted enthusiastically all over the world. Over time, however, the internationalization of cities came into conflict with so-called "tradi-

tional" values; and in the confrontation, continuity with the past was broken and livable cities were destroyed. Schools of architecture are intimately linked to practice, and, for better or worse, the model for architecture curricula in much of the world has been Euro-American, paralleling and reinforcing tendencies in practice.

Students in schools today enrich a program simply by virtue of the diversity of their cultural backgrounds. However, such diversity may not exist in their architectural views or in the curricula they are pursuing. In particular, the abstract techniques of much contemporary architectural education have failed to bridge the gap between cultural history and future aspirations.

Architectural education is not simply the imparting of knowledge and skills necessary for practice, but also involves the development of values and philosophical positions. Thus, a central discourse in architectural schools should be the meaning of design in its socio-political context; and to that end, the study of tradition is extremely useful. A holistic investigation of architectural history would view world architecture and urbanism as a continuum, with many traditions overlapping and influencing each other over time, and with both monumental and vernacular buildings contributing to the cultural landscape. A dynamic view of tradition would suggest that traditions evolve based on judgments that are moral and ethical — as well as aesthetic — and that these judgments are by their nature political. Of the tools available to professors, history and theory courses are good vehicles for an introduction to the value systems that affect architecture, and the design studio is naturally suited to discussion and exploration of diverse methodologies and the many meanings inherent to built form.

The handing down of architectural tradition to students is a complex undertaking that has explicit manifestations guided by implicit assumptions of architectural culture. Schools of architecture are in a position to help students develop values that will guide their architectural practice and that will foster the continuity of past, present and future traditions.

# THE URBAN CODE AND THE REFOUNDATION OF NORMATIVE INSTRUMENTS GOVERNING TERRITORY USE

Paolo Bertozzi and Agnese Ghini

This paper introduces a planning method which represents the updated and local version of a widely practiced procedure in the United States founded on the organization of a system of formal and technological rules expressed by an "abacus" or "code." The degradation of the urban, suburban and rural environment, particularly the postwar peripheries, and the crisis of regional and local planning define the experimental boundaries of our proposed method. The application of this method in a homogeneous area of Italian countryside is aimed at the recovery of the environmental qualities of the historical periphery, particularly the garden city and the preindustrial settlement.

The code is characterized by a set of rules derived from local traditional building heritage (*patrimonio costruttivo della tradizione locale*). Elements of the code are then presented in simple graph-

ic and written form so as to be easily accessible to those who will use them. This method, universal in its principles but ductile and particular in its prescriptive contents, is represented by formal prescriptions and concise descriptions of building types which predominate in the urbanized area. Individual project components typically consist of a master plan for the urbanized area (graphical); maps of pedestrian paths, vehicular roads, the local system of squares, and public buildings; and an urban code for street and building types.

The operation of the method will be explained through a case study of the metropolitan area of Bologna, using images and panels.

# NEW HOPI VILLAGE: HOUSING COMMUNITY FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Jeffrey Cook

The Hopi are among the most conservative of traditional Native American peoples. They live in pueblo villages on three rocky escarpments in the high desert of northern Arizona. Home to more than 7,000 people in 1990, these villages are characterized by substandard housing; and with continued population growth, there would seem to be a need for enough new housing to more than double the existing stock, potentially overwhelming the traditional built environment. In response, the Hopi Nation has identified a 56-acre new village site that is expected to hold 200 housing units.

Five graduate students developed four alternative design diagrams for site use. Traditional components of the diagrams included housing, gardens, footpaths and roads. New elements proposed included constructed wetlands for wastewater conversion and an arts-and-crafts commercial cluster next to the highway. The site of the new village is constrained by an archeological zone covered by pot shards, where no building or improvements are recommended. Generally, vehicular access was restricted to the edges of the housing to reinforce an internal pedestrian network. Generally, the residents of the new village would be expected to return to their villages of origin for traditional cycles of dances and other ceremonies, therefore dance plazas and lodge kivas were not included in village planning. However, the quality of those spaces as a Hopi cultural attribute was used. The planning effort provided for solar access, as does traditional Hopi planning. Housing designs also attempted to fuse traditional characteristics for both traditional and progressive family cultural patterns with contemporary bioclimatic strategies.

Standardized wall construction using 12-inch poured scoria was recommended, together with three standardized spanning dimensions. All housing had usable outdoor roof decks for crop drying and sleeping, as well as large family spaces combining kitchen, dining and living needs. No garages or carports were included. Each student designed two house types: a small starter house, showing options for expandability; and a large, mature house. All house designs were conceived as attached at least on one wall. Both one- and two-story elements were used. All houses were designed for passive solar heating and solar domestic hot water.

The student studies reached an early level of acceptability with potential users. At the first design review with homeowners from Hotevilla, the first comment was, "It looks Hopi." Thus, it appears that new cultural features such as accommodation for vehicles, bedrooms and bathrooms (all attributes of late-twentieth-century American culture), as well as new technologies for sustainability, passive heating, photovoltaic electricity, and the use of constructed wetlands as a means of wastewater disposal, can be compatibly integrated within the patterns of Hopi tradition.

# THE CONSERVATION OF THE BUILDING TYPOLOGY OF TWO TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS IN THE TRENTINO REGION Antonio Frattari and Michela Dalpra

This paper deals with the present reconstruction of two rural buildings that belong to the traditional heritage of the Trentino region. The buildings are the first that will be used for a new openair museum where meaningful traditional rural buildings of the region will be preserved. The aim of this reconstruction is both to maintain original examples of traditional buildings and to preserve building techniques and train young carpenters and masons.

The need to preserve examples of building typologies stems from the fact that the traditional built environment has been deeply modified in recent years by restorations which have changed building typologies and construction through the introduction of new materials and techniques.

The paper describes the aims of the research; the methodology of analysis used to develop a preliminary study of the different typologies of traditional rural buildings in the Trentino region; the methodology used to choose the first two meaningful buildings for the museum and make a survey of them; the methodology used to plan the reconstruction; the materials and techniques used; and the actual phases of building reconstruction.

# AL TORJUMAN PROJECT: MULTICULTURALISM AS A NEW PARADIGM

Dalila Elkerdany

Beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries architecture and urbanism in the Arab world, especially in Egypt, faced disruption not only in terms of traditional techniques and building materials, but also in terms of social and cultural aspects of design. Native Arab traditions used to control and influence the basic morphological and visual orders of buildings and cityscapes. But these have now been more or less replaced by Western values and concepts. Some scholars consider the result to be a break in the intimate relation between man, environment and technology. Nevertheless, this critique has not been able to stop the Westernization and modernization of all aspects of life, which have followed the argument that tradition is no longer appropriate or practical for contemporary life.

This paper intends to briefly examine this clash between tradition and modernity. It starts with a short discussion of architectural and urban conflicts in Cairo. It then introduces the perplexity of design and planning in such a city when the goals clash and contradict. This discussion is followed by a presentation of concepts and ideas of an urban planning project, Al Torjuman, where design processes used multiple levels of social and cultural inspiration to reflect the complex layering of Cairo's culture. These layers represent not only the different eras of the Islamic past, but also the colonial and modern eras. The paper concludes by discussing the issue of multiculturalism as a new paradigm for the design of projects in vibrant traditional settings such as Cairo.

#### C.3 LEARNING FROM PLACE: THE **CULTURE OF BUILDING**

#### NOT QUITE THE END OF TRADITION: THE BUILDING CULTURE OF LALITPUR, NEPAL

**Howard Davis** 

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

#### EASTERN SICILY'S HISTORICAL RESORTS: BETWEEN **CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION**

Fabio Todesco

University of Reggio Calabria, Italy

#### CORRELATIONS OF SPATIAL USE AND HOUSE FORMS **ACROSS AUSTRONESIA**

Lai Chee-Kien

National University of Singapore, Singapore

#### BUILDING ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN ARCHITECTURE IN **JAPAN**

Hajo Neis

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

#### HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURES, URBAN RETRAINING, AND MAINTENANCE OF A PATRIMONY AT RISK IN ITALY

Massimo Lo Curzio

University of Reggio Calabria, Italy

#### NOT QUITE THE END OF TRADITION: THE BUILDING CULTURE OF LALITPUR, NEPAL

Howard Davis

This paper examines the changing environment of urban Nepal in terms of how global forces of development are balanced with everyday decisions about the design and construction of buildings. It is based on fieldwork in 1998 and 1999 in Lalitpur (Patan), one of the three main cities of the Kathmandu Valley. The work was concerned with the building culture — the coordinated system of people and relationships that produces buildings — and included interviews with clients, contractors, community leaders, carpenters, bricklayers, materials suppliers, architects, and people working for governments and NGOs, as well as observations of new and traditional buildings.

The investigation showed the ambiguity of the line between traditional and modern practice. In Lalitpur the transition from craft-based practice to professional expertise and modern techniques has not resulted in traditional practice being left behind altogether. Instead, new practice has retained elements of the old, in a pragmatic system of choices made by different players.

At first sight it seemed to the researchers as if the contrast between the old and new was extreme, that "tradition" was indeed dead, and that Lalitpur fit into "conventional wisdom" about Asian cities. Where bricklayers and carpenters once held all knowledge of building, the architectural profession is today growing. Where most buildings were once built with brick and timber, new buildings are built with reinforced concrete. Where formal building regulation was once nonexistent, cities are now instituting building and zoning ordinances. Furthermore, craft apprenticeship has now been supplemented by architectural education, and there is more speculative building.

At the same time, many modern buildings, and their communities, have reinterpreted traditional types and techniques. Families building new concrete houses plan them similarly to the old — with storage space at ground level, kitchens and prayer rooms on top, and living and sleeping rooms in between. Local communities restore traditional communal buildings rather than invest in improved water supplies. Brick facades use corbelling and other decorative details. Precast concrete elements are made from wooden molds elaborately carved by temple carpenters. There is a revival of floors of structural timber. And a local brickyard now fires molded bricks containing elaborate, historically based patterns.

It is easy to dismiss this work as pastiche or "traditional chic." But the connection to tradition is much more widespread than that which might be expected to exist only among architects or a reactionary upper class. Furthermore, interviews with clients and craftspeople reveal that they are not willing to make a clean break with their own traditions, and that they are careful and subtle in their understanding of the positive and negative aspects of specific old and new features of buildings.

What exists is a building culture that defies categorization as "traditional" or "modern." in which individuals are aware of the benefits and drawbacks of each and are often able to make responsible choices that defy these overarching categories. The possibility of such choice is a potentially healthy attribute in a building culture that seems to exist on the cusp between traditional and modern practice.

#### EASTERN SICILY'S HISTORICAL RESORTS: BETWEEN CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION

Fabio Todesco

Most historical towns in eastern Sicily have similar locational attributes, being positioned so as dominate the surrounding territory, and in particular the river basins that were once used as routes to the center of the island. These towns derive their character from two particular elements: their building typologies, and their traditional systems of construction. Both these factors contribute to the creation of old town centers as visitors typically see them.

By contrast, more recent changes in lifestyles have prompted new and diverse development in these centers. On the one side, typologies have been introduced that echo the sort of placelessness characteristic of expansion areas around traditional urban centers.

On the other, construction systems and finishings have been introduced which are culturally distant from traditional styles and models. All this has led to a modification of the old town centers of eastern Sicily, with a consequent alteration in the way they are viewed. In addition, renovation of historic buildings has involved practices, such as the use of Portland cement-based mortar and plastic, which have contributed to a process of perceived aesthetic decline.

We wish to ask the following questions: is tradition unchangeable, with everything which diverges from it to be considered as "the end of tradition"? Or can the idea of tradition in some way assist technological processes without losing its original and primary characteristics?

In order to reply to these questions, it is first necessary to establish the limits to which tradition can be said to survive. A key factor in the establishment of this limit may need to be sought in the adaptation of two very different factors: the effects which innovative agents produce on the aesthetic qualities of old town centers; and the effects produced by physical conservation.

With reference to the first point, the aesthetic character of an old town center can be seen to derive in large measure from the succession of open spaces from which one can perceive the town's origin. Analysis of any possible alteration of such a system of spatial relationships is therefore important; so is individual examination of the conditions necessary for its protection. With reference to the second point, therefore, the methods consonant with the transmission of patrimony may be defined as the steps needed to maintain a center's historical structure.

### CORRELATIONS OF SPATIAL USE AND HOUSE FORMS ACROSS AUSTRONESIA

Lai Chee-Kien

In areas of the world where social makeup and landscapes have been characterized by diaspora or large-scale migration, it is usually possible to trace transmittances of spatial pattern and built forms from the migrants' original milieu to their present one. This should not be considered unusual, since the construction of such forms, albeit as transpositions or transformations, may be seen to perpetuate traditions or cultural/religious practices from the "homeland." The resultant built form may contain further significance if the survival or expression of identity of migrant peoples is tied to, or embedded in, these constructions, as it may be in house forms.

Even as this conference contemplates the fate and future of traditional environments, we need to acknowledge that the study of traditions and environments has not taken place with equal intensity across the world. With the publication of Paul Oliver's *Encyclopedia of the Vernacular Architecture of the World* and other such works, it may now be possible to make comparative interpretations of these traditional house forms beyond established methods and across borders and cultures. Comparing built forms and the uses of materials, spaces and landscapes across cultures may reveal correlations, commonalties or differences of cultural ideas or belief systems of migrating peoples.

This paper attempts to reexamine the expressions of landand water-based dwellings across Austronesia, where many such migrations of peoples have been identified, and to suggest that comparisons can be made. While the "boat" houses in this region have been explored by scholars such as Lewcock and Brans (1980), Manguin (1986), Jumsai (1988), and Waterson (1990), the focus of such studies has generally been on boat symbolism and preliminary formal comparisons relating the house with the boat. I would like to emphasize comparisons of house-raft constructions with the outrigger canoe instead of the single-hull boat, and to show the impact of the social use and spatial memory of these forms as generators of space, dwelling and, perhaps, identity.

Besides drawing comparisons of traditional space use on raft constructions on land and sea, I will compare the formal and spatial elements of both types of dwellings across the region, as well as the functions and construction technologies employed for them. Adaptations of materials and technologies for such constructions show the resilience and ingenuity of these peoples, as they have moved across the mountains, forests and seas of Southeast Asia and Austronesia. The study of these aspects may lead to insights and understanding of early Austronesian cultures and their spatial and cultural constructions, a situation that is similarly faced by many migrant cultures across the world today.

#### BUILDING ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN ARCHITECTURE IN JAPAN *Hajo Neis*

The predecessor of the craftsman everywhere was the farmer, who generally builds his house by himself as in some regions in the West and also in Japan. In such European regions still the farmer must be a mason too, as he has to erect solid walls of bricks and loam while the woodwork and layers of beams are here of minor importance. The Japanese farmer, on the other hand, is a carpenter all the time. Even nowadays he builds for himself workhuts and sheds on the field, that are doubtless ancestors of the farmhouse and the refined original Shinto shrine. Their wellmade forms in the framework, in the roof with its covering of straw on a bamboo base, and especially in the great variety of ridges, are products of one and the same manner of work.

— Bruno Taut, Houses and People of Japan

The history of modern Japanese architecture over the last 130 years, from its beginning in the Meiji period (1868) until today, can be understood as a deliberate and successful transformation from a building architecture to a design architecture. Two major transformations have to be considered here. One was the transformation of small carpenter and building shops into organized modern construction companies. This process was so successful that several of these carpentry shops are today among the largest construction companies of the world. The other involved the introduction of Western practice of architecture, taking over the traditional functions of the carpenter and adding new functions and skills that first had to be learned in the West.

While the transformation of a building architecture into a design architecture has a much longer history in the West, it is the Japanese history which illuminates a very particular and modern case, because this transformation took place so recently and to some degree is still taking place. However, that this transformation has taken a long time to complete can be understood by Taut's comments, quoted above, made at the midpoint of a 130-year process. In 1937, when Taut made these comments, traditional building culture coexisted with new construction techniques and the establishment of a new design architecture. It is this very transition which makes it worthwhile to deal with two issues. What is being transformed? And what is the result of the transformation?

The author will discuss the three kinds of architecture relevant to this process of transformation in architectural design and production: traditional Japanese building architecture, in which the carpenter (daiku) stands at the center of operation; Japanese modernist design architecture, in which the design architect (sekeisha) is at the center of activity; and the design-build architecture of the large construction companies (zenekon). Some comments will be addressed to the questions of what is to be gained and lost in this transformation, and what can be regained of the old in a modern form today. Finally, the paper will comment on the possibility of a fourth kind of architectural production in Japan.

# HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURES, URBAN RETRAINING, AND MAINTENANCE OF A PATRIMONY AT RISK IN ITALY Massimo Lo Curzio

Italy possesses the highest percentage of architectural objects of historical importance in the world. The activity of recovering this heritage involves the planning of a large quantity of work employing considerable economic resources, yet without adequate verification of compatibility. Compatibility is here taken to mean the possibility of effecting interventions using traditional or new technologies without compromising a correct interpretation of historical constructive materials, the external aspect of a building, or the correct use of architectural elements that promote safety.

We must adopt a code of behavior that will allow us to avoid heavy intervention in historic buildings using means that distort the consistency of the construction. For example, strengthening interventions involving high-tech alterations of original historical structures may create static problems because of the incompatibility of materials. In particular, since Italy is subject to seismic risk, the use of new reinforced-concrete structures in addition to original ones may create new risks of stability. Both lack of intervention and heavy works of restoration may cause the "ruination" of historical architectures, where ruination is understood as either the abandonment of historical buildings, or their transformation into something that does not correspond to the original.

The paper proposes a code of behavior we believe will result in appropriate interventions to historical buildings and sites. Only the quality of interventions can give new sense to the cultural and social reappropriation of such architecture.

In Southern Italy, in Sicily, Calabria and Puglia, it is still possible to admire monuments that date back 800-1,000 years and exhibit all the characteristics of traditional construction. Recent studies of the Byzantine Cube of the Alcantara Valley (Sicily) and the Basiliani monasteries in Calabria and Sicily, as well as conservation work already concluded, provides examples of detailed procedures of intervention that may be extended, or avoided, according to the situation. The research, carried out in the old town center of Castiglione di Sicilia in the Alcantara Valley, also proved it is possible to intervene with stonework and lime, in full respect for both historical status and modern needs. We can use an international code of behavior, based on already-obtained results, to verify methods and procedures proposed to maintain and preserve the architectonic patrimony. Such a practice might transcend regional and local dimensions, providing both practical indications and theoretical principles.

## A.4 LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS: HISTORIC PRECEDENTS

### THE REMAKING OF CAIRO: LOOKING AT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FOR INSPIRATION

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### THE POSTCOLONIAL CITY: ASPECTS OF THE ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN DESIGN OF DAR ES SALAAM

Erik Sigge and Kim Einarsson Goteborg University, Sweden

### COMMERCE AND CULTURE: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE Nadia Alhasani

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# MAINTAINING ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AS AN URBAN DESIGN METHODOLOGY FOR THE CONTEMPORARY CITY: THE EXAMPLE OF CIVITA CASTELLANA

Marco Maretto

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# SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WORKS OF FORTIFICATION AS A PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION: THE ADAPTATION TO TRADITIONAL URBAN STRUCTURES

Margarida Valla

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### THE REMAKING OF CAIRO: LOOKING AT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FOR INSPIRATION

Heba Ahmed

As the city of Cairo enters the twenty-first century, it is being described by many scholars and writers as a city of stark contrasts (a mixture of old and new, ancient and postmodern — where historic buildings are attached to skyscrapers). To many, it has lost its charm, and one has to venture into remote areas to find the city of the *Arabian Nights*, or in many cases just imagine what it could have been like. This is not a new phenomenon, as many nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century writers and travelers have described the city in similar terms and mourned the loss of its medieval qualities as a result of modernity.

The 1990s have presented a major challenge to officials, planners and decision-makers to cope with the city's urban changes. Whether focusing on upgrading policies, development, preservation and restoration, or finding alternatives for some of the problems, there has been clear awareness of the need to uplift many of the deteriorated areas of the city. Unlike other

research dealing with the historical development of the city or evaluating projects that have been implemented, this paper attempts to address the notions behind the ongoing efforts and proposals by the government and several organizations within the last decade to upgrade — or I would rather say "beautify" — many of those areas in the city. In this effort, it will use the nineteenth century as a point of reference.

Several examples are chosen to indicate the types of projects under study, the proposed alternatives, and the reasons behind them. One example is the project to re-create the nineteenth-century Opera House and its surrounding area (the replanning of Bursa area, al-Attabah al-Khadra Square, and what used to be Matatyah Café). Another example is the upgrading (tajmil) of some residential neighborhoods, including Maadi and Garden City. Counter-examples, like the project of Bab Azab, will also be discussed. As many of these projects have not yet reached their final stages, the paper draws heavily from newspaper articles and interviews with officials and developers.

This paper is not an attempt to evaluate or judge these projects; however, there is a need to redefine the initiatives and reasons behind them. The different examples are used to address the following question: why is twenty-first-century Cairo resorting to and replicating examples of the nineteenth century? I refer not only to the physical forms, but also to the implementation approaches particular to that time. Today, such an attitude is becoming ever more problematic, since one may question the means by which these projects are being implemented using nineteenth-century models that some claim were the outcome of modernity and "the other."

### THE POSTCOLONIAL CITY: ASPECTS OF THE ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN DESIGN OF DAR ES SALAAM

Erik Sigge and Kim Einarsson

This paper deals with the physical urban environment as an expression of political intentions in a postcolonial context. The designation "postcolonial" implies an approach that takes into consideration historically as well as geographically structured positions and hierarchies. The city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, bears physical witness to both a colonial past and a new era of independence and self-reliance. Tanzania has a very interesting history, with the traditional cultures of different tribes coexisting with Swahili culture and Arabic, Indian and European influences. At the time of national liberation on the African continent, Tanganyika and its leader Julius Nyerere stood in the frontline of the struggle for independence, and set a political example for other East African countries.

A focus on the colonial urban issue is seen as particularly relevant, since the city of Dar es Salaam constitutes a financial and administrative center where relations of power and dominance are made spatially manifest. In Dar es Salaam, the structures of the colonial period are confronted with architectural elements from postcolonial/modern times. Together, they create

a multiple and differentiated totality where the physical results of imperialist ideas are facing (literally as well as ideologically) manifestations of socialism and independence. In the postcolonial city of Dar es Salaam the colonial ghost is ubiquitous in the shape of a surviving imperialist structure.

The colonial architecture of Dar es Salaam could be described as exemplifying local European (respectively German and British) tradition, modified and transformed into a colonial (and sometimes "Orientalized") style. In this paper, we argue that the colonial environment of Dar es Salaam has been designed not only as the colonizers' attempts at self-representation, but also as physical images of the colonized. In the early era of self-dependence, Tanzania adopted the International Style as a means of signifying its democratic development and modernist ambitions. This approach culminated in the planning and establishment of the new capital Dodoma in the 1970s, and might be seen as a conscious rejection of the images that were set in the colonial context.

The Tanzanian architecture of today displays a wide register of expressions, and there seems to be an ongoing process of searching for new references. With the newly introduced market economy and an increasing number of new building projects, the need for documentation becomes urgent. The polemics between the architecture of opposite ideologies distinguish and emphasize the differences in language and codification, and bring the issue of architecture as a significative modality of politics and cultural meaning to the fore. It is necessary to understand the influences and virtues behind the environment of today when planning for tomorrow. This becomes even more obvious in a postcolonial context like Dar es Salaam.

#### COMMERCE AND CULTURE: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE Nadia Alhasani

Commerce has always been an integral part of Islamic societies due in part to their geographic locations and to a long-standing commercial tradition in the land of Islam, where its prophet was born into a trading family. The commercial centers of Abbasid Baghdad, Ummayad Spain, Fatimid Cairo, and Ottoman Istanbul were witness to some of the most complex and elaborate urban conditions and architectural resolutions existing anywhere in the world. They stood as "cities within cities," where all of one's daily activities could take place. The mosque, *medrassa*, *souk*, and *hamam* were all integral components of a Muslim's urban experience.

Sharjah, the third largest of seven emirates constituting the United Arab Emirates, has historically depended on the Arabian Gulf for much its livelihood, including such activities as pearling, fishing and trading. With few exceptions, it developed its centers of commerce along its shorelines, with markets edging its corniche. Today's separation is clear between the skeletal frames of oil rigs and tankers in Port Khalid and the traditional *dhows* (wooden vessels) lining the basin, which continue to transport goods to and from the Indian subcontinent and the Far East. This historical trading strip has been preserved (rather than restored), both in terms of the actual activities performed and the structures being occupied.

A typical Islamic marketplace accommodates three types of structures: a network of covered alleys (<code>souk/bazaar</code>), a gated and enclosed building (<code>qaysaryah</code>), and warehouses or caravansaries (<code>khans/wakala</code>). The shops in these marketplaces are further typically grouped by specialties: textiles, spices, gold and silver, etc. In order to maintain the integrity of the Islamic marketplace yet provide modern shops and shopping experience, Sharjah has resisted the construction of modern "malls" or traditional "farmers' markets." Instead, its commercial tradition has been protected and nurtured by focusing on purpose-built markets that physically become a hybrid of the three types of structures mentioned.

This study presents an example of a successful attempt to "localize the global traditions" of trading without compromising the physical fabric of the city or the activity itself. Two prototypes have been observed: open trading in covered *souks*, where a combination of covered spines and *khans* come together (examples include Al-Arasa, Central, Fish and Vegetable *souks*); and closed trading in enclosed *souks*, where a combination of covered spines and *qaysaryahs* produce a new contained market (examples include Al-Majarrah, Bin-Kamal, Gold Center, and Al-Bahar *souks*). It seems appropriate to develop Sharjah's city center along similar historical themes, allowing for continuity at both a physical and social level.

Globalization has ushered in a need to develop urban conditions that permit, accommodate and promote exchange in terms of global trade and local commerce. This is particularly crucial in nonindustrial societies, where numerous attempts have been made to "modernize" their commerce centers in the name of progress. These efforts have given way to discussions on tradition versus modernity, local versus global identity, and political versus economical domination. Given the nature of contemporary traditional societies, where contradictions in the public domain seem illogical and at odds with the immediate environment, one may applaud attempts that begin to reconcile the physical environment with the way of life, in which the built environment is adopted to accommodate its inhabitants' daily rituals and mode of living.

# MAINTAINING ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AS AN URBAN DESIGN METHODOLOGY FOR THE CONTEMPORARY CITY: THE EXAMPLE OF CIVITA CASTELLANA Marco Maretto

If we consider the formation of a place as a cyclical process (in other words, arising as a result of the synthesis of layers of human action), each place thus reflects its cultural, social and economic milieu and surrounding environment. Given this process, we can find in any historical urban context a sort of "genetic memory" of its transformation process, which enables us to "read" the historic continuity which characterizes its urban identity. Using this memory we may also define its "language": the unifying synthesis of the whole, comprised of different and often antithetical historic stylistic contributions.

This study concerns a critical "reading" of the historical center of Civita Castellana, one of the most important towns of the Etruscan region, aimed at identifying the "marks" of historical

continuity which define its "genetic memory" — its "language." A broad historical perspective, which stretches from the first Etruscan settlement to the Roman town, and from the medieval and Renaissance town to the nineteenth-century settlement, uncovers a very complex building, social and economic reality.

The methodology of the present inquiry is based on an indepth analysis of the town, the starting point of which is its territorial location (along the axes of Etruscan displacements in Central Italy), which defines the matrix of settlement. The research starts with a preliminary study of the articulation of the paths along which the urban fabric and the subsequent public spaces took shape. Tracing the historic center's walls is the primary tool used to carry out an in-depth historical and typological analysis of the urban fabric. The analysis is mainly focused on identifying the materials, structural system, and distribution ratio of the plotted buildings, as well as their subsequent formal resolution (elevations), which are considered in terms of their historical transformations.

The goal of the inquiry is to highlight those structural, distributive and formal features which have recurred with continuity throughout the whole process of urban settlement, and which therefore point to a possible coherent local building tradition. This is clearly apparent in the configuration of the building fabric, the dimension of structural cells, the placement of stairs, and the continuity in the formal expression of those elements. In this way, a sort of basic typological constancy is retraced, one that defines Civita Castellana's urban fabric and its "language."

Finally, we point to how this kind of historical and typological analysis is also being used in other urban contexts (including Venice, Rome and Amsterdam), with the objective of progressively refining tools of application. It is our opinion that the potential value of this approach may also lie in the possibility of representing an important critical matrix of reference for any architectural project which aims at critical confrontation with context.

#### SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WORKS OF FORTIFICATION AS A PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION: THE ADAPTATION TO TRADITIONAL URBAN STRUCTURES Margarida Valla

European systems of fortification of the seventeenth century were built as part of a planning process ordered by royal decree. The systems were based on ideal urban structures similar to the ideal Renaissance cities, but which answered military needs. The construction of complex walls around European cities at this time completely changed the nature of urban life.

In many cases planning is a process of globalization and represents an act of power which imposes rules on the traditional environment. But for many centuries planning in existing European settlements involved selective interventions that did not change preexisting structures, usually involving a process of adjustment and extension. However, in the seventeenth century, more extensive interventions took place, as the development of ballistics made medieval walls obsolete and led to the restructuring of defense mechanisms. Throughout the seventeenth century Central European cities were further subject to heavy attacks and sieges, as countries strove to redefine their territorial borders.

During the seventeenth century several treatises were written in Europe aimed at teaching the art of fortification and providing guidelines for its application. Their theories were applied in frequent practical experiments by military engineers, whose responsibilities in relation to cities encompassed the construction of forts and fortresses, the definition of perimeter walls, and the location of the gates. The overall goal was often to relate the entire city to military action so it would act as a military stronghold. However, urban fortification structures also had to suit the needs of the city's population whose life was carried out there.

In Portugal, the intervention of military engineers appeared mainly after the mid-seventeenth century. The restoration of independence from Spain and the ensuing war led to the reformulation of the defensive systems of frontier cities. Portuguese systems of fortification were marked by very specific characteristics. On the one hand, Portuguese works of fortification were always applied to existing cities, making the adaptation of the rules of fortification to consolidated urban structures one constant characteristic. On the other, military engineers had to adapt the fortifications, which were already difficult to build due to their inherent complex nature and mathematical rigor, to the rough terrain where Portuguese urban centers were usually located. The dialectic between practice and theory would be part of a permanent discourse between the experts who planned fortifications and those who worked on site. In Portugal, the urban rules inherent to the military structure always respected the traditional urban structures, adapting the rules of fortification to the maintenance of urban life, and enclosing all the buildings and traditional layouts inside the walls.

## B.4 ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS AS TRADITIONALISTS

THE END OF INTERNATIONALISM: THE ISSUE OF TRANSLATION, FROM THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION TO BETRAYAL

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#### A CASE FOR MODERNITY AND TRADITION

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### A DETACHED ENGAGEMENT: TRADITION AND THE POETICS OF ÉMIGRÉ PRACTICE

Sabir Khan and Mark Cottle

Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, U.S.A.

### CRAFTING TRADITION: THE LAURIE BAKER PHENOMENON Malini Krishnankutty

Sir JJ College of Architecture, Mumbai, India

#### SANDSTONE'S UNIFYING HUE: THE WORLD BANK DELHI REGIONAL MISSION HEADQUARTERS BUILDING IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Samia Rab

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#### THE END OF INTERNATIONALISM: THE ISSUE OF TRANSLA-TION, FROM THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION TO BETRAYAL Marta Alieri

Through passive acceptance of the slogans and figurative models of the International Style, the importance of tradition with regard to architecture was nearly canceled. However, once this style became a formula, modernism in architecture was largely emptied of its original content. During the first phase of adhesion to the Modern Movement, Ludovico Belgioioso has affirmed, there was "... such an anxiety to renew the contents of architecture, that the bonds with the past were looked at with suspicion. There was the fear that to look back, to think back on the values of tradition, one would have fallen again in formulae that it was imperative to overcome." This said, it is impossible today not to see how certain values of tradition implicitly and inevitably continued to live in works of modern architecture.

The sudden change in climate produced by the emotional push of the post-World War II reconstruction found in Italy, more than elsewhere, a generation of careful architects ready to recuperate the abandoned values of the recent past. In 1960, at the conclusion of a decade-long debate, Paolo Portoghesi recognized in an article in the magazine *Zodiac* that Italian architecture has "... to its credit a group

of works of a high level, which agree in the attempt to root themselves in society's history and aspirations. . . . " Suffice it to remember (and not for the flavor of the list, but to recall the value of its testimony) the best work by Michelucci, Albini, Ridolfi, Gardella, Samonà, Quaroni, the B.B.P.R., De Carlo, Gabetti, and Isola. This research proposes to analyze works that seem emblematic of this experimentation within Italian modernism with the values of place and tradition.

The paper will also examine the question of the architect as translator. "Translation" comes from *transducere*, that is, "to transit, to transfer, to transport beyond." The architect, operating in the land-scape with many forms of contemporary culture, must guarantee the testimony of his work's specific cultural identity. Rogers has affirmed that the meaning of tradition acquires greater depth and amplitude when it is neither static nor mechanically repetitive, but when it contains within itself the necessary energies to evolve. Therefore, recovery of tradition in architecture requires the ability to grasp the essence of forms — to be able to see what lies behind technique.

Betrayal, as anticipated in the title, is a necessary condition in this transformation, and the maintenance of profound values through history must follow its dynamics. Betrayal is necessary to tradition because it allows translation to occur.

### A DETACHED ENGAGEMENT: TRADITION AND THE POETICS OF ÉMIGRÉ PRACTICE

Sabir Khan and Mark Cottle

The émigré is an emblematic yet under-investigated figure in the intersecting trajectories of modernity and tradition. Like the expatriate expert, the foreign-trained local, and (more recently) the global consultant, the émigré is a cultural type who problematizes cultural exchange: the movement of knowledge, skills, traditions, and ideologies across geographical and cultural time zones. However, the transactions through which émigrés negotiate the contours of in-betweenness — their unresolved position within, and toward, both a host culture and their "own" culture — produces a subjectivity very different from others who, as emissaries, couriers, or members of a local elite, cross borders but do not trouble them. The constant recalibration of the émigré's position between two cultural poles requires a doubled vision (of insider and outsider), and a bifocality that tries to make sense of both the near at hand and the far away.

This paper interrogates our conventional understanding of tradition (as place-bound and time-burdened) through the lens of émigré practice, in particular, the work of three émigré architects in postcolonial India. The three architects discussed — Pierre Jeanneret (1896-1967), Laurie Baker (1917), and Joseph Allen Stein (1912) — went to India during the first decade after its independence in order to oversee specific assignments. However, they then stayed, established significant practices, and never left. Unlike the modern masters (who projected their "masterpieces" on the Indian landscape and then moved on), or the members of the first generation of modern Indian architects (whose relation to tradition was fraught with nostalgia and the search for identity), these three architects initiated a deliberate and empathetic dialogue with the local. In an increasingly intercon-

nected world, where the prospect of globalist practice at an unprecedented scale holds many in its uncritical thrall, the work of these émigré architects suggests models for conceiving of forms of practice that engage tradition yet remain unburdened by its weight.

In the work of these three architects, the complementary and contradictory trajectories of "going native" and "becoming modern" are intertwined. It is this double movement that gives their work a critical fluidity, sponsoring productive comparison to such related topics as modernism at large, modern architecture in India, the work of recognized "star" Indian architects, and Indian vernacular practice. Rather than reifying fixed categories of center/periphery, First and Third World, and developed/developing country, it unravels them, interrogating both the notions of tradition as rooted and authentic and modernity as something monolithic and of the West. Displacement, their work suggests, can be as constitutive of meaning as rootedness. To paraphrase James Clifford, culture is a matter of both roots and routes.

Unlike architects who aspire to a seamless synthesis (between West and East, old and new, tradition and modernity), the émigré sensibility recognizes the provisionality of cross-cultural practice. Thus, even as they worked in and across two architectural idioms, Stein, Baker and Jeanneret did not aim at a singular reading of either traditional or modern Indian architecture. On the contrary, the modesty, integrity and clarity of their work stemmed from the way their practices incorporated the émigré's posture of detached engagement: a commitment to place without the rhetoric of belonging.

#### SANDSTONE'S UNIFYING HUE: THE WORLD BANK DELHI REGIONAL MISSION HEADQUARTERS BUILDING IN HIS-TORICAL PERSPECTIVE Samia Rab

This paper critically analyzes the World Bank's Regional Mission Headquarters building in New Delhi, completed in 1993 and designed by an internationally recognized Indian architect, Raj Rewal. This contemporary building is examined against the legacy of both early-twentieth-century British colonial architecture and sixteenth-century Mughal architecture.

Like the World Bank's Mission Headquarters, the New Delhi Secretariat and the Viceroy's House (1912-31) and the Mughal palace complex at Fatehpur Sikri (1572-79) both employed locally quarried red sandstone. The stone was used by the British colonial architects Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker to introduce an "Orientalized Classicism" that incorporated the "eternal principles of ordered beauty" found in European Classical architecture, and so connect the natives of India more closely to the "Mother Country." Akin to the creation of New Delhi as the capital of British India, the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1572 developed his own new capital at Fatehpur Sikri near Agra. The profusion of styles in its constituent buildings reflected more than a simple confluence of Hindu and Islamic styles, and the sandstone was used to provide a unifying hue for the distinct regional styles reflective of his ambition to bridge the religious and political affairs of his expanding kingdom. The material was simultaneously molded into the ornamental motifs of Gujarat (Akbar's newly acquired state) and the Central Asian tradition in

Timurid architecture that had been the source of inspiration to his father and grandfather, Emperors Hummayun and Babur.

This paper charts the process through which a contemporary architect of postcolonial India, commissioned by the World Bank, reevaluated the value of the sandstone's singular hue, and so introduced a critical interpretation of the region's past.

#### CRAFTING TRADITION: THE LAURIE BAKER PHENOMENON Malini Krishnankutty

This paper will explore issues surrounding the creation of a new architectural tradition by a single individual in engagement with a dying building tradition. It will look both at the architectural work and philosophy of Laurie Baker in Kerala, South India, and at the work of the area's traditional craftsmen, masons and carpenters. The paper will seek to understand the "Baker phenomenon" and the factors that caused this architect's work to become an alternative tradition. It will also attempt to arrive at a better understanding of how building traditions change or transform over time.

Craftspeople have lost much of their role as conceivers of building form in Kerala. This change owes much to the introduction of the engineer-as-architect and the increased bureaucratization that followed the first few decades of Indian independence, and to the more recent proliferation of trained architects. Moreover, with the loosening of Kerala's ritualistic social structure, the traditional niche that the asari (master carpenter/mason) occupied has been all but destroyed, leaving such people with little status other than tat of skilled construction workers. At the same time, new technologies and the spread of mass culture have changed the technical and aesthetic demands of the newly rich middle class, and so transformed the value system on which architecture is founded.

Baker's work, mostly in laterite, brick and concrete, today stands gracefully alongside Kerala's former tradition of building in wood, which is now virtually dead. Overall, during the course of the last three decades or so, Baker has designed more than a thousand houses in Thiruvananthapuram alone, in addition to forty churches, numerous schools, hospitals, and other institutional buildings. Currently more than eighty years old, Baker still undertakes projects, which are executed through younger architects who are his staunch followers. His work draws upon traditional methods and wisdom, yet his solutions are responsive to contemporary needs.

What is most striking about Baker's work is the ease with which it has been accepted both by the general public and by young architects searching for something more "rooted" as an alternative to the International Style. His architecture has generated new construction techniques that have in turn necessitated training people to build with them, and his philosophy of "cost-effective strategies" has found ready patronage with the government — both essential ingredients to the sustenance of a new tradition of building. Yet the institution of a continuing Baker tradition is no easy matter, mainly because its chief virtue is a unique alignment of a critical modern approach, traditional skills and construction values, and a belief in the possibility that good architecture is potentially for everyone. Furthermore, Baker's architecture has been largely confined to Kerala, suggesting perhaps

that the tradition has a definite "place-specificity." This paper seeks to investigate the opportunities and pitfalls evident in the attempt at institutionalizing the Baker spirit as a new and improved tradition.

### A CASE FOR MODERNITY AND TRADITION Fla Cil

This paper attempts to capture the necessity of engagement with traditional architecture in the modern age, and to understand this necessity through an examination of the relation between "modernity" and "tradition." Modernity and tradition are commonly acknowledged as opposed to one another. Indeed, this view is not in error when both ideas are identified with their utopian underpinnings, because modernity is then regarded as the promise of a new beginning, a tabula rasa, while tradition constitutes the advocacy of continuity. However, it is not always possible to make such a sharp distinction between the two conditions, and the deeper they are explored, the more perplexing the relationship appears.

To investigate these issues, this paper explores both grand (modernization) schemes to shape Istanbul as a whole, and individual attempts to reshape its (traditional) urban landscape piece by piece. In particular, the work of Sedad Hakki Eldem, a nationally known Turkish architect, is investigated. Eldem was a scholar and a designer. The paper explores both his typological studies and his built work to gain insight into the modernization process in Turkey and its affiliation with the existing culture. I will argue that neither Istanbul's, nor Eldem's situations were specific. Like many non-Western cities, Istanbul was the site of multiple, conflicting modernization projects. In contrast, Eldem's traditionalist style, like many architectural attitudes attached to tradition, represented a mediation of modernist styles.

Related to the discussion outlined above, the paper falls roughly into three parts. The first provides a portrait of an architect in tension with modernization. Eldem was a person of many conflicts, and in today's debate over "globalization" and "localization" his struggles can still be instructive. As is the case with tradition and modernity, localization is a form of resistance to globalization that in turn is unaware of its own capture within that which it opposes.

The second part of the paper offers a portrait of Istanbul, the city where Eldem was raised and lived, and from which he drew his inspiration. Through its long history, Istanbul has been shaped by many social transitions — from the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, and from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. This paper offers some insights into the city's transition from Ottoman capital to Republican metropolis that will help establish the meanings of the modernization process and its "traditionalist" consequences.

In the paper's final section, the concepts of "new" and "old" will be reviewed. The aim is to elaborate on the transformation of contemporary cityscapes in relation to the language of modernity. The concluding argument is that the rupture that proceeded from modernity has impelled the architect into certain conflicts. In this respect, the role of typological scholarship is explored, with the assumption that a sound transformation process will seek to integrate the "modern" and the "traditional."

## C.4 "TRADITIONAL" KNOWLEDGE: LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE

### THE LORE OF THE MASTER BUILDER: WORKING WITH LOCAL MATERIAL AND LOCAL KNOWLEDGE IN SANA'A, YEMEN

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### WOODEN ARCHITECTURE AND EARTHQUAKES IN TURKEY Stephen Tobriner

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### TRADITION AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN NORTHERN ITALIAN BUILDING PRACTICE

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# A NEW ROLE FOR TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE: THE CREATION OF A TECHNOLOGICAL PARADIGM FOR SAVING NATURAL RESOURCES

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# SPACES OF ALIENATION AND CREATIVE RESISTANCE: RAILWAY TECHNOLOGY EXCHANGE BETWEEN EGYPT AND EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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# THE LORE OF THE MASTER BUILDER: WORKING WITH LOCAL MATERIAL AND LOCAL KNOWLEDGE IN SANA'A, YEMEN Trevor Marchand

The global diffusion of modern building technologies and materials is largely conditioned by changing economic factors at the regional level. In localities where such technologies become unaffordable, cheaper indigenous methods, materials and styles are re-appropriated and developed. Such conditions encourage the flourishing of local knowledge and the associated (apprenticeship) systems which perpetuate them. As a result, positive reevaluations of the distinctive vernacular often result in its association with social prestige, thus becoming integral to the politics of regional and national identity construction. This paper will consider the conditions which have sparked a resurgence in the employment of local materials and knowledge in the Arabian city of Sana'a, and its affect on the local building trade.

Sana'a, capital of Yemen, was listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1984. International recognition of the city's unique character thereafter prompted an accelerated renewal of local interest in its traditional architecture. Traditional building in Sana'a has come to be

associated not only with the status of patrons, but also, correctly, with the country's economy and much-needed revenue, since it attracts foreign tourists and investment. In addition, a sharp downturn in the economy after the Gulf War also resulted in a weak currency and an incapacity to import modern building materials and technologies, thus bolstering market demand for indigenous building/craft production. A number of Western-sponsored projects were initiated in order to retrain craftsmen with the necessary skills for revitalizing forgotten trades, such as *qadad* roofing. However, many building-related practices have survived Yemen's brief boom years and modernization without foreign assistance, and have remained firmly in the control of successive generations of traditional building families.

In conjunction with Western-sponsored training programs, several prominent Sana'ani architects have championed the idea of establishing institutional trade schools to replace the authority of these competitive building families, and therefore, in theory, implement quality control and secure the survival of a "Sana'ani style" over the long term. Based on my lengthy fieldwork with teams of traditional builders in Sana'a, however, I have determined that the teaching-learning processes which characterize a traditional masterapprentice relation are not amenable to such a formalized method of institutionalized instruction. Though institutionalized forms of training and practice may provide an effective means for reproducing the material product, the traditional building trade, as a distinctive set of human relations and methods for transferring knowledge, cannot be so easily replicated. Rather than the actual built form, it is the master-apprentice relation and the formation of a moral subject which constitute the distinguishing hallmark of the trade.

A consideration of the competing discourses within the building community is central to evolving an understanding of how the craftsman's expert knowledge — which successfully resists the systematization of official institutions and global technologies — might be integrated with international preservation programs aimed at upgrading urban infrastructures and preserving architectural heritage. I will argue that a greater reliance upon local knowledge and technologies will produce a more effective approach to safeguarding the uniqueness of place.

### WOODEN ARCHITECTURE AND EARTHQUAKES IN TURKEY Stephen Tobriner

The Ismit and Duzce earthquakes of 1999 shocked Turkish architects and engineers because the reinforced-concrete buildings that failed where typical of tens of thousands of yet-undamaged buildings in Istanbul. While eastern Turkey has been subject to several major earthquakes in the last forty years, metropolitan Istanbul has not. Major earthquakes strike Istanbul at intervals of around one hundred and fifty years: 1509, 1766, 1894. In 1894 Istanbul was still a low-rise wooden city with masonry mosques and brick commercial buildings in the Beyoglu. Only the rotting skeletons of several hundred wooden buildings survive today. These derelict dwellings and stores were once the dominant building type in Istanbul, a building type and building technology well adapted to the threat of earthquakes.

When reinforced concrete replaced wood as both the high style and vernacular architecture of Istanbul, the advantage of wood con-

struction in earthquakes was forgotten. Today, several Turkish architects and engineers are again interested in wood technology. To appropriately evaluate the structural properties of the wooden buildings of Turkey we must understand them in context. While they have been extensively treated in relationship to aesthetics and the social configuration of the so-called "Turkish House," no one has as yet evaluated them in relation to earthquakes. This paper aims to establish both a cultural and an engineering context in which to position historic wooden architecture in Turkey. It seeks to answer three questions. Were these wooden structures ever designed to be seismically resistant? Can we speculate how these wooden buildings would perform in an earthquake? And if Istanbul had remained a wooden city, would it be safer than it is now?

### TRADITION AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN NORTHERN ITALIAN BUILDING PRACTICE

Anna Barozzi and Luca Guardigli

The proposed paper shows the results of our recent research on historical rural settlements in northern Italy (pianura padana). In this area we discovered several things: that the industrial development of the last twenty years has changed the structure and form of the landscape, weakening the visual impact of building tradition; that traditional construction has partially lost its meaning and appearance in buildings which have changed functions and designation; and that in the meantime, building technology has dramatically changed and overcome traditional ways.

The goal of our research was both to preserve the building heritage of selected areas and to analyze ways to develop more sustainable building systems in accordance with reinterpreted or refounded traditional principles. Our hypothesis was that the persistence of a continuity in the building process should be pursued through the use of existing elements of tradition. Some of our assumptions were as follows: that tradition should be seen as a continuous process; that continuous tradition should be taken into consideration as opposed to the relation tradition-innovation; that tradition is always local, because its principles emerge from local resources and depend on economical and social factors; that tradition is logical, essential and functional; that the reasons for tradition are technical and morphological; and that the value of tradition is founded on experience.

An overview of what is happening in the research area in Northern Italy is the core of the presented paper. Its findings concern the concept of tradition in architecture and its existence; the limits and potentialities of traditional technology; and research parameters such as normative rules, production systems, and costs.

# A NEW ROLE FOR TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE: THE CREATION OF A TECHNOLOGICAL PARADIGM FOR SAVING NATURAL RESOURCES

Pietro Laureano

In 1992 the United Nations organized the World Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro.

The meeting was considered so important that it was designated "Summit of Planet Earth." The conference aimed to reconcile the dramatic decline in global environmental conditions with the necessity for development and human welfare, and it led to the promulgation of three world conventions on climate, biodiversity and desertification. Each of these conventions took a different approach to the problem of development and technology, but each considered the necessity of reevaluating old practices and knowledge. Nevertheless, the classification of traditional knowledge led to various problematic areas.

Traditional and local knowledge is always part of a complex system, and consequently cannot be reduced to a list of technical solutions or restricted to a set of distinct applications. Its efficiency depends on interactions between many factors which must be carefully considered to understand its historical successes. This creates great difficulties in terms of its logic for a contemporary reproposal.

Each traditional practice is not an expedient that solves a particular problem, but is always an elaborate method, usually polyfunctional, that is part of an integrated approach (society, culture, economy), closely linked to the concept of a world based on the careful management of local resources. By contrast, modern technology seeks immediate efficiency through a high specialization of knowledge, and it is run by dominating structures that are able to mobilize resources external to its present environment. Traditional learning is functional over very long periods, resorting to shared knowledge and social practices that are created and passed on through generations and use renewable inputs.

Thus, while modern technological methods operate by separating and specializing, traditional knowledge unites and integrates. This principle, so similar to the model of nature — in which every system residue is used by other systems, and where the concept of waste and the possibility of resorting to external resources does not exist — has allowed human groups to survive through history. Polyfunctional techniques guarantee opportunities of success, even in adversity. Meanwhile, collaboration and symbiosis resulting from the reuse of everything produced within a system has allowed autopoiesis, self-production, and self-propulsive development independent of exogenous or occasional factors.

Historic settlements, traditional landscapes, and local knowledge offer a gamut of solutions that must be safeguarded, and which can be reproposed, adapted and renewed by employing modern technology. This may not involve the reapplication or transformation of single procedures, but the understanding of the logic of models: in this way, traditions can lead to the creation of new technological paradigm.

# SPACES OF ALIENATION AND CREATIVE RESISTANCE: RAILWAY TECHNOLOGY EXCHANGE BETWEEN EGYPT AND EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Hazem Ziada

Technological transfer across cultural boundaries is a complex and layered process. Technology itself is an ambiguous term; besides the physical machine itself, it describes the totality of

knowledge, social processes, economic and even marketing strategies that together make the machine available. In cross-cultural technological exchange, this aggregate is seldom transposed in toto. Particularly in transfers between the developed West and the developing East since the nineteenth century, the flow has suffered from imbalance and disproportion.

This situation has given rise to extreme theoretical positions on the nature of technological transfer between East and West as a tool of oppressive manipulation exercised on the recipient society and causes irreversible change to its traditional environment. Here, transferred technologies carry the genetic code of their homeland, and attempt to respin their new context "after their own image." Thus, in this view, while Napoleon's canons and muskets defeated startled Egyptian civilians in 1798, his Boulag printingpress served to more stealthily regiment and Westernize them, thus furthering their dependency and causing the disintegration of their traditional "way." Similarly, British-made Gatling machineguns reduced Alexandria to rubbles in 1882, but it was the British educational system in Egypt afterwards that slowly dismantled the authority and paradigm of Al-Azhar. According to this view, then, canon and press, machine-gun and modern school were internalized by Egyptians in subjugation, allowing no creative reinterpretation. In other words, the transfer was unconditional.

Transformations in recipient traditional environments are interpreted similarly. Tradition is envisaged as a static entity which any inflicted change is bound to deconstruct; or, at best, it is seen as a coherent but dynamic system exclusive to alien elements. Hence, with the advent of Western technology, traditional environments are seen shattered, as their time-honored codes are disrupted.

I maintain that this position, while only partially true, has contributed to entrenching a negative attitude in technology recipients. Therefore, this paper investigates the dynamics of technological transfer between East and West and their impact on the environment. In doing so, it questions the established view that this transfer is a one-way linear traffic, where seeds of subjugation are encrypted in technologies ceaselessly flowing eastwards. Instead, the paper seeks to demonstrate that patterns of technological transfer are complex, alternating and layered.

To illustrate this argument, the paper compares two "narratives" of technological exchange between East and West, each of which had a profound impact on the traditional environment. The extension of the railway system throughout rural and urban Egypt in the nineteenth century was undoubtedly an agent of major transformation in the Egyptian landscape and its social constituency. Similarly, the contemporary dissemination of satellite broadcasting technology across national and social borders has served to transform the Egyptian virtual-scape, with fundamental environmental and social implications. The two historical moments are drawn together by a semblance of factors and positions, as well as by being links in one continuous story. This comparative analysis will attempt to disclose the potential interactive and creative nature of technological transfer, hopefully providing developing communities with a foothold for a more creative contribution to contemporary technological change.

#### A.5 DISCOURSES OF PLACE/ **DETERRITORIALIZATION**

#### DRESDEN'S KULTURMEILE AND THE HETEROLOGY OF BAUEN Mark Jarzombek

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

#### REPRESENTING CULTURE: RESISTING GLOBALIZATION THROUGH THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION

California College of Arts and Crafts, San Francisco, U.S.A.

#### LOCAL AND TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AS A PART OF TODAY'S REGION

Eeva Aarrevaara

Helsinki University of Technology, Finland

#### THE END OF TRADITION/THE REINVENTION OF TRADITION: STORYTELLING AND BUILDING IN A CHANGING WORLD

Leonardo Castriota

Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

#### THE CONCEPTION OF SPACE AMONG THE SAN: SPACE AND SOCIETY IN THE KALAHARI DESERT

Giovanni Fontana Antonelli UNESCO, Windhoek, Namibia

#### DRESDEN'S KULTURMEILE AND THE HETEROLOGY OF BAUEN Mark Jarzombek

Since the reunification of Germany in 1989, Dresden's city center has been radically transformed. This article discusses the various geographies of simulation that govern these efforts. Though capitalism and preservation now divide the city's center into separate but mutually reinforcing sectors, the question of the reconstruction of the synagogue remains still undecided, and thus will serve as the key with which I will unlock some of the paradoxes of a much larger problem of how to locate not only memory, but architecture itself and, indeed, even civitas — in our contemporary culture.

In looking at these broader contestations, in particular focusing on the issues of "East-West," the paper discusses the historiographic geographies that in dividing the city attempt to eradicate any but the most stubborn trace of the socialist worldview that was the determinant of the city's post-World War II shape. Planned as a model socialist city after the war, the present-day city is fast becoming a model postcapitalist city, with the failures of the former rhetorically enhanced to elevate the successes of the latter. I will argue that historians who operate in the interdisciplinary demands of postmodern capitalist urbanism face the lure of historicizing the

city from within the ready-made framework of state-mandated success. A more critical approach to the city should, however, focus on the historical voids that are folded out of sight. This does not mean that the historian has to give up the principle of objectivity. But it does mean that just as objectivity, in the context of Dresden, has become ungrounded, the historian has to accept a degree of ambiguity between what he or she does as a "historian" and the multiple locations of "history" in contemporary politics.

The synagogue project in Dresden, trapped in such an inbetween space, becomes the perfect metaphor for this problem. I argue that in an "age of empowerment" in which the German government can only see as positive the reintroduction of democracy and the reclamations of memory from the tabula rasa of socialism, the building should be left as a purposefully unbuilt project so as to better ground the debate about trauma, war, and even modernity.

#### REPRESENTING CULTURE: RESISTING GLOBALIZATION THROUGH THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION Lisa Findlev

In this era of rapid globalization and increasing localism, the Asia/Pacific region is one of many places worldwide undergoing profound cultural change. Indigenous peoples who have been systematically marginalized in their own lands are regaining their voices, as the totalizing colonial or conquering cultures become either embarrassed by their own arrogance in the face of global condemnation of colonial practices, or confronted with indigenous people who refuse, sometimes violently, to see themselves as "primitive" any longer. The Maori of New Zealand, the Orang Asli of Malaysia, the Dayak of Borneo, the rich array of tribal groups in Yunnan Province of China, and many, many other indigenous peoples refuse to remain any longer on the cultural fringes of their countries.

In their struggle to be recognized as legitimate players in their national cultures, many indigenous people have formed new institutions to represent their ways of being in the world, often in the form of cultural preservation and development agencies. While recognized as essential to cultural autonomy and advancement, these institutions present many new problems. For some, it forces a singularizing view of indigenous cultures that had great variety even within a small geographical sphere. For others, the size and administrative structure of these institutions are anathema to traditional practices. And finally, for most, these institutions require physical facilities of a size and nature for which there is no precedent within the indigenous culture.

The architectural questions this situation raises are messy and difficult. There is no way to avoid the fact that whatever structure is to house such a cultural institution will be symbolic on many levels. Its mere existence is political, much less its form and expression. Such a building project will exist in huge tension and ambiguity. It must embody many things for many people, and at the same time avoid being patronizing or sentimental. The swirling issues that plague any postcolonial discourse also plague the conceptualization, production and use of such buildings. In particular, the choice and deployment of technology is especially tricky. This paper seeks to lay out a groundwork for understanding these projects through a combination of theoretical work and case-study analysis.

While there certainly cannot be a singular way or formula for navigating through the design and construction of such explicitly cultural projects, there are important lessons to be learned from an examination of the recently completed cultural center for the Kanak people of the French South Pacific territory of New Caledonia by the Renzo Piano Building Workshop. Here Piano explicitly took on the postcolonial politics implied by the circumstances, and carefully transformed certain Kanak traditions of inhabitation and space-making into a global architectonic language. This has the curious effect of elevating tradition while acknowledging its irrevocably altered state, and of speaking to an international audience while retaining legibility to the local people.

#### LOCAL AND TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AS A PART OF TODAY'S REGION *Eeva Aarrevaara*

In this study I will discuss the position of a traditional environment in a contemporary landscape. I consider vernacular environments as a part of a network of places, which together offer people various possibilities to choose. Giddens has stated that the more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is affected by the interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to make choices among a diversity of options. The impacts of urbanization can be seen in both the urban and rural environments. The spread of information society and a general trend toward increased mobility have led to greater similarities in people's ways of life, yet regional differences have been exacerbated by the concentration of operations and population.

I will describe the contemporary situation by taking a traditional Finnish village as a case study. The village is located approximately 100km. from the capital region, and relatively near several growing town centers. The village has a population of about 400 people, having lost one-third of its inhabitants during the past thirty years. The occupations of the villagers have also changed: from farming, to a variety of services such as design, machine work and repairing, or building. These services are not only provided on a local basis, but on one that is regional, and sometimes national in scope. By contrast, farming has mostly become a part-time occupation, and those farms which are still active have expanded their area. The education level of the villagers has improved.

In the past skillful carpenters and lace-makers lived in cottage areas separated from the farms. These areas were visually and historically important parts of the village. The village is still famous for its lace-making, which has survived as a popular hobby and even as profession, but carpentry has almost disappeared. Some cottages have been turned into vacation residences for town-dwellers, while other in-migrants live in the village and

commute to work in town centers. Local services like schools, shops, clubhouses of local societies still exist, and have even been supplemented by a new day-care center, founded by active villagers. During Finland's EU membership, a group of active inhabitants started several projects in cooperation with local authorities, including village improvements and a documentation of the history of lace-making and carpentry.

The villagers' occupations and mobility can be seen as proof of modern network thinking, while their choice of environment represents the opposite. Meanwhile, I suggest that in-migrants to the village consciously chose the village environment to represent their life values, which includes a sense of both individualistic and collective self-identity and an ecological perspective on living.

A village is a functioning environment composed of both physical and social elements, but at the same time it is an environment constructed by perception and image-making. For the villagers it is important to see themselves in a modern context but at the same time be conscious of the village's historical features, including the importance of local handicraft. In the future, the village can be further developed as residential area with a distinct image by following sustainable growth policies and suitable guidance. Traditional cottage areas need special attention in preservation, but offer possibilities to develop local tourism connected with traditional craftsmanship.

# THE END OF TRADITION/THE REINVENTION OF TRADITION: STORYTELLING AND BUILDING IN A CHANGING WORLD Leonardo Castriota

At first glance, tradition may appear to be a crystallized, motionless dimension of culture. Yet anthropologists have repeatedly drawn attention to the dynamic nature of both culture and tradition. Generally speaking, a distinction can be made between internal changes which result from a group's own dynamics, and changes brought about by the contact of one cultural system with another, which tend to be sudden and rapid in nature. The latter process, which Claude Lévi-Strauss called "collaboration of/between cultures" and considered to be preliminary to the progress of civilization, may sometimes prove catastrophic, with the destruction and effacing of one culture by another.

Within the scope of a conference where the "end of tradition" is examined against the background of an overwhelming globalization process, this paper intends to discuss the functioning of tradition itself, by analyzing some cultural changes which occurred in the Cinta-Larga tribe of Brazil's northern state of Rondônia in their contact with European culture. As far as Brazilian Indians are concerned, it is important to emphasize that this is an extreme case: cultural disappearance is followed by physical extermination, with tribal lands being occupied by farms, panning sites, roads, hydroelectric power plants, and towns. As a strategy for analysis, we will trace the path of two traditional components of culture — namely, storytelling and building. We will track their changes during this colonial encounter as well as exam-

ine the survival strategies used by the tribe, which often involve absorbing some mechanisms of the dominant culture.

With respect to storytelling, we will talk about its characteristic traits, its function within traditional societies, and the contemporary discussion about its disappearance. We will discuss the apparent paradox storytelling has adopted in order to survive, by resorting increasingly to nontraditional media like books and even videos. The experience of the Cinta-Larga tribe is examined in the book Mantere Ma Kwé Tinhin, a collection of traditional stories narrated by one of its tribe members, Pichuvy, and transcribed by three researchers. Produced in the early 1980s when the tribe's contact with whites became more direct, the book seeks to reproduce the structure of a *mberewá*, a traditional singing form that preserves culture by conveying knowledge.

With regard to building, we will trace how they abandoned their traditional architecture following contact with whites, thereby losing both their distinctive way of organizing space and tectonic solutions that are most suitable to a rainforest environment. Then the paper will uncover their process of reinventing tradition, where traditional construction techniques were recovered thanks to a collaboration between Indians and whites. The focus will be mainly on the efforts by the architect Leda Leonel, who since the early 1980s has conducted extensive research on tribal dwelling and coordinated important activities with local Indians, in an attempt to re-create nearly extinct forms and techniques. Using nontraditional resources as well, this effort has sought to answer the needs of a modified life, while respecting its fundamental values.

#### THE CONCEPTION OF SPACE AMONG THE SAN: SPACE AND SOCIETY IN THE KALAHARI DESERT

Giovanni Fontana Antonelli

This paper focuses on the conception and traditional organization of space as a function of the variation in population and resources among the communities of San (bushmen) in the last remote areas of Namibia and Botswana. It will also examine the transformation of their way of life as imposed by the acceleration of global systems. The research stresses the ecological and sociological determinants of the association between social groups and their space before and after the 1960s. In Conceptions of Space in Social Thought (1980), Sack suggested that in preliterate societies there is no separation between society and space. "The place and the people are conceptually fused. The society derives meaning from place, the place is defined in terms of social relationships, and the individuals in the society are not alienated from the land." Is this still true among the San communities, influenced as they now are by the forces of change within postcolonial societies?

The habitat of the San, the vast basin of the Kalahari Desert, is a marginal area of southern Africa with only 170-700mm. of rainfall per year. All areas of the Kalahari experience sporadic summer rains and long winter dry periods. Depending on the availability of surface water, the San population makes use of a very particular ecological adaptation strategy in order to maxi-

mize the exploitation of resources. This involves mobilizing the group throughout the entire available to search for the temporary waterholes, edible plants, and animals.

The San social organization is based on groups: the domestic unit, the band, and the band cluster. Depending on ethnic group, the campsite strategy will vary, but only within a framework of fixed points. Generally, most groups set up a winter camp next to a permanent waterhole during the dry season, and then deploy various mobile camps during the rainy season to exploit the available resources. However, some groups utilize an opposite strategy. These variations are due to environmental factors, which vary across the different areas within the region. A settlement's size, location, and length of occupation reflect these variables, especially the latter two, which are directly dependent on conscious choices about how food resources in a given area will be utilized.

The bushmen have survived by very specialized adaptations to a harsh environment. Their degree of specialization in this habitat is so high that today it is very difficult for them to contemplate adopting other economic systems, except perhaps an existence on the margin of other societies. The bushmen who live off hunting and gathering today are estimated to be less than 5 percent of the total San population. This part of the study investigates how the colonial and postcolonial societies have influenced and shaken the original way of life of these communities, creating a "placeless society," incorporating problems of Western civilization, which now pose a great threat to the continuity of their cultural identity.

## B.5 INVENTED NATIONS/INVENTED TRADITIONS: IDENTITY AND SPACE

#### MANUFACTURING ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

Howayda Al-Harithy

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

### REMEMBERING THROUGH SPACE: A COMMUNAL HALL IN POSTCOLONIAL HONG KONG

Sidney Chin Hung Cheung University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

### CONTEMPLATION ON BUILT HERITAGE IN IRELAND: BETWEEN DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION

Rumiko Handa

University of Nebraska, Lincoln, U.S.A.

### STATE IMAGE AND SPACE IN POSTWAR CAIRO: THE CASE OF TAHRIR SQUARE FROM 1940 TO 1970

Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah Cairo University, Egypt

### A GIFT FOR THE ENEMY: PRE-ISLAMIC CONCEPTS, FORMS AND ICONS ON THE JAVANESE MOSQUE

Hendrajaya Isnaeni

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#### MANUFACTURING ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY Howayda Al-Harithy

Rasem Badran is the most active architect in the Arab World today. An advocate of regionalism, he was born in Jerusalem in 1945, received his architectural education in West Germany, graduating in 1970. He trained in Germany for about two years before returning to Jordan to practice in 1973. His attempts to construct identity in architecture by using a contextual interpretation of architectural heritage distinguish him from other architects practicing in the Arab world. To arrive at such an interpretation, Badran analyzes formal characteristics and spatial qualities of traditional architecture particular to a place or a region in order to understand their inner logic. He then reinterprets these in his designs.

Some interesting cases of Badran's design work involve promoting simple vernacular architectural heritage to an urban, monumental language. For example, in his design for the Justice Palace or Qasr al-Hokm district in Riyadh in 1992, Badran offered an interpretation of the vernacular Najdi architectural tradition. In the royal palace and great mosque that were rebuilt to constitute the heart of downtown Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, he also used modern construction materials and techniques to monumentalize traditional forms to fit new functional and symbolic requirements.

In an interview with *Mimar* in 1987, Badran declared the following: "I did not import any European styles, or schools of thought, but I dealt with the design process as an extension of what I had started in Europe: to respect the environment with its socioe-conomic and political forces: to find a basis for a comprehensive intellectual dialogue, by analyzing the problems and diagnosing the causes; by seeking solutions that seem from that environment itself. A vocabulary is then devised which translates into built form the changing aspects and the continuities of civilization."

Though the statement by Badran is true to an extent, it is a statement that assumes a rich architectural heritage that can be interpreted, expanded and analyzed at multiple levels. In the case of the Riyadh project, the existing local heritage did not offer a complex tissue of architectural types, forms and vocabulary, so Badran cleverly invented an architectural heritage by adding complexity in the spatial and formal analysis of a simple and limited architectural formula. He transformed the architectural vernacular formula into an invented architectural heritage. The proof of this is the repetition of Badran's new spatial and formal concepts throughout the region and the reproductions of them as images of authentic identity by local authorities and media.

### REMEMBERING THROUGH SPACE: A COMMUNAL HALL IN POSTCOLONIAL HONG KONG

Sidney Chin Hung Cheung

How does an individual remember? And why does one need to know history, and to recall events that happened in the past? Are people always interested in general historic reconstruction, or the expected historical narrative that is politically dismantled for some present purposes? In this paper, I aim to investigate the indigenous villagers' memory of the anti-British resistance movement in 1899 in order to explore how reconstructed history or social memory is contested and complicated.

Drawing upon Connerton's understanding of collective memory that is embedded in the rites and ceremonies of every-day life, I suggest that collective memory can also be affected by social change and the political environment. By comparing different interpretations of an historical incident that happened in the Leased as well as New Territories (the northern part of current Hong Kong SAR) in 1899, we might not be able to know exactly what happened in the past but we certainly can know more about the present. For this approach, I employed a detective's eye for ethnographic writing in order to confront the reliability of different data and excavate the "hidden" meanings of the each scenario from various sources.

Starting from the oral history of a communal hall located in the New Territories, I sought to explain the relevant village alliance background in the New Territories and the monument's contested meanings in relation to the only armed anti-British resistance that took place in the New Territories in April 1899. Using different data sources, a comprehensive picture of the resistance movement can be given. Moreover, by considering the identity of 172 martyrs memorialized in the hall and examining some possible reasons

for their involvement, I argue that the formation of indigenous peoples' memory will be better understood only when the complicated colonial history of Hong Kong is carefully investigated.

#### CONTEMPLATION ON BUILT HERITAGE IN IRELAND: BETWEEN DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION Rumiko Handa

This paper will examine the fate of several buildings in Dublin, Ireland, constructed during the British rule. The decision between destruction and preservation of such buildings naturally rested heavily on the governments' political attitudes after the Irish independence of the 1920s. For example, while the City Corporation let many Georgian row houses fall to vandalism and/or destruction, the Office of Public Works recovered a number of buildings as part of a national built heritage. For example, the former Royal Hospital now serves as the Irish Museum of Modern Art. A number of questions arise, however, concerning architectural signification, which bear relevant implications to the questions of globalization. The first and foremost question concerns the ways in which a work of architecture is expected to gather its meanings. On the one hand, some architectural meanings are arbitrary, or have little to do with, the work's physical properties, but have been assigned by cultural convention. The meaning "Georgian" or "imperial" is in this category. On the other hand, a work's properties, such as color, textures, sizes or proportions, could evoke a certain natural meaning in a viewer's mind. An example is the meaning "veneration," which has more to do with the way the natural light pierces through wall openings than the original cultural assignment. We have given much attention to the conventional signification. As a result, we have increased the proper understanding of each culture's architectural tradition.

It is necessary, then, to reflect upon undesirable consequences. An architect keen only in pictorial reproduction of traditional forms could fall into a design of fake authenticity and applied decoration. A historical building is doomed under the hand of a policy-maker who can only see its original political meaning. Furthermore, in the age of globalization, arbitrary signification puts people from other cultures at odds with meaning. Contrary to common understanding, this arbitrariness does not necessarily support preservation of cultures, and can instead alienate cultures. In the worst situation, this leads to the destruction of built heritage.

This study aims to demonstrate that natural signification needs to be taken into consideration both in designing and evaluating a built object. I argue that making sense out of inherent properties appropriates the work — that is, it grounds it in the world of the interpreter, and eventually is effective in the conservation of architectural heritage.

### STATE IMAGE AND SPACE IN POSTWAR CAIRO: THE CASE OF TAHRIR SQUARE FROM 1940 TO 1970

Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah

By the early twentieth century Cairo was prepared to move into a new phase of development designed to transform the city into the model of a modern metropolis. The study will revolve around two questions. The first is "Can state interests shape space?" The second question is "How can a space serve the state image?" The ongoing transformation in the architecture of Cairo and its spaces continues to occur today in the same places that witnessed the early transformation. Cairo's architectural transformation between 1952 and 1970 could serve as a model for our present-day urban transformation, which is also subject to massive political legislative action.

The aim of this study is to identify the main political legislative forces and factors that influenced the architecture and spaces of Cairo from 1952 to 1970. This study is designed to provide an understanding of the processes by which the political decisions and governmental regulations affected, shaped, and generated the built environment. The paper hypothesizes that Nasser's government used planning as a legislative activity (upgrading the built environment purely as a reflection of state interests) in order to consolidate and create political control, to impress and neutralize the lower class, and to gain the support of the upper class.

### A GIFT FOR THE ENEMY: PRE-ISLAMIC CONCEPTS, FORMS AND ICONS ON THE JAVANESE MOSQUE

Hendrajaya Isnaeni

Pre-Islamic traditions in Java reached there highest achievement when Islamic forces attacked the ruling Hindu empire at the end of the fifteenth century and assumed hegemony. These traditions produced magnificent temples with idols of gods in the sacred chambers and images of gods carved on the walls. These traditions were in contrast to the rules of Islam which strictly prohibited any representation of God in any form or medium. Nevertheless, the existing Javanese ideas of the form and space of temples had a great influence on the creation of the Javanese mosque.

This paper discusses the persistence of local pre-Islamic architectural traditions within the Islamic environment in Java during the late of fifteenth century. Although Hinduism and Islam propose opposite principles regarding the nature of God, the Javanese mosque shows that its architecture is strongly imbued with old traditions.

Tiered roofs with pyramidal forms were not a new element in the history of pre-Islamic architecture in Java. The form came from the idea of a sacred mountain, the holy place where the gods live. A niche in the west wall was reminiscent of those in the walls of temples. Lotus images on walls and a *kala* figure above the niche and that embellishes the seat of the prayer leader were clearly rooted in pre-Islamic traditions (*kala* is a demonic creature in Javanese religious tales).

Furthermore, a study of architectural symbolism reveals parallel mystical ideas embodied in physical forms and decorative features of pre-Islamic temples and Javanese Mosque. These findings suggest that preexisting mystical traditions were carried through when the first prototype of the Javanese mosque was built in 1478 AD.

The strong attachment to old traditions was not set aside when the Javanese people became Muslims. The Hindus and the Buddhists, no doubt, were masters in creating sacred places. They had vocabularies of symbolic concepts, forms and icons to explain religious phenomena. With these elements, the Javanese mosque acquired its architectural form, distinct from its counterparts in other Muslim countries. As compared to the Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul, Turkey, the Javanese mosque was not a temple converted to a mosque. It was originally built for Muslim people to perform prayer. It is important to note that the conversion to Islam was carried out through cultural penetrations. Prevailing traditions were infused with Islamic concepts, and rituals and symbolic religious icons were adopted, proving an effective medium through which people gained an understanding of Islam. While original elements in the Hagia Sophia were camouflaged, the Javanese mosque maintained the existence of pre-Islamic forms and icons as religious symbols.

To conclude, since Islamic architecture is never prescribed in the *Quran*, any culture or society can develop its own mosque with its own traditions. Long-standing historical pre-Islamic traditions with high architectural achievements were a cultural gift — ironically, from the conquered rival traditions of Hindus, Buddhists and Animists — that gave identity to the Javanese mosque and an attachment to people and place.

## C.5 TOURISM, COMMODIFICATION, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION

### TOURISM AND THE REGIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF AN ALBERTIAN TRADITION

Magdalena Saura

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### MORE IRISH THAN THE IRISH: THE COMMODIFICATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Kymberly A. Helbig

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# SEARCHING FOR MEANING: THE USE OF INDUSTRIAL TRADITION TO DEFINE MEANING IN AN AGE OF GLOBAL TOURISM AND PLACELESSNESS

Christine Landorf

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# SHEEP STATION SETTLEMENTS IN PATAGONIA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION AND ITS REVITALIZATION THROUGH TOURISM

Marcela Pizzi and Maria Paz Valenzuela University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

### THE SMALLEST VILLAGE IN THE WORLD: MONTAFON, AUSTRIA

Gabriela Muri

University of Zurich, Switzerland

### TOURISM AND REGIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF AN ALBERTIAN TRADITION

Magdalena Saura

In Catalonia, a historic region in northeastern Spain and southeastern France, design attitudes toward tourism and tradition vary. One tendency has been to change the form and use of public and private spaces in traditional urban heritage settings. When such an approach prevails, only monuments such as cathedrals are generally conserved, set within a sprawl of housing determined by economic trends. Another approach has been to make use of urban-design concepts. When this tendency prevails, single buildings are constrained by the practical or functional determinants of the urban fabric, set in the context of functional, sustainable urban-form wholes to guide tourism development. However, planners working on the Spanish side seldom trace the history of a town's typological procedure — a kind of architectural thinking that once mediated medieval town planning. This procedure was most explicitly articulated by L.B.

Alberti in *De Re Aedificatoria* (1452), and it was used throughout Catalonia to define public and private property, solve power conflicts, populating territories, and found new towns for conquest and territorial expansion.

In this paper, first, through analysis of ethnographic study, I report how the two main approaches of Spanish and French planners can be observed. Second, I will discuss and illustrate procedural tools that may be used in typing the use of space in urban settings. The tools are those given by Alberti, who named the two types of formal configurations — grid and organic forms, and radial forms — still in use today. Although activities may have changed over time, in many cases the use of space, private and public, remains constant even today. Two sets of cases in the region will be used to illustrate Alberti's procedure. They are located between Tarragona and Narbone, next to the ancient Via Augusta (or Domitia), a Roman road still used today, but transformed in some parts into modern motorways. Data has been gathered from GIS tools and historic documents including texts of Roman surveyors and medieval documents on legislation for the foundations of towns.

The planners interviewed used terms such as "traditional architecture" and "modern construction" as polar opposites, and referred to the Voisin Plan of Le Corbusier (1920s), which was meant to destroy the traditional environment of Paris, leaving only six monuments, mostly cathedrals. In town planning, only the grid type of urban form today seems to be recognized as a sign of overt design. According to Spiro Kostof (1988), however, medieval town layouts were also premeditated. He refuted Lavedan's cliché of the round, radial type medieval town as "the picturesque cluster of houses along cute crooked streets." Interviewees say they follow Pierre Lavedan (1984), who wrote that organic, round or radial forms were not planned but rather grew spontaneously, constrained by geography. Lavedan made no cultural, linguistic or historic distinctions in the planning history of the Iberian Peninsula. Alberti drew multicultural, typological conclusions from ancient literary sources and from local examples. Some of his books were written in Catalan because his family was in exile here.

In conclusion, traditional medieval planning appears to have had a continuous influence in tourism, although the extent of adherence to such principles varies in different parts of the region. In future studies of tradition elsewhere, a shift of design attitudes towards procedural heritage might be significant for predicting the impact of tourism upon traditional sites, particularly in other regions in Europe familiar to Alberti.

### MORE IRISH THAN THE IRISH: THE COMMODIFICATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Kymberly A. Helbig

This paper focuses on the simultaneous commodification and codification of Irish ethnic identity in the United States through the creation of publicly used spaces that re-present locales associated with Irish history, culture and personality. Combining ethnographic fieldwork with written and material sources, the study investigates the role that the production and consumption of an ethnic-specific site and its productions plays in the construction of a community and a business based on a particular version of Irish ethnic identity. In addition, it explores the effects of that construction on the individuals involved in the site's creation and maintenance.

The research centers on a particular Irish pub which has been designed to promote and to profit from an open affiliation with Irish culture and character: The Bards, located in Philadelphia, PA. The Bards serves as a specific example of a worldwide phenomenon: the establishment and promotion of businesses outside of Ireland selfidentified as "authentic Irish pubs" — businesses that play a highly visible role in the burgeoning interest and booming industry in Irish ethnic/historical identity. These sites create and perpetuate popular notions of an ethnically homogenous and traditionally situated culture through their physical evocation and imitation of a space perceived to be intrinsic to Irish identity: "the pub." From floor plans designed to facilitate the "Irish penchant" for talk, to walls adorned with relics from the "home" country and photographs of the home countryside, such establishments evoke a sense of "local" community by erasing geographical distance and dispersal with built similarity and simulacra. Further, this space offers participation, and even membership, in such a community to any willing customer through the acts of appreciating, purchasing and consuming certain ethnically identifiable productions: a photo of James Joyce, the taste of Guinness stout, the accents of the staff.

Owned and largely staffed by emigrated Irish, The Bards provides a nexus for interaction between old and new generations of immigrants and their offspring, but also for those who want to sample, literally and figuratively, an "ethnic experience." My primary goals were to explore the ways that intangible valuables — such as "ethnicity," "culture," and "heritage" — are manifested through the built environment, in part so that they may be made available to those who desire them, but particularly so that they may be effectively marketed and thus made profitable. I consider how this manifestation and commodification of ethnic notions affects those who choose to identify with that group, or who are placed within it due to factors such as their names or physical characteristics. I also investigate the impact that this type of ethnic environment has on the formation of a public "Irishness" in the context of the heterogeneous U.S. society, as buyers and sellers actively negotiate that ethnicity and its physical markers. Ultimately, I seek to uncover ways to think about the relationship between the marketplace and ethnic and cultural identity, using one "local" site as paradigmatic of the daily and intense interaction between the global flows of capital and that of human beings.

# SEARCHING FOR MEANING: THE USE OF INDUSTRIAL TRADITION TO DEFINE MEANING IN AN AGE OF GLOBAL TOURISM AND PLACELESSNESS

Christine Landorf

A mined landscape will leave patterns of often-brutal economic rationalism and social expedience, but these patterns tell a story of human endeavor rich in tradition and cultural belonging to place and territory. Broken Hill is such a community in the arid Far West of New South Wales, Australia. The city has seen continuous minerals-production along an extremely rich silverlead-zinc orebody, known as the Line of Lode, since its foundation in 1883. With the closure of the last operational mine now forecast for 2006, the city is looking to tourism as a means of securing a future. With this intention, the remaining mining company has donated the surface workings along the 7.3km. industrial site to the city. The site includes tailings dams, mullock heaps, open cuts, and associated buildings, equipment and ruins from all phases of mining activity since 1883. The site is described as culturally significant in a national context because of its contribution to national economic growth — in addition to its association with several of Australia's largest industrial companies, the rise of unionism, and a number of technical innovations (Broken Hill Line of Lode Identification Study, 1994). The museum concept has also been extended to include the surrounding urban environment, described as significant because of the "... strong social cohesion and wealth of physical expressions of its social and economic life" (Broken Hill Heritage Survey, 1987).

By considering varying degrees of supply-led preservation versus demand-led presentation (Chitty and Baker, 1999), the unique characteristics and management issues of in situ industrial settings such as Broken Hill will initially be defined in relation to more traditional museums and heritage theme parks. Within this broad management framework, two key issues affecting Broken Hill as a site of cultural heritage and tourism will be explored. The first is the problematic presentation of ephemeral cultural traditions and social histories that have been so much a part of the physical landscape that remains. Neaverson and Palmer (1998) have suggested that the concentration on descriptive evidence rather than analytical frameworks has largely been the failure of industrial archaeology to date and without the preservation and presentation of a broader cultural history, Broken Hill could easily fall into this trap. The paper will therefore explore ways in which accessible cultural frameworks might be derived from aspects of life that, until now, have had cultural value and meaning only to members of an otherwise insular mining community. Like many similar industrial sites in the Western world, there is also a need to accept a new economic order where the romanticized struggle of man against rock or machine is replaced by what Boniface and Fowler (1996) have referred to as the "cultural neo-colonialism" of tourism. The paper will conclude by analyzing the project's economic feasibility and market demand, considering the broader social impact of this new economic order on a traditional industrial community striving to retain its sense of place.

# SHEEP STATION SETTLEMENTS IN PATAGONIA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION AND ITS REVITALIZATION THROUGH TOURISM

Marcela Pizzi and Maria Paz Valenzuela

The pastoral colonization of Magallanes, in the extreme southern tip of South America, took place as late as the decade of the 1880s, and triggered the surprising development of the sheep-raising industry in the area. An interesting and unprecedented architecture associated with this process developed, which we can trace to its origins in the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, and which later was exported to its colonies and other territories. It is through Australia and New Zealand that this architecture, together with the sheep, reached Chile and Argentina and became part of the image and heritage of the area.

The appropriation of a vast territory, through production centers oriented exclusively to the raising and processing of sheep and their products, is expressed in small settlements usually organized along a central road and close to a water course. The owner's house and the living quarters for workers were usually located upstream, while all buildings related to the production process, such as woolsheds, various workshops, storage sheds, butcher's shop, tallow-chandler's shop, power stations, etc., were located downstream. As a typical rural settlement pattern, with a particular way of life, unaware of the rest of national life, the sheep station favored the area south of the city of Punta Arenas and into Tierra del Fuego.

These settlements flourished during the beginning of the century, becoming an important income source for the country through their exports. They declined due to the reforms of the 1970s, in which the ownership of land was divided among the workers. Afterwards, the buildings as well as the industry suffered a slow process of decay, endangering this patrimony. Only recently, in order to preserve these settlements, have actions been taken to revitalize some of the buildings through tourism.

This paper aims to present the case of these sheep stations from an historical point of view, and to show how tourism can be an effective way of preserving this patrimony from disappearing.

### THE SMALLEST VILLAGE IN THE WORLD: MONTAFON, AUSTRIA

Gabriela Muri

In Montafon, an Alpine valley in southwestern Austria near the Swiss border, lies a village entered in the Guinness Book of Records as the smallest in the world. Actually, its entirety is a white-painted concrete cube subject to siege and penetration all around by gable building fragments in chalet style. Thus, it gives the impression of being a compactly built alpine village. The interior of the world's smallest village houses a disco and a restaurant where tourists can consume "Alpine country" specialties in wood-paneled dining rooms. It forms the starting point of my contribution to the discussion.

At the other end of the forward-driving spiral, clustered worldwide under the fuzzy term globalization, we find tradition to be the reservoir of certainty and identifiable focus on native geographic values. Tradition is commonly used as a code word for phenomena in the transmission process and ascribed to the past, often to a far distant one. If we consider the insights of tradition's devotees, they will usually be linked to an old habit: "We have always done it this way." Working from these two basic assumptions, we can trace essential elements that determine tradition: a) it marks out a field of interpretations and attributions that result from social discourse, an agreement process, and symbolic mediation; and b) it also results from a consensus occurring through adaptation to prevailing values.

Traditional behavior is often nonhistorical (subjective chronology flows in contradiction to historic chronology). This is illustrated by many apparently ancient pre-Christian rituals that mostly arose during the nineteenth century and were reconstituted with notable gaps due to expectations of continuity. Thus, tradition does not mean chronologically comprehensive reference to the past but love of the tried and true. The power of tradition is crucial. It declares "traditional heritage" to be valuable. Thus, my thesis holds that tradition marks out a field of social interaction and meaning imbedded in historically conditioned contexts of communication, action and symbolism.

The world's smallest village is located in an alpine tourist region. At the symbolic level, the surface, design and food conjure up traditional design forms and meals, in keeping with a process successful worldwide. But they hardly correspond to Alpine traditions in proportions, materials or recipes. The cultural industry in the background produces building elements and souvenirs in native style. Advertising brochures sell aesthetically prepared originality, which tourists expect and consume as a decorated "virtual reality" that communicates the appearance of an unorchestrated, original and spontaneous evolution. It evokes corresponding role conflicts among mountaineers who no longer live traditionally.

Authorities and stages that uphold tradition as well as the functions of traditional values have been undergoing change for some time. Today they are determined in a social context that is a byproduct of globalization. Yet the images and symbol systems to which tradition is attributed remain (or are recycled as relic culture for new commercial markets such as political party slogans). This applies to the world's smallest village or, put even more simply, when reduced to the smallest common denominator.

## A.6 MARKETING, CONSUMPTION, AND THE TRADITIONS OF PLACE

### MARKETING TRADITION: POST-TRADITIONAL PLACES AND META-URBANISM

Lineu Castello

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### THE RE-CREATION OF HISTORIC SITES BETWEEN FANTASY AND REALITY: WHAT LAS VEGAS LEARNED

Basil Kamel

Cairo University, Egypt

#### THE CONSUMING STRATEGIES OF YANGPYONG: MEGALOPOLITAN SEOUL AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SUR-ROUNDING CITIES

Bong-hee Jeon and Won-Joon Choi Seoul National University, Korea

### THE STRUGGLE FOR URBAN SPACE: SELF-IDENTITY IN THE SHADOWS OF GLOBALIZATION

Amer Moustafa

American University of Sharjah, U.A.E.

### NEW PLANNING VERSUS TRADITIONAL PLANNING: CROATIAN EXPERIENCE

Nenad Lipovac

University of Zagreb, Croatia

### MARKETING TRADITION: POST-TRADITIONAL PLACES AND META-URBANISM

Lineu Castello

The paper examines the multitude of theme parks sprouting up all over the world as a typical contemporary urban phenomenon, and argues about its role in the post-traditionalism discourse. Most theme parks are place based and located within traditional environments or are evocative of local traditions. This is the case with theme parks located in old downtown areas or in the midst of tourist regions.

By idealizing tradition, highlighting its perceptible qualities, and eliminating its potentially dubious aspects, theme parks engage in "editing" tradition. Their functioning is also somehow contradictory. On the one hand, they reinforce tradition, by using it to re-create a place. On the other, they dissolve traditions by introducing into local environments new symbols characteristic of globalization. Since the marketing of this trend circulates rapidly throughout both the developed and developing world, a resulting homogeneous global landscape that uses traditions

based in place and culture, while at the same time generating new traditions, is the likely consequence. This situation inevitably poses intriguing questions. Where is this leading to? To urban environments endowed with "post-traditional" places? To places where tradition and reality have been artificially re-created? Will these places be the surviving urban signs in the supposed aftermath of tradition in the global urban environment?

A recent trend in the architectural profession seems to be the production of meta-real environments, places filled with metaphors which are sometimes merely symbols representing a reality existing only in people's imagination. This leads to what I call meta-urbanism, differing from the usual urban design lines in that it is oriented toward the design of "themed places" — that is, a practice dealing with the creation of forms that "edit" traditional images people carry out in their minds. Meta-urbanism and its relationship to the end of tradition will be analyzed and discussed in the paper.

The paper starts with a brief review of the current making and marketing of theme places: from Disney's Main Streets (a disconcerting "authentic reproduction" of tradition), to the latest and most complete meta-urbanism manifestation, the new town of Celebration, USA (and its neotraditional design, reminiscent of traditional neighborhoods). I will then discuss the argument that theme places are beneficial to the architecture of the city, because they help preserve the city's vernacular building traditions, as well as its traditional collective memory. The paper will then turn to contemporary Brazilian urban research, and its particular interest in the construction of place. A review of the current Brazilian revival of place-based tradition in urban design is presented. Environmental-perception research as a tool for the contextualization of design strategies is also brought up. Finally, two research studies in south Brazil are outlined. In both cases, the marketing of tradition plays a powerful role in the making of post-traditional places under meta-urbanism strategies. One points to tradition as a powerful element capable of transforming space into place. The other argues that a sense of placelessness may derive from invented tradition. Lessons from research indicate that reinvention of place and a re-creation of tradition will be the major issues to be examined by the "End of Tradition" debate.

#### THE RE-CREATION OF HISTORIC SITES BETWEEN FANTASY AND REALITY: WHAT LAS VEGAS LEARNED Basil Kamel

Crossing the bridge above the narrow waterways, with the shadows of the gondolas' oars marking one's steps in a rhythm that touches the heart, one cannot help but feel the grace of how a medieval architect was able to capture the essence of time, the intimacy of space, and the beauty of the soul. This is why they call it the Bridge of Sighs. Down the street lies the Arc de Triomphe, with the Eiffel Tower in the background revealing both the glory of the past and the victory of modernism. One walks indoors through the gateway, but finds oneself outside once again, moving in the streets of Rome under a vaulted sky, through a collage of Classical details and Versace fantasies. Is it a

reminder of the past, or a fantasy of the future? Or is it the reality of walking in the streets of old Cairo, watching what is real, yet unreal? The place is there, but not the people. It is a reminder of time, a re-creation of tradition that once was. How is it different from the Luxor or Caesar's Palace of Las Vegas?

This paper attempts to cross the thin line between the physical recreation of our cultural representations and the mental manifestations of traditions that we claim exist. It will highlight in a conceptual framework the different lines of thought that create the parameters of reconstructing our heritage, tradition and history. It questions the definition of our realities in a world of placeless culture, not only from a materialistic point of view, but also by underpinning the state of disassociation between the mind and the soul of time.

Through a comparison of the notions and outcomes of several architectural representations of historic sites in different parts of the world, the paper explores the redefinition of terms such as tradition, heritage, and cultural reference in the twenty-first century. Is tradition as we know it now becoming but a mere fantasy of our own creation whose true value lies in its consumption? Or do these representations constitute a rewriting of history? From the Pyramids of Giza to Luxor in Las Vegas the answer is clear.

#### THE CONSUMING STRATEGIES OF YANGPYONG: MEGALOPOLITAN SEOUL AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SURROUNDING CITIES

Bong-hee Jeon and Won-Joon Choi

The population of Seoul is ten million, a figure which can be doubled to account for nearly half the population of Korea when the people who commute in from the megalopolitan area are included. The city has served as the nation's capital for six centuries, but its population back in 1910 was only some 200,000. This hundredfold multiplication of inhabitants since modernization, in the course of only 80 years, is a phenomenon of rapid growth that cannot be matched by any other city in the world.

Three expansion projects of the administrative district — in 1936, 1949 and 1963 — enlarged Seoul to an area eight times that which it occupied during the Choson period. These expansions ultimately necessitated creation in 1963 of a greenbelt to limit future expansion of the city. Further increases in population have been addressed with the development of high-rise or high-density housing, and satellite cities.

Yangpyong, only 40km. away from the center of Seoul, has historically been rather underdeveloped since it is located on an upstream stretch of the Han River, the source of the region's drinking water. During the economic boom of the 1980s, however, Yangpyong became an ideal site for weekend outings. By that time, one out of five Seoul citizens owned an automobile, and a new circulating freeway linking Seoul with its surrounding cities changed the way they spent their free time. The object of this paper is to analyze these postmodern symptoms in the drastic changes of the megalopolis' peripheries.

Invalidating its history of five centuries, Yangpyong has now lost its own center and become a margin area of the magnet Seoul, displaying form, function and features that are quite different from those of other surrounding cities. It has become a city of amusement, exploited for its natural beauty and the thriving sex industry that has located there. Cafes, restaurants, and small-scale hotels have become the dominant types of buildings. Their forms range from escapist, fantastic images inspired by ships or airplanes, to traditional Korean building types, to structures reminiscent of more exotic locales such as the American countryside or even Egypt.

These facilities are carefully sited and open to views of the Han River on one side, which contrasts with the anonymous placelessness they display on the other side. These aspects of Yangpyong's outskirts fulfill the urbanite's nostalgia for rural life and allude to the exoticism of the West during the early modernist age. On the other hand, inner areas of Yangpyong reflect the countryman's longing for life in the metropolis in a city of only 20,000 residents, with high-rise apartments creating a sharp contrast with the surrounding rice fields. Thus, Yangpyong provides a striking mixture of the modern and the traditional, city and country, center and periphery, and their resulting paradox. It forms the basis of our speculation about Korea's living culture at the turn of the century.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR URBAN SPACE: SELF-IDENTITY IN THE SHADOWS OF GLOBALIZATION

Amer Moustafa

There is little doubt that globalization has exerted a major influence in the reshaping of contemporary urban environments. The homogenizing forces of globalization often contrast (even collide) with elements of local identity and place. Urban space then becomes the central arena of struggle to counter homogeneity and preserve local identity. This paper deals with this struggle for (or in) urban space.

This paper addresses the various conceptions of urban space and examines selected Californian attempts aimed at dealing with global forces at the local level. The paper presents a broad theoretical framework that deals with urban space as it relates to society, power and identity. This framework stems from the contemporary discourse on space and draws primarily from the work of two French philosophers, Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault.

Lefebvre linked the re-production of space to the re-production of social life and social relations. He identified various dialectics of spatial practice and declared that capitalism's survival as a social system could be attributable to its ability to appropriate (even manipulate) urban space. The merit of urban space under capitalism, Lefebvre argued, is not due to its "use" but rather to its "exchange" value. Foucault explored the relationship of urban space to power and discipline. He posited that space has the potential to be used as a means to sustain power relations. Space can become an effective tool for disciplinary measures that maintain

social control and ensure human conformity with predetermined norms. Lefebvre and Foucault provide a powerful intellectual framework to explain contemporary urban space and the struggle to shape it under the formidable forces of globalization.

This theoretical framework is employed to help explicate efforts to shape urban spaces in contemporary urban environments. Case studies of urban development in California are examined to illustrate how urban space becomes the domain of contention between global impulses of homogeneity and local resistance aimed at asserting self-identity and ensuring a sense of place. The case studies presented deal with two small California towns engaged in the revitalization of their central historic cores, and two other cases of retail-center developments where the control of urban space is used primarily as a tool to maintain profit. In the first set of cases community interest and public life appear to propel the shaping of urban space, while in the second set private interest and profit-making seem to motivate peace-making.

The paper contributes to our understanding of contemporary urban development and the shaping of urban space in light of competing forces. It illustrates the significance and centrality of urban space in the life, identity and aspirations of people. The paper, moreover, demonstrates the quintessential capacity of social action to resist (and tame) the undesirable effects of globalization.

### NEW PLANNING VERSUS TRADITIONAL PLANNING: CROATIAN EXPERIENCE

Nenad Lipovac

Looking at settlements can give a special pleasure. Like a single work of architecture, every settlement is a construction of place within a space — but one of vast scale. On different occasions, and for different people, sequences of place are reflected and mirrored over the screen of history and tradition in different ways. But there is something that remains, that is always there — a *genius loci*: a spirit that carries a touch, a recall of a single place. Why forget or neglect it? Standing at the dawn of the new millennium, we should be able to read those recalls and implant them into new processes to create more human "places" than have been produced in the last several decades.

Places are sources of identity for every single living being, and thus it is important to adequately experience, create and maintain the spirit of every single place. Unfortunately, few people are aware of this importance, and worse, this ignorance is common among architects and town planners. The result has been the proliferation of placelessness, evident in the weakness of distinctive and diverse experience. The existing planning process and a misunderstanding of the importance of identity of and with place, undoubtedly have led to such rootlessness.

My professional work in Croatia has involved a constant search for settlement identity elements. My research is currently focused on Istria, a peninsula on the northwest Adriatic coast, and on small medieval places (that we call towns) bursting with centuries-old spirit and tradition. Forms and settlement structures in places like Motovun, Oprtalj, Pazin and Beram cannot be found elsewhere in Croatia, or in this part of Europe. Each of these towns consists of several smaller communities (up to several families) whose appearance is unique.

Preparing development and physical plans for these towns, I have searched for tiny elements of tradition that create identity, trying to both restore them and allow needed progress through the planning process. I soon found that classical inventorying was not sufficient to this effort, and that I had to develop a new methodology to reveal the values of their appearance. The main analytic cornerstone of this approach has turned out to be defining three types of boundaries that help understand places within the natural, cultural and built environment.

As I have found in Istria, however, there is no place on earth that can survive on simply a nice view. As the number of residents of these towns continues to decline, leaving deserted and ruined houses, planning for increases in town size becomes a problematic activity. Who is one aiming to enlarge the building area for? Who is to reconstruct the ruins? What are current and future residents to live upon?

# B.6 INVENTED NATIONS/INVENTED TRADITIONS: ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSES

### TRADITION AS A MEANS TO THE END OF TRADITION: ITALIAN FASCIST NEW TOWNS IN THE 1930S

Mia Fuller

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

#### REINVENTING SINGAPORE'S CHINATOWN

Heng Chye Kiang and Quah Cheng Ee National University of Singapore, Singapore

#### THE TURKIFICATION OF ISTANBUL IN THE 1950S

Ipek Akpinar

University College London, U.K.

### PORTUGUESE TRADITIONAL URBANISM: THE SYNTHESIS OF VERNACULAR AND INTELLECTUAL MODELS

Manuel Teixeira ISCTE, Lisbon, Portugal

PEADCHING FOR A MATIONAL ADOLLT

# SEARCHING FOR A NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE: THE ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY *T. Elvan Erqut*

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

## TRADITION AS A MEANS TO THE END OF TRADITION: ITALIAN FASCIST NEW TOWNS IN THE 1930S

Mia Fuller

The Italian Fascist regime created twelve new towns and at least sixty smaller agricultural centers before its collapse in 1943. The towns were built near Rome, in western Sardinia, in the Veneto, and in Istria (now part of Croatia); the smaller settlements were even more widespread. Several scholars have studied and documented these settlement programs in terms of city planning and migration policies. They have astutely examined the role of these programs in the regime's efforts to make Italian citizens behave like members of a certain kind of obedient society. However, much more remains to be said about how these efforts translated into architectural form. Settlers were under pressure to both affirm tradition (by continuing as, or even by becoming, farmers), and paradoxically, to also submit to distinctly modern, invasive state measures to organize their lives.

The questions I begin by addressing in this paper are the following. How did architects make settlers' houses regionally "neutral" in appearance, and yet generically familiar — that is to say, "traditional" enough to make the settlers' adaptation to local

life as unproblematic as possible? And how were relevant theories of modernity combined with analyses of vernacular Italian architecture (a subject that was new in the 1930s) to develop formulas of settler housing that would, ideally, both reflect "tradition" and Italy's "new society"? To answer these questions, I show how architects both documented and shaped a range of semi-fictive "traditions" that informed their designs for rural housing. I conclude that the appearance of architectural traditionality was juxtaposed with modern, totalizing agendas; in other words, that the appearance of traditionality directly supported the undermining — in effect, the "end" — of tradition.

Other registers of social participation aside from architecture were also manipulated to "anchor" the settlers, who came from several distant regions and spoke various dialects, to their new homesteads. These included public festivals and a clever use of monuments, as when members of the settlers' original villages who had died in World War I were commemorated in the new towns. Scholars have seen these tactics rather unproblematically, as deliberate means for the creation of "community." The second aim of this paper is to challenge the way this idea, prevalent at our turn of the century, has been deployed retroactively. Based on administrative documents and excerpts of the settlers' letters, I argue that designers of the settlers' environments were not concerned with "community" but with political docility and economic productivity. Here again, while the settlement programs strove to cloak their developments in the appearance of architectural tradition, at the level of policy they subjected the settlers to markedly modern measures.

I close with a description of a more credible sense of "community" in these towns, which exists nowadays. Nearly sixty years after the end of Fascist rule, the inhabitants have a shared past, including that of their towns' founding, and their linguistic differences have vanished. New local museums documenting the settlements' history have begun to emerge. The palpable sense of local identity and (new) tradition in what are now "old new towns" provides a distinct contrast with the arbitrary way in which the original inhabitants were thrown together.

#### REINVENTING SINGAPORE'S CHINATOWN Heng Chye Kiang and Quah Cheng Ee

In September 1998 the Singapore Tourism Board (STB), unveiled a \$97.5 million redevelopment plan to revitalize Singapore's Chinatown within three to five years. This was part of a larger program with the aim of making Singapore a "must see" destination in the Asia Pacific region. Two years earlier, on July 25, 1996, the Singapore government had "approved an initial budget of \$600 million to start off a plan to turn the country into a regional tourism capital that should attract 10 million tourists and some \$16 billion in tourist revenue by the year 2000." One of the strategies adopted was to create eleven distinct tourist districts, or themed zones, that would repackage existing attractions with a "unifying character or storyline. . . ."

Within this overall scheme Chinatown was to be promoted as an "ethnic quarter" in "ethnic Singapore," and marketed as "a celebration of diversity": a "culturally vibrant" place, with "conserved shophouses/buildings" serving as a backdrop to a "colourful and festive atmosphere."

A national design competition was launched by the STB and a winning team selected. When the plan was unveiled in 1998, there was a public outcry. The forum pages of the daily papers were inundated with readers opinions and comments. Among other things, the plan demarcated Chinatown into three zones (Historic District, Greater Town and Hilltown), and it was seen as an attempt by STB to artificially define Chinatown's physical boundaries, "framed" mainly for the purposes of easier marketing to tourists. The Singapore Heritage Society argued that STB was "re-engineering a wholly artificial entity." The plan was seen, as Brenda Yeoh has stated, "as the artificial creation of a quintessentially Chinese culture aided by meticulous architectural and environmental refurbishment in an effort to create visual verisimilitude to the past."

This paper will outline the development of Chinatown in the crucial period after the country's independence in 1965. It will focus on the initial efforts at conservation begun in the mid-1980s, but especially on the subsequent transformation of conservation and the invention of a tradition in the late 1990s. This invention of a tradition, supported by the architectural and environmental manipulations, poses problems at several levels. This paper will examine some of these problems and evaluate the reinvention of Chinatown within the larger context of theming Singapore.

#### THE TURKIFICATION OF ISTANBUL IN THE 1950S Ipek Akpinar

On September 24, 1956, Adnan Menderes announced the urban reconstruction of Istanbul by declaring, "We must show our mosques, fountains, works of art at the windows of the great streets that we should construct; and they should gleam like gemstones. The traffic must flow like water. . . . We are going once more to conquer Istanbul." Hoping to give Istanbul a modern identity, he created a road network through the traditional pattern. As a result, in 1958 the Istanbul Municipality offered him the honorary mayorship. In addition, the delegates of European Council countries' municipalities, with the goal of encouraging the postwar reconstruction, awarded the Prix de L'Europe to Istanbul in 1959.

What was the aim of Menderes' program? Indeed, was there a program? What was the significance of his rhetoric? Why did Menderes' government make Istanbul the site of a radical urban reconstruction? What was the significance of the transfer of attention from Ankara, the new capital, to Istanbul, an existing city? Was that a political gesture, or an outcome of a more complex combination of social events resulting in a radical spatial change? What was the master plan for Istanbul? How far was it a revision of Henri Prost's master plan of 1937?

What I examine is how immigration from rural areas to Istanbul, the emigration of non-Muslims from Istanbul to Europe,

and the construction of new roads turned Istanbul from a cosmopolitan, eastern-Mediterranean city, which has often been compared to Beirut and Alexandria, into a Turkish metropolis. The migrations in and out of the city and the simultaneous radical urban demolitions due to the creation of large boulevards were all connected in bringing about a radical spatial change in Istanbul.

I will first analyze the reasons for city's radical population growth through immigration, the immigrants' aggressive behavior as a defensive instinct in the completely different built environment, and (with this instability in their lives) their attachment to Islam, with non-Muslims becoming the targets of their aggression. Second, I will discuss the issue of the state-led Turkification in the socioeconomic terms, and the hostility against non-Muslims, including the riots of September 6-7, 1955. Finally, I will examine the urban reconstruction in the mid-1950s, aimed at modernization on a Western model. Within this discussion, I will describe Prost's plan, partly executed between 1936 and 1950, and the guide for much of the urban planning during the 1950s. My intent is to show how Istanbul's physical transformation was the outcome of two ideologically different programs: the first in the 1930s and 1940s, with the purpose of secularization; the second in the 1950s, to realize modernization, in Habermas' words, in terms of "social-scientific functionalism."

Finally, this study reveals that Istanbul's urban reconstruction was a convergence of three factors, bringing about the Turkification of Istanbul and reshaping the traditional urban identity. This investigation may further contribute to a better understanding of urban transformations in general.

# PORTUGUESE TRADITIONAL URBANISM: THE SYNTHESIS OF VERNACULAR AND INTELLECTUAL MODELS Manuel Teixeira

Portuguese urban morphologies have always been the result of a synthesis of vernacular forms and more erudite models of city building. This synthesis, which can be observed in different ways in different historical periods, may be regarded as one of the main characteristics of Portuguese urbanism, and, indeed, the hallmark of its urban tradition.

The Portuguese city was never the result of the mechanical application of abstract models. At all times the Portuguese city, even when inspired by rational and geometrical models, was closely adapted to the physical characteristics of the site, particularly topography. Careful adaptation to the topographical conditions of each location, taking advantage of the accidents of the site, was one of the main characteristics of Portuguese urbanism. The cities that resulted from this process of synthesis were not rigorously geometrical in plan. But the actual experience of their urban spaces nevertheless denoted a great sense of regularity, which was further valorized by the exploitation of the site's particularities: changes of level to emphasize particular buildings or monuments, the selection of hilltops for the location of institutional buildings, the exploitation of perspective, and the orientation of the main thoroughfares toward singular buildings.

Portuguese urbanism, while firmly grounded on tradition, did not refuse innovation. Throughout history, one witnesses a growing regularity to Portuguese urban layouts. New intellectual models were studied, accepted and absorbed, undergoing processes of synthesis with previous urban forms and concepts which, as always, synthesized vernacular and intellectual references. While tradition was not refused, it was not regarded as something immutable. Thus, Portuguese urban morphologies cannot be understood in terms of traditional versus nontraditional forms. The most rational layout has vernacular elements embedded in it, whereas the apparently most unplanned settlement has a measure of rationality and geometrization. In the most perfect synthesis, a regular layout is effortlessly articulated with the topographical conditions of the site and with the location of singular buildings in the topographically dominant locations within the city.

The detailed study of Portuguese urban morphologies from different historical times teaches us the basic characteristics of these processes of synthesis, and the way rational models may be successfully articulated with the physical structure of the site, as well as with the apparently unplanned processes of city growth with which tradition is usually associated. Tradition may be understood as an unbroken process of continuous recombination of elements from various sources, and of their adaptation to new needs. Understood in this way, tradition becomes a viable reference, and a necessary condition, for the construction of the contemporary city.

# SEARCHING FOR A NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE: THE ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY *T. Elvan Ergut*

The conventional classification of architectural production according to "national" categories provides ample evidence that the validity of a nationally divided world is also present in architectural thought. The basic assumption in these categorizations is the (often-unproblematized) acceptance of a relationship between architecture and a specific "nation": a specific quality attributed to architectural products as representative of a "national identity." The focus is, consequently, on architectural forms — i.e., on finding out the appropriate style to represent the nation, with the assumption that forms have intrinsic and stable meanings regardless of their contexts.

In most attempts to create or define national architecture, the use of historical forms generally seems to be taken as providing the sought-after national unity. A process of appropriation is operative in this search, as it does not ask questions as to who chooses specific roots as common to the nation, or why and how they are chosen. In order to question the formulations of such a unified national architectural identity, this paper will examine the contemporary accounts on "national architecture" during the early Republican period in Turkey. The analysis will draw on the critique of nationalism that explains it as a process that continuously changes according to varying factors, and it will consider architectural production as an integral part of this process.

Throughout the period the paper investigates, a continuous search prevailed in Turkey for an architectural identity that could be relevant to the proposed identity of the newly founded state. Thus, what underpinned this search for national architecture were the dichotomous formulations of national identity defined by nationalist ideology, especially those of past/future, traditional/modern, and East/West. Through the attempts made to deal with these supposed dualities, there existed various interpretations of the national in the architectural discourse. These interpretations provided multiple meanings that were generated in conceptualizations of both sides of the supposed dualities. Thus, the national meaning of architecture was invested in not only the "past," the "traditional," and the "East," but also in the "future," the "modern," and the "West" — and consequently in not only the "national" but also the "international."

By identifying and assessing changes and continuities in the discourse, the paper will attempt to problematize the concept of national architecture. This requires that concern not simply be limited to formal stylistic analyses meant to define national architecture as a real and stable entity, but extend to the inherent problematics of its definitions and production within the specific frameworks of particular political and social imperatives. The paper will argue that, for such problematization, the examination should not be based on supposed dichotomous formulations, but instead that various formations of the national in architecture between/beyond these dualities should be analyzed.

## C.6 TOURISM, CONSUMPTION, AND TRADITION

### PRESERVATION VERSUS PROFIT: RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN VILLAGE TOURISM IN CHINA

Puay-Peng Ho

Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

#### TRADITION FOR THE OTHER: ON VERNACULAR ARCHITEC-TURE AND TOURISM IN YONGDING COUNTY, CHINA

Duanfang Lu

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

### KALEKOY: A MEDITERRANEAN VILLAGE FROZEN IN TIME FOR GLOBAL TOURISTIC CONSUMPTION

Gaye Culcuoglu and Emine Onaran Incirlioglu Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

# MODERNITY OF TRADITION AND THE TRADITION OF MODERNITY: LEGACIES OF THE SPANISH VILLAGE AND THE GERMAN PAVILION AT BARCELONA

Donald Watts

Kansas State University, Manhattan, U.S.A.

#### UZBEKISTAN: IN THE SHADOW OF TRADITION

Manu Sobti

Georgia Institute of Technology, U.S.A.

### PRESERVATION VERSUS PROFIT: RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN VILLAGE TOURISM IN CHINA

Puay-Peng Ho

Villages in China were never portrayed as tourist attractions until about five years ago. In the past, villages were seen as backward economically and undeveloped culturally. City residents, who are now avid tourists due to their recent economic empowerment, regarded villages as dirty, chaotic, and without attraction as tourist destinations. This has changed. Many local governments have now come to see tourism as a way to boost the local economy. In the process, they have constructed images of the villages that are partly real and partly invented. As fitting with these observations, much of heritage and way of life of the people of the three villages studied here has been kept, however, much has been mutilated to serve the tourist trade. This paper will explore the various forces involved in this recent development in village tourism, including regulatory control, commercial ventures, and heritage preservation, and their impact on indigenous villagers and the built environment.

The first village discussed is Hongcun in southern Anhui province in central China. Well-preserved, it has received provin-

cial-level protection and promotion as a tourist site. The village is close to Huangshan, a mountain of exceeding natural beauty; thus, it is able to draw from the millions of tourists who visit the mountain. Tourist activities at the village are managed by a commercial venture with little regard to the opinion of the villagers. Many stories about the village are created to amuse the visitors.

The second village discussed is Lijiang in Yunnan province in southwestern China. It was designated as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1998. Lijiang has now grown to be a small city, with the ancient village/town preserved in its heart. Being one of a very few UNESCO-designated sites in China, both the provincial and city governments intend to develop the city into a popular tourist designation. They have successfully turned Lijiang into a city that focuses primarily on tourism. In the process, traditional culture is revived and re-presented, while the daily life of the inhabitants is marginalized.

The last village explored is Pingshan in Hong Kong, now under Chinese sovereignty. It is the first village in Hong Kong where a heritage trail was established through the few preserved buildings. The Hong Kong Tourist Authority now promotes the village in its special programs, and many local tourist groups visit the village on weekends. Presented as the best-preserved village in Hong Kong and as steeped in Confucian tradition, in reality, most of the original houses have disappeared, and much of its architectural heritage serves equally to show off the wealth of individual families as it does to display Confucian values.

All three sites investigated in this comparative study were developed as tourist designations primarily for economic purposes. The paper will discuss the problems and opportunities lost in this process. In the interest of profit, history and values have been selectively invented, heritage preservation has been sidelined, and the interest of the inhabitants have been ignored. The study will conclude with lessons to be learned for village tourism in China.

#### TRADITION FOR THE OTHER: ON VERNACULAR ARCHITEC-TURE AND TOURISM IN YONGDING COUNTY, CHINA Duanfang Lu

This paper explores the changing meaning of tradition through the case study of shifts in residential building types and the impact of the tourist presence on people's attitudes towards tradition. Located in a remote mountainous area in southeastern China, Yongding County has long served as a safe haven for the Hakka people. For many reasons, its traditional settlements did not change too much in physical terms between 1949 and the late 1970s. Since 1978, when a series of economic reform programs began at the national level, the county's landscape has been greatly reshaped. The transformation is especially conspicuous in dwelling patterns, as many families have now earned enough money to build new houses according to their own preferences. Changes in cultural values and living patterns have been firmly inscribed into the newly built dwellings (although certain spatial characters of traditional houses do persist). The desire for modernity has also driven local people to employ international architectural styles to construct their homes.

The paper finds that, with increasingly modernist houses built in the region, especially in the county's major towns, traditional houses have increasingly been associated in the local mentality with poverty, lack of progress, and discomfort. Yet, at the same time, the traditional houses of the county — particularly its huge, round, rammed-earth dwellings — have attracted the attention of architectural researchers and visitors from both home and abroad. And the tourism potential of such houses has triggered a rediscovery in recent years of the value of indigenous building traditions among local people. To develop the tourist industry, the local government has mobilized many century-old earth houses, as well as some conventional cultural practices. Hence, while local people have a desire to consume modernist housing and present a modern image of themselves, they are preserving and marketing their traditional dwellings as desirable objects for the consumption of outsiders.

The paper suggests that these two ongoing processes have given rise to an intriguing experience of the modernization process. On the one hand, as modern architecture and living patterns have been intensively integrated into the local setting, they are no longer viewed by locals as something foreign, and "the other" (modern culture) is being assimilated as part of the "self" (dominant local identity). On the other hand, a certain part of the "self" (in this case, traditional houses) is increasingly being alienated and associated with "the other." Here "the other," ironically, includes two very different groups of people: tourists, who are characterized by abundance of choice (wealthy enough to travel and enjoy the experience of visiting traditional houses, but not to have to live with all their inconveniences); and the local, economically marginalized population, characterized by their lack of choice (aspiring to live in modern houses, but stuck in traditional houses due to their relative poverty). The findings of this paper will not only open some important avenues for rethinking the meaning of tradition in the local process of globalization, but also provide a concrete example for comparison with the experiences of modernity in other places.

### KALEKOY: A MEDITERRANEAN VILLAGE FROZEN IN TIME FOR GLOBAL TOURISTIC CONSUMPTION

Gaye Culcuoglu and Emine Onaran Incirlioglu

In a recent tour book, Turkey is described as a country where life still moves at a slower pace and there is time to appreciate the simple pleasures. Kalekoy, a village on the Mediterranean coast near Antalya, Turkey, is one such holiday location, upon which this paper is based. Kalekoy is frozen in time because of the government's building and historical preservation codes that prohibit new construction. The villagers rely on tourism as a significant source of income. Restricted access to Kalekoy — only by sea — and the limited amount of available lodging contributes to its attraction for tourists.

Located on the site of the ancient city of Simena, which was a part of the Lykian civilization, Kalekoy provides a major attraction for touristic consumption. Stone tombs that remain both on land and in the sea as remnants from Simena are among the signifi-

cant symbols of the famous blue voyage of the Mediterranean, and have become a global commodity to be consumed. Some aspects of Kalekoy's commodification include a number of locally specific features, such as the Citadel (after which the village is named), small shops which carry touristic items, and shoreline restaurants which serve not only fresh seafood but also samples of Turkish cuisine. However, some global interests and activities that are placeless, such as water sports, glass-bottom boat rides, and boat rentals, are also integrated into the commodification of Kalekoy.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork in 1999 and 2000 and interviews with both local residents and tourists, this paper focuses on the dynamics and contradictions in the lives and expectations of these two sets of people. How do villagers and tourists construe the meaning of this village which is frozen in time for global touristic consumption?

#### MODERNITY OF TRADITION AND THE TRADITION OF MODERNITY: LEGACIES OF THE SPANISH VILLAGE AND THE GERMAN PAVILION AT BARCELONA Donald Watts

It seems particularly appropriate in this millennial year to reflect upon the temporal dimensions of world expositions and what they imply about tradition. While the dominant image of such events is clearly a celebration of the new, a closer look at such expositions reveals the frequent presentation of traditional cultural content. This display of traditional culture may simply serve as a foil for the celebration of the new, but it can also play a more substantive political and economic role. At a still deeper level, expositions have long been known to outlive the short time span of the original event, and so serve long-term economic-development agendas. Expositions therefore become an important part of the history of their urban environs, and make vital contributions to the traditional content of their cities over the duration of decades and centuries. Where else but the Eiffel Tower would Parisians choose to ignite the celebration of the millennium?

This paper focuses on one specific world exposition, the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona, and the shifting contexts of tradition. Two exhibits at the exposition, the Spanish Village and Mies van der Rohe's German Pavilion, have undergone fundamental transformations in their existence, and today serve as testaments to the dynamics of social and disciplinary memories. This paper compares the original design intentions and 1929 public/scholarly impact to the current-day life and significance of both designs. The seventy-year history of these structures presents a provocative reappraisal of the interconnectedness of tradition and modernity, and demonstrates the long-term significance of world expositions to both the host location and the rest of the world.

Pueblo Espanyol, or "Spanish Village," and the German Pavilion can be seen today as exemplars of the potent artistic movements underway in Europe in the 1920s. The Mies design presented the spatial illusion, horizontality and abstraction of early modernism. The temporary pavilion epitomized the premise of a radical break

from the past and an ideal presentation of the future. The designers of Pueblo Espanyol, Francesco Foluera and Ramon Reventos, in collaboration with artists M. Utrillo and Xavier Nogues, created a romantic synthesis of noteworthy vernacular art and architecture from throughout the Spanish realm. The ensemble was built upon the picturesque urban design principles touted by Camillo Sitte, and it sought to assuage the deeper socio-political unrest that had been building within the Iberian Peninsula since 1917. Global depression, the Spanish Civil War, and World War II and its aftermath all served to distance the setting of the 1929 Exposition from the life of Barcelona for the next fifty years. But the 1980s saw an end to the Franco Regime and the onset of an ambitious program of urban projects dedicated to establishing Catalan Barcelona's new political and economic freedom and European identity. Montjuich, the tall hill upon which the 1929 Exposition was built, became reaffirmed as a major cultural and recreational center.

Within a vast array of projects built in Barcelona in the last twenty years, not the least of which was the construction of Olympic facilities, the Spanish Village has been reestablished as a desirable venue for fine and performing art. Its modern-day design transformation included attention to both internal physical infrastructure and mission. Impetus for renewed interest in the village came with the 1986 political movement toward greater regional autonomy. Whereas the architectural regions represented in the village did not always correspond well with the political regions of the 1920s, they correspond better since post-1978 democratic changes. The village was seen as the logical site for cultural activities, commerce (including conventions), tourism, and artist workshops. The new Spanish Village is a modern corporate enterprise that has synthesized the interests of architecture, entertainment, business and education.

The significance of the German Pavilion to the history of architecture is legendary, but the decision to rebuild this "temporary construction" reflects other important issues. The pavilion, dismantled in 1930, was reconstructed by the Barcelona City Council between 1983 and 1986. The commemoration of the masterpiece serves as a memorial for the lost generation of modern Catalan architects exiled during the Franco Regime. It also serves as a pilgrimage site for architects eager to see the growing number of modern masterpieces constructed in the new Barcelona. Lastly, the new pavilion represents a constructed tradition for modernism which is the antithesis of its creation and a testament to its passing into history. As with the Spanish Village, the German Pavilion has become a part of the living history of Barcelona.

#### UZBEKISTAN: IN THE SHADOW OF TRADITION Manu Sobti

On a recent tour of Tashkent, the capital of the republic of Uzbekistan, my young Persian-featured interpreter proudly showed me the city's large, European-style parks and newly renovated public buildings. Among these were the lavish Stock Exchange, sprawling new Indian- and Turkish-built hotels, and a

bevy of other monuments, including the massive, very Soviet memorial to the victims of the 1966 earthquake that destroyed much of the city. Although she also took me to the most significant mosques and *madrasas*, she was very surprised by my unusual interest in the run-down, winding streets of the old city, and in the ruins of structures that barely survived. She was even more astounded by my attraction for the huge, teeming bazaars, despite their blaring Western music, including the *macarena*.

Her careful English and Gucci handbag betrayed her cultural sympathies, although she was full of what she considered useful information: the population of Uzbekistan is 2.5 million; Uzbekistan is the seventh largest source of gold in the world and has important supplies of uranium; it is the second largest producer of cotton; it is the most populous country in Central Asia and the site of its most historic cities. This was not my first visit to this part of the world — in fact it was my third — and I could not but help noticing how my interpreter eagerly attempted to "package" her country to me. She differentiated between an "ancient" past — now reconstructed and redecorated to seduce the hordes of expected tourists; a "precarious" present — fittingly demonstrated by brand-new pastel-colored hotels or high-rise towers; and, finally, a "constructed" tradition — which proved that the culture of the Silk Route was still very much alive.

While Uzbekistan is obviously not the only place where the rise of tourism and its socioeconomic and cultural ramifications have already begun to make deep inroads into how local people view and experience their past, it certainly is one of the very best. This paper concentrates on issues related to the growth of tourism and the fictitious (if not fake) reconstruction of tradition in Uzbekistan, using the much-advertised tourist-circuit cities of Tashkent, Samargand, Bukhara and Khiva as case studies. It discusses how an incredibly rich art and architectural tradition is today being used to serve the needs of a political system that places Uzbekistan's "public image," as the synthesis of the past and present, above everything else. Amir Timur has therefore been resurrected as a national hero, his buildings restored to their pristine condition, albeit rampant with historical inaccuracies. This includes adding floors to buildings where none existed, and applying sumptuous tile decorations to plain facades — all for grandiose visual delight. In addition, the concrete high-rises of the Soviet era are being replaced with tan-colored buildings (emulating the adobe construction in the old city), replete with domes and arches, designed to lend them a more authentic Eastern appearance for the modern-day Silk Route traveler in search of adventure.

## A.7 MUTATIONS OF LANGUAGE AND THE MAKING OF PLACE

#### **WORDS AND BUILDINGS**

Rosemary Latter

Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

FROM THE "CHINESE TOWN" TO THE "MEDINA": THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUI MUSLIM DISTRICT IN XI'AN

Jean-Paul Loubes

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INTRACULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS IN THE TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE: CAST(E)ING OFF THE CHAINS THAT BIND

William Duncanson

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

MAO'S CHINA: THE OPTION OF BEAUTY, THE ABSENCE OF HISTORY, THE END OF TRADITION

Jeffrey Hartnett

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#### WORDS AND BUILDINGS

Rosemary Latter

This paper starts from the premise that vernacular architectures are to the International Style as local dialects are to Standard National Language. A synopsis of examples from Europe will illustrate the breadth of expression in place names, construction techniques, methods and tools of building and the vocabulary used to communicate both product and process. Comparisons of areas rich in local building traditions show a corresponding vibrancy of language.

The disappearance of vernacular architecture and regional building traditions today is mirrored in the fading of living languages and dialects. Steven Pinker quotes the linguist Ken Hale in *The Language Instinct* (1994): "The loss of a language is part of a more general loss of diversity in all things." As many as 90 percent of the world's languages are threatened with extinction in the next century, largely because they are no longer spoken by children. They can be partially preserved by being recorded in texts, lexicons and dictionaries, or by use for ceremonial occasions. But a clear parallel exists with the fate of vernacular architecture as museology. Is this mummifying of oral and built traditions a sufficient response to the crisis?

The support of local traditions, both linguistic and architectural, is a complex and morally challenging issue, but the time to act is short. The craft skills and building knowledge that have been passed down through generations by conversations between

masters and apprentices are dwindling, and yet interpreting the activities and the processes of transmission is necessary for the continuation of this transferal. On the other hand, neither language nor building traditions are static objects. Changes in language reflect changes in methods, the introduction of new technologies, and modifications of purpose and intention.

It is widely acknowledged that by supporting minority languages, regional cultures are allowed to flourish; in Europe there are several institutions dedicated to this task. While the same claim may not be as vigorously sustained with regard to the buildings and settlements so vital to the cultural identity of communities, the conversations around skills and values are essential to the continuation of traditional practices. This paper suggests that there is much to be gained by understanding and perpetuating the language used in indigenous building processes.

# FROM THE "CHINESE TOWN" TO THE "MEDINA": THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUI MUSLIM DISTRICT IN XI'AN Jean-Paul Loubes

Located in a metropolitan area of Xi'an, ancient capital of several major dynasties in China, is the famous Great Mosque. This edifice, in the heart of the Hui district (the so-called Drum Tower district of 30,000 inhabitants), provides one of the more important tourist sites of Xi'an. The district's resulting wealth, when added to its existing economic vitality based on commerce, lies at the origin of a remarkable architectural transformation. This study focuses on the Hui people, whose centuries-old Muslim identity has recently come to express itself through contemporary vernacular architecture, an example of invented tradition.

This Muslim community in Xi'an had its origin in the Tang dynasty (seventh to tenth century). Since this time, the Hui people (Chinese Muslims) developed an architecture following the Chinese pattern of courtyard houses. This situation is now changing. The great economic power of the Hui, in conjunction with an almost total lack of building regulation, has led to the uncontrolled transformation of the urban and architectural form. This local "outlaw" situation offers an excellent context in which to analyze contemporary vernacular architecture. This term is a double reference. It refers on the one hand to architectural work by local people without institutional or professional support, based on their cultural background and their technical and economic resources. On the other hand, it refers to the architecture of today, employing modern materials and techniques such as reinforced concrete, glazed tiles, and modern metal windows, and including the invention of new plan and design solutions in other words, new types of houses.

From the 1980s, and especially between 1885 and 1990, a great change in the urban form of Drum Tower district first became apparent. The change has intensified since the period of strong economic development in China began in 1990. By 1998, nearly 70 percent of the district's area had been transformed according to new vernacular architectural designs. Until recently, the Hui people were

wary of expressing their Muslim identity by way of architecture, and in the past one could not observe differences between Han houses and Hui houses. But the revival of pilgrimages to Mecca, authorized since the 1980s, and increased contacts between the Hui and other Muslims worldwide, opened them to new architectural references. The Hui are now well aware of Arabo-Islamic architecture found in many countries in the East, and have adopted many of these references and imitated many of its figures. After centuries of simply producing typically Chinese architecture, Hui architecture now emphasizes differentiation. In this way, the Hui have affirmed their identity and reinforced their distinctive characteristics.

The current period represents a fundamental turning point in the history of Hui architecture, and is not limited to housing. A progressive transformation of their mosques has also occurred. In the past these were organized according to the pattern of the Chinese temple. Today a new urban scenery has appeared as arches have been incorporated into the design of windows, doors and cupolas. These signs clearly are intended to identify an Islamic space.

As a final question, the paper asks why Chinese authority in the field of urban regulation and building control is disappearing in the Hui district? In particular, what have been the conditions that have allowed the transformation of the traditional low Chinese town to the multistoried town (three or four stories, with accessible terraces roofs) characteristic of this new modern vernacular architecture.

# INTRACULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS IN THE TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE: CAST(E)ING OFF THE CHAINS THAT BIND William Duncanson

Often receiving less press than its majestic flora and fauna are Nepal's numerous and diverse material cultures. For nearly two millennia hundreds of distinct Buddhist, Muslim, Animist and Hindu cultures have coexisted. Each has cultivated its own material tradition. This ostensible efficacy, however, belies the true dynamic of intercultural relations. Nepal is a Hindu kingdom, and the stricture of ritual purity has been the law of the land for the better part of recent history. While individual material cultures thrived with relatively little persecution, individuals were required to be complacent with their preordained occupations. While Hindu fatalism ensured that this system would not be challenged for the duration of Nepal's archaic form of feudalism, tensions between the castes could not be avoided.

1956 saw Nepal's entry into the annals of development with the first of its five-year plans. Nepal's primary stumbling block to development was that 95 percent of its population practiced subsistence agriculture. Clearly, some of this population was needed to perform other tasks, and all of the population needed to become part of the new cash economy. Education in both the sense of agricultural reform and the traditional classroom became priorities. Today, schools can be found in the most remote areas of Nepal's famously onerous landscape, and surely both forms of education have provided the tools necessary for Nepal's untouchables to alter the outcome of their ritually defined existence.

In this paper I will demonstrate how "education" has begun to modify the natural trajectory of material culture development in the traditional landscape as a result of tensions created by caste consciousness. I will provide a case study of the Dungura Tharu village of Salbwori in rural Nepal. The Tharu are pastoral animists and as such are "untouchable"; it is they who played serf in the feudal drama of medieval Nepal. The Tharu have a building tradition whereby the well-being of the house directly correlates to the well-being of crops, and consequently the family. Thus, the Tharu have a vested interest in maintaining their building tradition, as it is an integral part of farming life. However, not all Tharu are satisfied with being simple farmers any longer. All members of the village are engaged in varying degrees of becoming what Prashuram Chaudary calls "modern Tharu."

Prashuram Chaudary is the village leader and English teacher at the local high school. Prashuram is actively applying this notion of the "modern" to his own domestic environment. He sees the future of his family, his village, and the Tharu as a battle to acquire status in Nepal's ongoing process of egalitarian reform. His education and profession make him an extreme example; however, he is far from alone.

# MAO'S CHINA: THE OPTION OF BEAUTY, THE ABSENCE OF HISTORY, THE END OF TRADITION Jeffrey Hartnett

More than two thousand years ago Western architecture's first and still "primary source," the Roman Vitruvius, published his famous dictum concerning the requirements of buildings: "durability, convenience, and beauty." One could claim this triad of qualities has essentially guided the efforts of mainstream designers of the physical environment in the West ever since. Vitruvius' writings can therefore be considered the cornerstone of Western architectural history, and his singular work, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, has had particularly immense and long-lasting value.

Within the last fifty years, just a few words from the Communist leader, Mao Zedong, arguably had a relatively similar, if reverse, effect in modern revolutionary China; he authored this Party slogan concerning the useful arts: "utility, economy, and, if conditions allow, beauty." Mao envisioned Beijing to have "a sky filled with smokestacks." The obvious parallelism with Vitruvius (noting the "option of beauty") leads to a comparison with the current state of frenzied building activity which has consumed China in the last twenty years, ever since Mao's successor, Deng Xiao-Ping, released the energy of his people with his slogans "capitalism with Chinese characteristics," and "to get rich is glorious."

Recently, for example, the building sites of Shanghai, now almost emptied of the fabric of *hutongs/lilongs*, the tight traditional neighborhoods that for centuries served as the focus of both commercial and familial daily life, employed almost half of the construction cranes in the world. This building activity now consuming China's cities, for both private gain and national prestige, is on a scale unprecedented in human history — on another

scale completely to what is happening in the media-saturated rethinking of Berlin. This reality should not be ignored by the West, but instead it should be analyzed to understand its meaning and significance. This paper attempts to "balance the scale," to recognize the scale and violence of China's urban transformation.

In China, the sensitively rendered words of calligraphy and the evoked "empty" landscapes of watercolor paintings, twin markers of beauty, were never connected to the mundane and utilitarian practices of building construction, always of little interest to the literati. Architecture was not traditionally considered in China to be a part of the fine arts; however, over the course of over four millennia, Chinese architecture, her concepts of nature, of the landscape, and of urbanity and building typology, remained remarkably consistent and unchallenged. There existed a system of great cohesion, across society and over time, an extraordinary situation given the immense disturbances of Chinese history. This place-making tradition linked China's people in a way similar to that of her system of character-writing.

In a manner parallel to Vitruvius, the Beaux Arts-trained husband-and-wife team of Liang Sicheng and Lin Wheiyin invented Chinese architectural history with the writing of their treatise A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture in the early 1940s. However, just as the discipline of Chinese architectural history was being invented, a feverish desire emerged, promoted by Mao's own words, to embrace new forms and techniques from the West. But in this surge toward modernity and the new, what are the Chinese forfeiting of the old, of their past? The irony is that when history did not exist, their built environment formed the stable matrix of their lives. Yet simultaneous with their invention of history, the value of history seemingly evaporated, resulting in a type of cultural amnesia. The remarkable personal story of Liang and Lin, those aspiring bridge-builders back to tradition, mirrors China's tragic century; their story demonstrates how a single individual, Mao, was largely responsible for an entire country losing confidence in their ancient heritage, just at the moment when it seemingly needed it most.

## B.7 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE POLITICS OF SPACE

### REBUILDING BOSNIA, AN INTERNATIONAL PROJECT FOR THE CITY OF MOSTAR

Judith Bing
Drexel University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

#### IMPORTING ARCHITECTURE: THE CASE OF BEIRUT

Elie George Haddad and Charles Meyer Lebanese American University, Byblos, Lebanon

### ISRAELIZING JERUSALEM: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE POSTWAR ARCHITECTURAL DISCIPLINE

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan Technion, Haifa, Israel

### TABULA RASA AS TRADITION: REBUILDING MANCHESTER AGAIN

Eamonn Canniffe University of Sheffield, U.K.

## REBUILDING BOSNIA, AN INTERNATIONAL PROJECT FOR THE CITY OF MOSTAR

Judith Bing

Since 1994, architecture, historic preservation, and urban design students and faculty from the U.S. and abroad have participated in summer workshops addressing the postwar reconstruction of the city of Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is an account of five summers' workshops, initially based in Istanbul and later in Mostar, an unfolding story of a project intended to continue until the historic city center and great Ottoman bridge are rebuilt, the divided city restored to unity, and multicultural harmony revived. Examining the place of academic investigation and student participation in such an immediate and difficult setting far from the familiar studio context, this account will also explore the processes of learning from and adapting to a multiple, layered and ongoing project. Further, it will convey the frustrations, gratifications and accomplishments of an ambitious international collaboration.

The "Mostar 2004" international workshops were initiated by Dr. Amir Pasic, an architect, planner and preservationist from Mostar, as part of his goal to reconstruct the city's historic core within ten years of its destruction during the war in Bosnia. Begun by Pasic as a pilot workshop in Istanbul in 1994, this initiative has spread beyond summer workshops to include design-studio and thesis projects at various universities in Europe, North America, and Australia. It has also gained continuing support from international institutions concerned with Bosnia's lost heritage. Involved

in architectural research in Yugoslavia since 1987, I have participated as a workshop faculty member since 1994, and I have brought students from my university to the workshops since 1998.

Workshop initiatives have ranged from broad environmental and urban design proposals to focused preservation plans for individual sites in preparation for potential funding. Projects may address water distribution and treatment in the Neretva River Valley, or centuries-old materials and construction details, fusing traditional with contemporary concerns. At whatever scale, all proposals strive to mend the war-damaged, culturally and emotionally divided city. Whether idealized or practical, these schemes have hardly kept pace with the pressing need for rebuilding, however. Nevertheless, the pedagogical potential of Mostar 2004's mission is undeniably rich, and many provocative questions have arisen.

Among the questions that have arisen are the following. What roles can architecture, preservation, or urban design students play in the complex processes of postwar reconstruction in a place as physically damaged, culturally ravaged, and economically fragile as the small Bosnian city of Mostar? If student contributions are not easily defined or accomplished within limited workshop time frames, what educational goals can be addressed? Who benefits more from the workshop efforts — students or residents? Thinking regarding these questions has evolved with the Mostar 2004 project, which has now expanded in focus to include the priorities of project planners, student and faculty participants, and funding agencies. This paper will highlight these concerns.

#### IMPORTING ARCHITECTURE: THE CASE OF BEIRUT Elie George Haddad and Charles Meyer

This paper will address the issues raised by this conference by looking at architecture and urban planning in Lebanon, a country which underwent major upheavals in the twentieth century, from Ottoman rule, to French colonial domination, to a shaky independence interrupted several times by civil war.

Lebanon's wars have, in essence, been based on a conflict over identity, a conflict that now, for the first time perhaps, appears in the schizophrenic manifestation of two opposite yet equally reactionary tendencies. On the one hand is the desire to "recover" a supposedly national or regional style — one that at best mimics the superficial architecture of the Arab Gulf countries. On the other hand there is an architecture of imports — and not only imports of poorly assimilated models for new structures, but also of whole town plans, such as those recently applied in and around the capital.

In the 1950s and 1960s Lebanon experienced a "golden period" of architecture, one during which a certain intelligent assimilation of international modernism took place, resulting in interesting examples of regional modernism. This was followed during and after the war by a loss of values, and a surge of "false traditions" has now emerged, one which seeks to absorb this formal crisis and provide postwar capitalist enterprises (most of which survived the war by being involved in its financing) with

new images by which they may obtain legitimacy in the eyes of the global market. The uncritical application or import of such styles — be they deconstructionist, neoclassicist, or historicist — has been accepted today even within most schools of architecture, where a certain depletion of academic rigor has taken place. These schools now market and revel in the dissemination of "novelty," in a hopeless attempt to face modernity and postmodernity.

My presentation will be twofold. First, I will offer a general perspective on urban planning developments in and around Beirut since the end of the civil war, discussing their ideological underpinnings as well as the actual conditions of the crisis — especially in the case of the city center. Second, I will draw a tableau of the different manifestations of these architectures styles, showing some examples of their proliferation.

The condition of urbanism and architecture in postwar Beirut, compared to its sister cities around the Mediterranean rim, is rather dismal. Casablanca, Algiers, and other cities that also experienced a colonial era, have fared better in terms of their resistance to this schizophrenia — perhaps due to their slower economic growth and reluctant openness to the free market. What are then the possibilities that remain for an architecture that wants to avoid both Western dependency and a reactionary search for identity? Maybe a third way can still be found in a more critical modernism that emerges occasionally in this landscape of multiple forms, where a synthesis is still sought between tradition and modernity.

### ISRAELIZING JERUSALEM: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE POSTWAR ARCHITECTURAL DISCIPLINE

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan

Shortly after the 1967 War, during which Israel occupied East Jerusalem and the Old City, the Israeli government launched a massive building scheme to demographically Judaize the city and permanently unify it under Israeli rule. The dominant question at that time was how to convey Israeli sovereignty over the city in terms of its built form. How could the Israeli nation-state, which had an almost exclusively modernist architectural tradition, express its power over a city of prime historical and religious significance? Moreover, how could Israelis bring the meaning of their Jewish nationalism — the symbolic return of Jews to their biblical home — to bear upon the physical image of a previously Arab-ruled city?

The initial 1968 master plan the Israeli government offered for Jerusalem's (re)construction was highly modernist and technocratic. As such, its properties contradicted the propensity of nation-states worldwide to use architectural forms to evoke "national character." Uncertain about the plan and sensitive to intense international scrutiny, Jerusalem's Mayor, Teddy Kollek, recruited a committee of leading architectural professionals and critics to review the 1968 plan. Instead of the expected professional and moral approbation, the Jerusalem Committee forcefully criticized the plan's lack of attention to the aesthetic character of the holy city. This criticism paradoxically invoked the national sentiments ignored by state planners, subsequently provoking a direct confrontation between advo-

cates of the nation-state and of the architectural discipline — and between their respective institutions, ideologies and politics. The result was a dramatic break with the high modernism that had predominated in pre-1967 Israeli Jerusalem, a break which significantly influenced the contest over the visual meaning of Jerusalem.

This paper investigates the involvement of the international architectural discipline in changing the direction of the discourse on Jerusalem's urbanism within this intense political context. It focuses on a December 1970 meeting of the Subcommittee for Town Planning of the Jerusalem Committee. In this meeting, dignitaries such as Louis Kahn, Buckminster Fuller, Jaap Bakema, Christopher Alexander, Philip Johnson, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Bruno Zevi, among others, strongly criticized the modernist master plan of 1968. I will argue that the postwar architectural criticism they advocated bypassed the outdated modernist emphasis on program, order, and preoccupation with the present and future, in favor of a new emphasis on design as an operational mode, and on history, place and symbolism. Ironically, this new agenda enabled a new generation of Israeli architects not only to contest Arabs along the lines of progress, but also to confront them on symbolic terrain. Equipped with a new postwar critical orientation, Israelis could now appropriate the symbolic visual properties of Jerusalem — its vernacular, its skyline, its stone and light. In the years to come, while the city's prime religious institutions were clearly defined, the appropriation of its townscape and its vernacular would become a major issue in the political contest over possession of Jerusalem's past.

#### TABULA RASA AS TRADITION: REBUILDING MANCHESTER AGAIN

Eamonn Canniffe

The 3,300lb. IRA bomb which wrecked the center of Manchester June 15, 1996, created an immense reconstruction opportunity, whose implementation today has revealed attitudes toward urban space in a declining industrial city seeking to transform its fortunes. In parallel with historical views that have endured over two centuries, an attitude currently prevails in the city which equates radical change with progress, despite the disastrous failure of redevelopment projects of the 1960s and 1970s. A specifically Mancunian urban tradition can thus be discerned, one which consists of repeating cycles of radical erasure, ambitious transformation, and near-immediate popular revulsion at the consequences.

Since its emergence as an industrial center, Manchester has earned international repute for its commercial pragmatism, regardless of the social and urban consequences. Such a character was observed during the nineteenth century by shocked visitors from continental Europe. De Tocqueville and Engels, among others, remarked on the negative social consequences of the early industrial urban experience in Manchester. Meanwhile, its radical industrialized space was exported by Schinkel, and architecturally transformed into the beginnings of a new urban vernacular of brick, cast iron, and terra cotta in Berlin.

A certain native disregard for any building or space which might impede commercial activity is a defining element of the Mancunian urban tradition. Historically, the city was conditioned by the geometry and dimensions of the manufacture, storage and sale of goods. Originally, the space for the housing of numerous looms, leading to the erection of large uninterrupted warehouses. This was then followed by the open floor of the retail structure. Such a laissez-faire ethos extended from production to the social field, and inevitably to spatial definition and control as well.

More recently, a recognition of the aesthetic and cultural value of typical commercial structures and environments coincided, however, with a profound period of economic slump. The decade and a half before 1996 saw the emergence of planning strategies which emphasized historical context and patterns. But this conservationist interlude ultimately proved short lived, and more typical urban design attitudes have today reasserted themselves. With the decline of manufacturing, this has today resulted in a new strategy of demolition and reconfiguration, rooted in the retail and leisure sectors. Their needs are once again leading to a reformulation of space in the city, as reconstruction follows the rhythms of yet another economic cycle.

Today any attempt to defend the integrity of traditional environments in Manchester is deemed reactionary. A premium has been placed on the novelty of intervention, in illogical contrast to the recent efforts to preserve older industrial structures and environments. At the same time, new buildings and spaces are being created which pursue the commercial ends of their patrons without limitation, and threaten to eviscerate the urban structure of the nineteenth-century city. In particular, monofunctional blocks now dominate public open spaces, reducing them to corporate plazas subservient to corporate identities and providing a discontinuous cityscape ripe for the next process of erasure.

#### C.7 RECONFIGURING THE DWELLING

# RETHINKING TRADITION: ANOTHER LOOK AT THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MEANINGS OF THE TRADITIONAL THAI HOUSE

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### HOME COOKING, NOSTALGIA, AND THE PURCHASE OF TRADITION

Jean Duruz

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### LEAN SILVER BOXES AND LIVING TRADITIONS: THE CHANGING IDENTITY OF THE AUSTRALIAN KITCHEN

Jane Lawrence and Rachel Hurst

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### THE DIGITAL HALL: TECHNOLOGY AND THE TRADITION OF THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE

June P. Williamson

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# RETHINKING TRADITION: ANOTHER LOOK AT THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MEANINGS OF THE TRADITIONAL THAI HOUSE

Piyalada Devakula

This paper attempts to look at an artifact of the past — the traditional Thai house of the Chaophraya River Plain — through new eyes. Its goals are to explore the essential experiential characteristics of the traditional house, particularly those which may be appropriately interwoven into the fabric of urban Thai dwellings today, and to unveil the layers of meanings these essential characteristics convey.

With hermeneutic phenomenology as its philosophical ground, this in-depth exploration takes the form of four comparative case studies, each representative of a point in the line of tradition: an aesthetically acclaimed traditional house (1911); a lived-in traditional house (1933); an urban villa (1978); and a contemporary house which successfully captures the traditional spirit (1994). By juxtaposing the experiences of the houses from two distant points in the line of tradition, and through a layered descriptive and interpretive process, five essential patterns are found to emerge: the tree and *rom reun* quality; verticality and a hierarchical nature; enclosedness, compartmentality, drawing-in and enticing quality; graceful and refined nature; and memory and root. Each of the five patterns finds its meanings richly traceable to the various simple aspects of Thai culture. Together, the patterns and their mean-

ings give rise to a structure, or framework, which reveals the many facets of a dwelling place — tactile, social, spatial (with emotional, cognitive and cultural undertones), aesthetic and existential — as well as their interrelationship and significance to the human experience. By underscoring the long-deserved significance of the aesthetic and metaphysical aspects of place, this evolving place structure becomes evidently more encompassing than such prominent existing frameworks as Relph and Canter's models of place, or Maslow's "hierarchy of human needs," in which the aesthetic and the metaphysical are somewhat underdeveloped.

Over the course of the exploration it becomes clear that tradition may serve as a mirror to help foster understanding of the present world — the information-technology-driven urban jungle so contrasting to the peaceful realm of the nostalgic past. It is such simple things as everyday language and gestures that reveal themselves as a means by which traces of forgotten meanings from the past reemerge into light. In the end, the discoveries put forth in this paper raise a few issues surrounding the very idea of tradition — e.g., whether tradition should be viewed not as a "thing," but as a process in which the old interacts with the new, a selecting and filtering process wherein time is an essential agent.

### HOME COOKING, NOSTALGIA, AND THE PURCHASE OF TRADITION

Jean Duruz

This paper proposes to tease out meanings of "home" in everyday rituals and practices of shopping, cooking and eating (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol). Specifically, against a backdrop of uncertainty and anxiety at the beginning of a new century, it is concerned with intimations of home in Western postmodern/postindustrial imaginaries. According to Doreen Massey, we are now living in a time when, for some at least, "things are speeding up and spreading out." This is a time in which the discomforts of fragmentation, disruption, and "placelessness" are producing nostalgic longings for a secure world and for secure positionings within it.

Food has long been a practice of place-making — a means of renegotiating past, present and future; a means of drawing on memories, dreams and traditions; a means of acknowledging ambivalence and loss (Hage, Thomas). Daily practices of food growing, purchasing, cooking and eating become resonant sites for identity performance — for identity's perpetual renegotiations and "re-settlements" (Duruz). Nevertheless, food is not an unproblematic source of cultural sustenance. Anxieties about time-space compression include those connected with the globalization of cuisine — the apparent collapse of locality and seasonality (Mintz, Ripe). Foods, it seems, are available (at a price) at all times and in all places, with the figure of the global citizen offering poor recompense for "placeless" identities. Meanwhile, returning to the everyday spaces of the home, writers in the Australian popular press have pronounced the "death of the kitchen" and the coming of a generation who can't cook. So, what does "home cooking" suggest for societies where every day we are invited to simply "heat and eat"? What does home cooking mean when food shopping

involves judicious grazing on the products of a "multiculturalism of availability" (Hage)? How has "home" itself become a purchasable "style"? And whose meanings of "home" are being sold?

To explore the Western romance of "home" (including iconic kitchens with Bachelard's maternal/feminine at the hearth), nostalgic ruralism, and current reinventions of tradition, the paper will draw in a microcosmic fashion on Australian women's narratives of food and place, told from the Sydney beach-side suburb of Clovelly. These narratives stem from three sites — all small businesses concerned with food preparation substantially managed by women. Through narratives of bed-and-breakfast tourism, the establishment of a "homely" café, and the development of a business selling "meal solutions," the analysis traces nostalgic meanings of home and their commodification.

The paper concludes that we must do more than simply criticize late capitalism's flexible purchase of tradition to meet its own ends. Rather, we should address the "traditional" labor relations that underpin consumption of "home" in its latest guise, and unravel their political complexities.

### LEAN SILVER BOXES AND LIVING TRADITIONS: THE CHANGING IDENTITY OF THE AUSTRALIAN KITCHEN

Jane Lawrence and Rachel Hurst

A lavishly illustrated article in the collectors' edition 2000 of *Australian Belle* magazine featured a "lean silver box" of a kitchen, where "smooth fronted, deep cupboards sequentially conceal everything from the stereo system to the espresso machine and toaster." The travertine bench top and matching 3.6m. dining table stoically resist any sign of interaction and habitation. And this is no aberration, for many contemporary design magazines depict equally ambiguous spaces where the only clue to real function may be a disingenuously placed bowl of fruit artfully arranged by the stylist.

Is this an indicator of the end of the tradition of the kitchen as the preeminent site of domesticity within the home, or a manifestation of the chasm between everyday life and the projection of it through design media? Or is this androgynous and generic environment brought about by globalization and shifts in the politics of home?

This paper examines how the space of the kitchen, the objects within it, and the nature of its occupation demonstrate dichotomies between tradition and innovation, between practice and profession.

... alimentary habits constitute a domain where tradition and innovation matter equally, where past and present are mixed to serve the needs of the hour, to furnish the joy of the moment, and to suit the circumstance . . . such life activities demand as much intelligence, imagination, and memory as those traditionally held as superior. . . . In this sense, they rightly make up one of the strong aspects of ordinary culture.

- de Certeau, Giard, Mayol

The paper uses existing gastronomic and sociological discourse to make the case for food and cooking as a rich analogy for architecture and design. In particular, the relationships between high culture (architecture/haute cuisine), the vernacular (building/regional cooking), and the everyday (home/daily bread) are examined.

The study is situated within contemporary Australian culture, which has an uneasy sense of origin and defined heritage. This has been exacerbated by recent debates on multiculturalism and aboriginal reconciliation, which have pervaded both gastronomic and architectural discourse. The kitchens of influential Australian designers and cooks are compared with regard to expressions of cultural identity, material culture, convention, and creative processes. Juxtapositions are made between the realms of consciously designed kitchens, where innovation and originality are unspoken virtues — and consciously productive kitchens where recipes and rituals are fundamental.

Furthermore, the paper explores the binary separation between kitchen as a scientific workplace and kitchen as a site of recreation and sensuality. Citing the subversive practices of everyday life (de Certeau, Giard, Mayol), it considers and illustrates notions of permanence and ephemerality in attitudes toward the food we eat and the places we eat it.

#### THE DIGITAL HALL: TECHNOLOGY AND THE TRADITION OF THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE

June P. Williamson

Information and media technologists would have us believe that our quotidian existence will be completely transformed in the near future by the installation of "a microchip in every appliance, giving processing power to everything from credit cards to refrigerators." What will be the impact of this impending transformation on the most popular dwelling tradition in the United States — the single-family suburban house?

One possibility is that the new technologies will be used to maintain the hegemonic status quo, and to reinforce existing conditions of conspicuous consumption, escapism, and obsession with security that plague suburban environments. In this regard, North American domestic architectural "tradition" is often construed as a conservative, normative cultural force, as exemplified by the continued preference for "traditional" versus "contemporary" stylistic imagery. This particular definition of tradition is significant with respect to the ongoing discourse of place-making.

Alternately, the new technologies may act as a liberating force to (perhaps subversively) free domestic architectural typology from the stasis of normative design. This might be accomplished by facilitating acceptance of truly flexible plans, with reduced assumptions about lifestyles, identity, health, and family structure.

Instructive parallels may be drawn between current innovations and the changes that occurred early in the twentieth century, when a legion of labor-saving household appliances were developed and marketed to single-family homeowners. Accompanying this earlier technological infusion was a significant transformation of both house typology and familial structure, with the primary emphasis shifting to the servantless, nuclear family.

In this paper I will suggest the term "digital hall" to describe the new "space" within the home that supports these new technologies (it is more of a network of systems than a dimensionally bounded space). Ostensibly, the digital hall (like the souped-up kitchens and bathrooms of recent history) will house a new generation of household appliances and automated systems utilizing information and media technologies. These products and services may be classed into two groups: services focused on the regulation and protection of the internal home environment; and products that provide dynamic, interactive connections to the external world from this protected environment.

What are implications of current projections for how these systems will develop? One insidious side of the early-twentiethcentury history mentioned above (as well documented by D. Hayden, G. Wright, E. Lupton and others) concerned the role of white, middle-class housewives, who were depicted as leisured consumers rather than uncompensated laborers. Progressive housekeeping was opposed in the name of sacrosanct Anglo-American traditions. Who might end up playing the role of the "housewife" in the currently unfolding scenario?

Various pilot Smart House projects, such as "The Aware House" at Georgia Tech's College of Computing, will be examined to elucidate the debate about these technologies and the traditional single-family house. Conjectures will be made about how architects, developers, and home buyers might respond to these transformations. The primary question of this paper concerns the potential impact of these technologies on the quotidian life of the typical, "traditional" American suburban dwelling and its inhabitants.

## A.8 SITES AND AGENTS OF GLOBALIZATION

## THE ARCHITECTURES OF GLOBALIZATION: PLACES, PRACTICES AND PEDAGOGIES

Greig Crysler

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### COSMETIC HERITAGE: THE FABRICATION OF PEDESTRIAN SHOPPING STREETS IN SOUTH CHINA, 1993-2000

Jeffrey Cody and Wallace Ping-hung Chang Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

### FAMILIARITY ON THE FRONTLINES: ACCOMMODATING U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD

Mark L. Gillem

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

## MAIN STREETS AND SHOPPING CENTERS: BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND PLACELESS SITES OF CONSUMPTION

Gianpiero Moretti

McGill University, Montreal, Canada

## THE SHIFTING PRESENCE OF THE TURKISH VILLAGE: ARE THEY (STILL) IMPORTANT?

Alison Snyder

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

## THE ARCHITECTURES OF GLOBALIZATION: PLACES, PRACTICES AND PEDAGOGIES

Greig Crysler

Much of the early research on globalization focused on the reorganization of world markets and modes of production, and the interrelated "compression" of space through advances in communications technology and decreases in travel time. Over the last decade its implications have been extended to include a wide range of social, economic, technological and political issues. Discourses on globalization now span across both national boundaries and disciplinary divisions. Indeed, the geographical and disciplinary spread of the term is indicative of the very processes it attempts to describe.

Despite the disparate and fluid condition of the field, this paper will argue that research on globalization is characterized by a split between discourses that are primarily concerned with social processes and those that are spatial in character. Discourses on globalization in the social sciences tend to constitute space as a boundary condition or backdrop for social processes occurring at the level of the urban region, the national or transnational territory, or the globe itself. Even the world city, often cited as the preeminent artifact of globalization,

has been largely treated as an abstract "node" where global "flows" gather or intersect. The historical, ontological, experiential and signifying properties of space are often overlooked in favor of analyses that understand space as an outcome or container. Within this context, buildings and ensembles of urban space have been represented as indices of the large-scale social changes they are presumed to "reflect." At the same time, within architectural education, research and practice, debates on globalization have typically developed in relation to the design of architectural space. In some cases, globalization is equated with the "homogenization" of architectural signification; in others, it is represented through a duality that places discourses of hypermodernity in false opposition to those of critical regionalism, local traditions, and the phenomenology of place. In still other cases, globalization is treated as a form of technological determinism, in which computers figure as neutral tools of cyber-rationality and efficiency, or hermetic vehicles for experiments in "animate form."

This paper will move across disciplines in an effort to formulate critical links between the social and spatial discourses of globalization. Where possible, I will build upon recent research that has already moved in this direction (including recent contributions to IASTE conferences and TDSR). I will explore how process-oriented accounts might be related to architectural and urban space through three interrelated themes: places, practices and pedagogies. The first theme will argue that the emerging literature on diaspora and migration in the global city raises fundamental questions about "architecture's public" and the assumptions that underpin the imaginative and material production of "place." The second theme, on practices, will survey the extensive literature on the international division of labor and the globalization of professional services, and assess its implications for the professional practices of architecture, both within architectural firms and on construction sites. I will discuss how an emerging "politics of production" is transforming design in ways that have yet to be acknowledged within architectural culture. The final theme will consider how globalization is challenging many of the assumptions that currently underpin architectural education, not only through the "worlding" of student populations, but through changes in education's wider context of operation: the globalizing city. Though the paper will seek to establish a general relevance, consideration of these themes will necessarily be anchored in my own experiences in the U.S. academic system, and will, where possible, draw upon examples from San Francisco Bay Area architectural practices and institutions.

## COSMETIC HERITAGE: THE FABRICATION OF PEDESTRIAN SHOPPING STREETS IN SOUTH CHINA, 1993-2000 Jeffrey Cody and Wallace Ping-hung Chang

This paper focuses on a recent trend in an increasing number of southern Chinese cities: the refurbishing, upgrading and/or fabricating of historic facades in order to create pedestrian shopping streets. The first of these (1993-1997) was in Zhongshan (Guangdong Province); it was followed by others in Xiamen (Fujian), Guangzhou, Foshan (Guangdong), and Shanghai. The paper will argue that the celebration of this cosmetically altered

In the past twenty years, as southern Chinese cities have undergone rapid economic and social changes, most vernacular buildings have either been neglected or bulldozed in a pervasive craze for commercial gain. In southern China one of the most threatened building types is the shophouse (*shifang*). Many of these structures were erected between about 1900 and 1935, as adaptable, multifunctional, stylistically hybrid structures responsive to local climatic and cultural conditions. In the 1990s the adaptability of these buildings has again been demonstrated, since they are the structures that are primarily now being reclad, expanded and reconfigured to create new public places for shopping and socializing. The paper will use salient examples of these places, beginning with Zhongshan's Sunwen Street West, to highlight the transformation of traditional vernacular forms in the creation of more globalized outdoor spaces.

In Zhongshan, the municipal government has sought to find a solution that would be advantageous to both urban commerce and civic culture. The politicians' idea (which may have come from Macau's Leal Senado Square or San Ma Lo, Beijing's Liulichang, or any number of Western precedents from the latter half of the twentieth century) was to revive the city's faded glory while simultaneously increasing tourism. However, when the city-sponsored survey was completed, the mayor and his advisors awakened to the reality that Zhongshan inherited a tradition not just of one historically monolithic city, but also of a series of "urban villages." One of the most important of these was the central city neighborhood stretching along Sunwen West Street. Past memories were palpably featured by using etched photographic plaques mounted along the arcades. Planners tried to make memories manifest in built form to visitors and transmit the message of Sunwen West Street's "urban vitality" to today's residents. Urban designers paid attention to the original flavor of the hybrid form of shophouses, characterized by more Western facades and more Chinese plans. However, they added new ingredients to the original flavor in the form of sleeker signage, franchised fast-food restaurants, and dazzling neon lights that contrasted with the rehabilitated historic buildings.

The Zhongshan project has inspired other Chinese municipalities to rethink the commercial and cultural value of their urban architectural heritage. The paper will close by analyzing this proliferating trend and by elucidating its implications in the context of how pervasively local traditions — in China and elsewhere, and in the wake of new commercial realities — are being resurrected, coopted, trumpeted, and otherwise highlighted in the name of heritage tourism.

### FAMILIARITY ON THE FRONTLINES: ACCOMMODATING U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD

Mark L. Gillem

The U.S. military is without question a powerful agent of globalization. Not only do the armed forces implement both unilateral and multinational political agendas, but the men and women serving in the U.S. military also export their socio-cultural patterns to their host countries. From the Persian Gulf to Bosnia, U.S. troops are currently serving in nearly 100 countries as peacekeepers, security forces, and so-called nation-builders. Moreover, as represented by symbols of American life like strip malls, fast-food franchises, and suburban "garagescapes," these same troops allow key aspects of American culture to saturate U.S. military installations and their neighboring communities across the globe. These byproducts of capitalism and the commercialization and convenience they represent are elements of American culture that national borders cannot shut out. In many cases these elements infiltrate communities outside a military installation's gates. Pawnshops, tattoo parlors, and fast-food franchises spread like cancer around many of these installations.

One salient manifestation of American culture that follows U.S. troops around the globe is a suburban pattern of development characterized by low net densities, isolated buildings, and auto dependency. This pattern of development overrides traditional architectural and planning practices of the host country even though those practices may be more appropriate responses to local conditions. In most cases, the communities adjacent to U.S. military bases are characterized by high densities, mixed-use development, and pedestrian-oriented design.

In this paper I will compare the suburban settlement patterns of two U.S. Air Force installations to the urban settlement patterns of adjacent local communities. Additionally, I will expose the underlying socio-cultural and political forces that have shaped the development of these installations. In Europe, I will present the case of Aviano Air Base. Located in northern Italy, Aviano was first home to the Italian Air Force during World War II, before transitioning to a NATO installation after the war. In Asia, I will use Kadena Air Base as a case study. Located on the island of Okinawa in southern Japan, Kadena's patterns of development are strikingly similar to those of Aviano, and reflect a suburban model of development rather than the more urban patterns found outside the installation's main gate.

Both cases are illustrative in that they demonstrate the power of ingrained cultural practices over site-specific concerns. The settlement patterns found on the installation are the result of cultural practices that reflect an American tendency toward individualization, isolation and specialization. Moreover, these patterns have clear consequences that range from social inequity to environmental degradation. In the end, these installations ignore local planning methods and concerns and are powerful examples of specific consequences of globalization.

## MAIN STREETS AND SHOPPING CENTERS: BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND PLACELESS SITES OF CONSUMPTION Gianpiero Moretti

Trading, as an exchange activity, has always constituted an assembling and socializing element. Thus, market sites, primarily places for merchandise trading, have also functioned as meeting

places for various groups of people. They have served as sites for exchange between city and countryside, and between residents of one country or territory and others which produce uncommon goods unavailable locally. In the past, cities like Venice and Antwerp have built their fame in this way. As marketplaces, they served not only as places of economic exchange but also of cultural exchange, where the local and the global coexisted and produced peculiarities that, when added together, constituted the evolving knowledge and memory of a local community.

The transformation of both cities and their transportation systems after World War II radically transformed their commercial character. New buildings appeared to meet these new needs in the emerging suburbs of both cities. But these built types were spread to such environments without making allowance for local context. In an analysis of the West Edmonton Mall in Canada, Crawford (1992) noted how developers played a central role in shaping the way such new commercial areas are constructed. The developers' agenda, in turn, resulted in a standardization of procedures, sidestepping local realities in favor of abstraction.

If such global ways of making have been refined through the construction of suburban shopping centers during the 1960s and 70s, they also have provided a foundation for the renovation of many downtown main streets, where they have had to confront context. In both cases, the context gradually absorbs, through time, new realities dictated by a global perception. What are the dynamics between the global and the local forces in the setting up of contemporary urban trading places?

This paper aims to clarify the nature of the dynamics between global elements and the local conditions which constitute the implantation context, by engaging in a comparative analysis of the transformations of commercial streets in Quebec City's old districts and its newer suburban shopping centers. One can note reciprocal influences between these two types of trading structures. For instance, commercial streets have adopted and adjusted some of the shopping centers' properties (architectural forms, ownership patterns, etc.). Meanwhile, shopping centers have used scenographic interventions to allude to the traditional commercial street, and even sometimes directly imitate the local qualities of these streets. Thus, if global forces do have a prevailing influence at the moment of implantation, it seems that time can revive the original relationships that weave themselves at the local scale.

## THE SHIFTING PRESENCE OF THE TURKISH VILLAGE: ARE THEY (STILL) IMPORTANT? Alison Snyder

Turkey's rapid modernization, with an inclination toward Westernization, is influencing the reconstruction of social customs and the physical landscape in Anatolian villages and towns. Modernization has been part of the plan of the Turkish Republic since 1923, yet recently a combination of issues such as the economy, the environment, education reform, religion, national politics, gender status, and the advent of mass media have posed

extra challenges for rural populations. As a result, the social, spatial and visual impact of the indigenous landscape is breaking down and disappearing, as are the people with memories of ancestral land use patterns and associated social relationships. There are different rates of change, but lifestyle traditions and construction techniques previously linked to a distinctly localized region have begun to give way to a less specific and more global outcome. Soon, Turks from rural Anatolia will not be living in the sort of environments we see remnants of today.

A grouping of small Anatolian settlements from an area rarely surveyed to the east of Ankara was selected to form a baseline study model suitable for prototypical comparison. The settlements selected are surrounded by archaeological sites, yet have not presently been reshaped by tourism, as many others have been. Instead, the primary influences changing living patterns have been exerted from outside the region. They include increased wealth brought in by family members through employment in large Turkish cities or abroad, as well as rehabitation efforts resulting from government and private investment in large-scale infrastructure including a dam. Widespread problems such as the degradation of the vernacular fabric have also emerged as a result of the seasonal and permanent migration, the result of a variety of impetuses.

The concept and reality of modern living standards challenging the village are so powerful that a local official asked with cautious sincerity: "Are they important?" This study aims to show that studying preexisting settlements is crucial to evaluating the impacts of Turkish and global pressures now visible in the physical landscape and within the social and cultural environment. It offers insight into the complexity associated with the way traditions are being abandoned, retained or transformed by powers beyond the control of the local people.

Through examination of local memory, standing buildings, government parcel maps, and archaeological research, the study traces village morphologies back over approximately the last century. The varied patterns of segregated and shared public spaces and the rich evolution of existing, renovated and new private domestic complexes express traditions still interwoven. In recent years, an ad hoc style of hybridization has emerged rather than a clear set of new forms.

Rather than consuming and obliterating the existing culture, new solutions by planners, preservationists and designers should present alternatives that both acknowledge the past and enhance the possibilities presented by modernization and Westernization. Through this model, a positive concept of hybridization may emerge. The study also illustrates how the preurban pattern of compact building and rebuilding may be directly correlated to the larger study of urbanization, and to the relation between local and global culture at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

## B.8 THE RHETORIC OF TRADITION: THE CO-OPTION OF PARTICIPATION

## TRADITION AS YOU LIKE IT: TRANSFORMATIONS OF TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS IN KYOTO AND PLOVDIV FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Milena Metalkova-Markova Kyoto Institute of Technology, Japan

### URBAN INVASIONS AND NEW TRADITIONS OF SELF-BUILD CONSTRUCTION

Paul Simpson University of Glasgow, U.K.

### THE UNSTATED AGGRESSIONS OF TRADITION: PRESERVATION AT WHAT COST?

J. Brooke Harrington Temple University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

#### SHACKITECTURE: A NEVER-ENDING TRADITION?

John Webster

University of Tasmania, Launceston, Australia

## PLACING PEOPLE FIRST: PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES TO A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE IN TAMBACOUNDA, SENEGAL

Emmanuel I. Ede and Ekkehard Stückemann University of Hannover, Germany

## TRADITION AS YOU LIKE IT: TRANSFORMATIONS OF TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS IN KYOTO AND PLOVDIV FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Milena Metalkova-Markova

This paper attempts to discover a sustainable urban renewal approach for traditional districts of historic cities by means of a comparative study of residential dwelling transformations in Japan and Bulgaria. In both cases I have tried to clarify the understanding of tradition in two aspects: in the view of heritage planners or specialists; and in the view of the residents of traditional dwellings. In the scope of the study, the dwelling is defined as the relationship of etic and emic components from an anthropological perspective. Etic components are understood as universal environmental concerns, which can be objectified by science; emic components, by contrast, reveal social concerns as human realities of the milieu as lived.

The study reports on fieldwork from 1998-99, conducted in two traditional urban areas where patterns of approximately 100year old wooden merchant dwellings predominate: the Nishijin district in Kyoto, and Stariya grad in Plovdiv. A total of 100 residents in both cities were asked to fill out questionnaires about the house alterations they had made, their evaluations of their present house layouts, and their requirements for an ideal house. The adaptation projects of some residents were then discussed in interviews. Following this initial data gathering, residents' answers were classified into emic and etic concerns, and the proportion of such concerns to one another was compared in both countries. Meanwhile, the viewpoints of urban planners and heritage specialists were studied as expressed in their documents and design guidelines.

In relation to the traditional dwelling typologies studied, I argue that the proportion of etic/emic concerns in the evaluations of residents provides an important clue as to the fate of the dwellings (the gradual destruction or disappearance of *machiya* houses in the case of Japan; the eclectic renovation of dwellings in the case of Bulgaria). In both countries the triumphant priorities of the etic call out the inadequacy of sterile notions of tradition, and they reveal the gap, or discontinuity, between contemporary built housing and traditional housing.

The study arrived at several other main findings. First, the differences in perspective on traditional dwellings between residents and heritage specialists (eclectic approach versus pure conservation approach) showed the flexibility of the concept of tradition, which can, indeed, be adapted to suit various means and purposes. Second, residents in both countries generally gave priority to etic dwelling concerns, while heritage specialists by and large insisted on the preservation of the emic nature of traditional dwelling. Third, in residential transformations in both countries certain dwelling elements, considered contemporary and fashionable without regard to local historic context, appeared to be signs of globalization. Overall, one might conclude that the present historic city has no choice but to face the end of tradition in the old sense of strict authenticity, and instead search for a more complex emic/etic redefinition of resident-centered sustainable tradition.

## URBAN INVASIONS AND NEW TRADITIONS OF SELF-BUILD CONSTRUCTION

Paul Simpson

There is an overwhelming quantity of published work on the planning and development of cities in developing countries. Yet despite more than forty years of research, international conferences, United Nations programs, government legislation, and nongovernmental-organization initiatives, squatter invasions remain an endemic problem threatening the sustainability of such cities.

This paper is based on research being carried out by the author in Colombia, Mexico and India into typologies of squatter dwellings based on materials and methods of construction. Squatters who are rural migrants have often left or abandoned communities which had a sustainable ecology and a domestic architecture evolved over the centuries. Therefore, in addition to the typological analysis, the paper attempts to address two additional questions. How does the emerging urban tradition of "people's" architecture reflect this knowledge and these traditions? And how much has been abandoned along with urban migrants' previous ways of life?

My basic research investigated the following issues: the sources, prices and range of materials available to squatters in specific environments in Bogota, Cuidad Jaurez and Delhi; the skills available within the squatter communities of these cities; and the external help available to squatters in them. The way such settlements are planned, and the way territory is defined were also considered, as were the changing needs and resources of the inhabitants.

Urban planning in the cities of Latin America, Africa and Asia is the legacy of the colonial past, where policies with regard to construction standards, zoning, and slum clearance have long attempted to exclude people with very low incomes. In consideration of this legacy, illegal self-building and autonomous organization can be a partial solution to deteriorating urban environments, as Turner and Fichter described in *Freedom to Build* (1972). Squatter colonies have thus become a crucial and essential part of both urban and global economies, but at the expense of maintaining poverty.

One outcome of this research is a proposal for a pilot project to rebuild a well-established slum area in New Delhi. A cooperative venture between the New Delhi Municipal Council, the slum dwellers, and the author and his associates, it is aimed at establishing their rights as citizens and addressing some of the problems outlined above. A description of this proposal provides the conclusion to the paper.

## THE UNSTATED AGGRESSIONS OF TRADITION: PRESERVATION AT WHAT COST? J. Brooke Harrington

For the past fourteen years I have been working on studies of traditional buildings in the Balkans, and during the last ten years I have been planning for the restoration and adaptive reuse of sections within historic towns of the region. The traditional architecture of this area and its complex roots open a significant area of study and expose strong cultural attitudes. But the revelation of hates and prejudices that accompany the positive aspects of these cultural values and mores is disheartening. The notion of tradition unfortunately brings with it the desire to preserve the majority, and with this, one often sees that prejudices, distrust and hate are integral components of this notion. Indeed, in the Balkans there is great evidence that leaders of today still rally civilians and armies through cultural allegiances. For minorities to ignore such prejudices is easier than to escape persecution. The desire by people in the Balkans to obtain benefits through cultural alignment is too often achieved by creating the outsider, other or demon.

The question remains, however, how best to bring forth the highest, most utopian qualities of a culture and its created environments without supporting the jingoistic prejudices that are present as well. Preservation of historic physical environments serves demagogues who wish to ignore changing global conditions, yet rejection of traditional environments denies communities and individuals the heritage they need to set contemporary directions.

This paper will present a set of examples of the variations of cultural environments within the Balkans and explore further questions concerning how buildings and settings support cultural mores. The paper will reveal how for more than thirty years two generations of residents of the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia) moved away from their separate cultural biases, only to return to and reaffirm them as political changes once again brought national or tribal allegiances to the forefront. The rejection of family properties during the Tito era, the transformation of historic religious complexes as political control was returned to religious orders, and the significance of the Albanian tower-house complex as an expression of historic clan feuding practices are a few of the phenomena that will be presented.

Many formal and spatial qualities inherent in traditional buildings and settings are universally appreciated, but as stylistic techniques are revealed, cultural prejudice begins to shroud the pleasures of the eye and body, and architectural places become critically questioned or rejected. This phenomenon is not unique: in our own architectural culture, pride of origin or interpretation of source recasts our acceptance of built places. In truth, places are only empowered by the observer and daily user, and we should recognize the manifest and latent aggressiveness present in our lives and architecture.

#### SHACKITECTURE: A NEVER-ENDING TRADITION? John Webster

Shack: noun. Small flimsy building: a small crude building typically made of boards or sheets of material, usually without a foundation. [Late 19th century. Origin uncertain: perhaps via Mexican Spanish jacal, wooden hut, from Nahuatl xacalli.]

Architecture: noun. Building design: the art and science of designing and constructing buildings. Building style: a particular style or fashion of building, especially one that is typical of a period of history or of a particular place.

The word "shackitecture" describes the concept of a conscious idea and intention that underlies the design process of shack builders. This paper will draw on a article by Hubka, where he stated, "We can no longer accept the notion that vernacular architecture building is unselfconscious. It is the product of thought, constructed by intelligent, conscious human beings who generally know what they want and who have methods for achieving it."

Owner-built shack settlements, in remote and isolated locations for recreational purposes, are an established tradition in Tasmania. These settlements provide interesting case studies in the development of what might be called a post-traditional shackitecture. The locations are both in high-altitude alpine regions as well as more temperate coastal regions. The main generator for settlement is sea and lake fishing. The primary characteristics of Tasmanian shack development are their isolated location, access by dirt road, lack of nearby shops or support services, and lack of electricity or sewage. Since the majority of owners are low-income families, financial constraints and construction logistics, coupled with the remote locations, require the use of innovative and logical forms of construction development — the same difficulties that the vernacular forms of the first European settlers had to overcome.

In a conference which will be concerned with a specific historical moment, one where a seemingly all-consuming late capitalism is leveling differences and particularities, the study of this "postmodern" vernacular tradition in Tasmania can make a contribution to the conference question: The End of Tradition?

### PLACING PEOPLE FIRST: PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES TO A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE IN TAMBACOUNDA, SENEGAL

Emmanuel I. Ede and Ekkehard Stückemann

Agenda 21 has specifically emphasized that the well-being of human beings should remain at the center of concerns for sustainable development. Based on this principle, the problems with which most Third World countries are confronted cannot be fully addressed without drawing on existing local knowledge and traditions, as well as on people's capacity to organize and make decisions collectively.

Tambacounda is a colonial city in southeastern Senegal — the seat of regional government and a commercial center with a predominantly rural character. Often referred to as "forgotten Senegal," it has suffered from severe socioeconomic problems in recent years, some of the most sever of which are poor housing conditions and a high rate of unemployment. In addition, the city was devastated by flooding in 1997. Statistics now indicate this flooding left more than 200 families without habitable shelter, adequate infrastructure services, or other facilities. Attempts by both the central and local governments to provide help have been ineffective, largely due to limited financial resources. Tambacounda is in desperate need of a reconstruction strategy that will enable its residents to attain sustainability.

This study of Tambacounda emphasized the issue of sustainability within the framework of urban development. What is ultimately needed is a long-term strategy that will address both the social and economic development of the urban population while also safeguarding the environment. The study examined the most affected residential area of the city, the Quartier Dépôt. Data collection here involved a series of discussions with organizations and governmental institutions, interviews based on predetermined questionnaires, creation of measured drawings, and a detailed study of several specific residential compounds. The questionnaires were structured to emphasize five areas of investigation: physical structure and settlement pattern, infrastructure and services, cultural and socioeconomic factors, construction methods and techniques, and housing finance possibilities.

The presentation consists of three sections. The first gives a brief description of the area under investigation, and presents a historical overview of traditional African architecture and the development of pre- and postcolonial African urban environment. In the second part, the collection, analysis and interpretation of data are discussed. In the last part, conclusions are drawn and recommendations in the form of design guidelines and strategy formulations are presented.

## C.8 CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE SPACE OF RESISTANCE

## INFORMALITY AND EVERYDAY URBANISM: BETWEEN PLANNING PRACTICES AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN CONTEMPORARY CAIRO

Omar Nagati

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#### INDIGENOUS PLANNING

Ted Jojola

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## CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE SPACE OF RESISTANCE: TADEUSZ KANTOR'S AND DANIEL LIBESKIND'S TECHNOLOGY OF ANAMNESIS

Michal Kobialka

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## TRADITIONS AND THE SPACES OF RESISTANCE: TAOS INDIANS' CONTESTATION FOR BLUE LAKE, AND AN "INDIAN MEMORIAL" AT THE LITTLE BIG HORN BATTLEFIELD

Lynn Paxson

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### REGIONAL INFLECTIONS: A STUDY OF THE PASSAGE AND MALL AS CIVIC CONNECTORS

Sevinc Yavuz

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## INFORMALITY AND EVERYDAY URBANISM: BETWEEN PLANNING PRACTICES AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN CONTEMPORARY CAIRO

Omar Nagati

This paper will investigate the current debate of informality and everyday urbanism in the context of a number of ongoing urban planning schemes in Cairo: the medieval city, and the "informal" settlements. It argues that there is a discrepancy between state-declared economic policy and the political discourse of deregulation, and ongoing top-down planning strategies. This conflict has resulted in a continuing struggle over space — and over its definition, particularly the notion of what is "public."

Postcolonial cities in both the First and Third Worlds are facing a process of informalization. While state institutions are increasingly withdrawing, and regulated economies are gradually being dismantled as part of neoliberal policy, parallel processes of urban informality have appeared as a result of rural migration to Third World capitals and labor migration to First World metropo-

lises. In such a context, the juxtaposition between urban poverty and gated communities has been compounded by a struggle over the use, imagery and meaning of public space, leading to a conflict between formal and informal spatial practices. Trying to catch up with these urban transformation processes, and in concert with the increasing interest in social theory, planning strategies and academic literature have in the last few years started to flirt with the concept of the "everyday" as an alternative approach to the accommodation of, and reconciliation with, informality.

In contemporary Cairo, as in many other cities in the developing world, economic-reform policies and structural-adjustment programs have created a new set of urban realities in the last two decades — namely, the privatization of public institutions, the increasing role of NGOs and international agencies, and a rising discourse of human rights and civil society. Planning policies, however, are still operating within an authoritarian framework that condemns informal spatial practices as illegal and illegitimate. This discrepancy between economic policy and planning strategy, creating an inconsistent and convoluted political discourse, is what this paper addresses through an analysis of its spatial implications.

Such tension between acknowledgment and delegitimization of informality is particularly apparent in two areas in Cairo. First, the medieval city has gained increased attention following the 1992 earthquake, the rise of a diversified tourist industry, and major urban restructuring processes carried out during the 1980s and 90s (particularly in terms of infrastructure, road networks, and new communities). Second, stimulated by an emerging business class, these processes of urban restructuring have brought the so-called "informal" districts into the focus of planning policies. Community groups, funding agencies, and the state planning bureaucracy are today all undertaking major development projects in these neighborhoods, which in some parts of the city constitute as much as 80 percent of the built-up area.

Looking at a number of specific planning schemes in particular sites, the paper intends to examine the new dynamic between these players and their claims of legitimacy over space. The projects examined range from architectural conservation, urban renewal and upgrading, to efforts with an explicitly socioeconomic and environmental agenda. The paper aims to shed new light on the relationship between discourses of civil society and the spatial practices they imply.

#### INDIGENOUS PLANNING Ted Jojola

What we ask of America is not charity, not paternalism, even when benevolent. We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action.

—Declaration of Indian Purpose, American Indian Chicago Conference, June 20, 1961.

Nearly two generations have passed since the convocation of the mostly young, idealistic native scholars and activists at the American Indian Chicago Conference of 1961. Its purpose was to involve Indian leaders in updating the 1928 Meriam Report on the condition of and federal policies toward American Indians. One irrefutable aspect of the Chicago conference was that its deliberations consigned non-natives to a "consultancy" status. This meant that non-natives were allowed to speak only after native participants had recognized them.

When this experience was taken back to Indian Country, something truly amazing began to occur. Rather than continue a situation in which U.S. federal paternalism consigned native people to passivity, a group of young and educated activists who had witnessed the Chicago Conference began to call for reform. Their consequent organizing became aligned with other civil rights movements of the time under the banner of "Red Power."

The discourse that emerged from this activism led to a philosophical movement that was nurtured in a tradition of collective action. This movement recast tribal community development as a history of shared actions and experiences. In turn, a new indigenous "worldview" developed that not only served to unite native people but to distinguish them from non-Indians who did not share their collective history.

The discussions were intended to cross-fertilize like-minded native scholars and grassroots activists, with the goal of establishing an alternative planning paradigm — one that could manifest itself both in the classroom and in the field. For example, a 1992 planning studio, conducted under the auspices of the Community Fellows Program in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT, resulted in a "postmodernist discourse" among students from "communities of color" that pertained to grassroots activism and culture.

Similarly, during the American Planning Association's 1995 Chicago conference the Indigenous Planning Network (IPN) was conceived. Tribal planners who worked in native communities also embarked on a project to reestablish a professional organization modeled after the defunct United Indian Planners Association. Moreover, influenced by the 1994 United Nations pronouncement on the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, the effort became mobilized under the auspices of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin.

Today IPN is an interdisciplinary collaboration supported by planning practitioners and academics. Its purpose is to identify and present indigenous values of community development based on the tenets of land tenure and culturally based approaches to planning. Such tenets were first referenced in a 1994 article on planning education prepared by John Friedman and Carol Kuester in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

This paper will present the indigenous planning framework, as predicated on land-tenure principles. It will present a process of tribal community development that attempts to mitigate the influences and encroachment of globalization values upon "traditional" Indian reservation communities. In particular, it will present a case study of the Oneida Turtle School, where the successful integration of a worldview, an educational ideology, and a vision resulted in a unique community solution.

#### CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE SPACE OF RESISTANCE: TADEUSZ KANTOR'S AND DANIEL LIBESKIND'S TECHNOLOGY OF **ANAMNESIS**

Michal Kobialka

If it could be assumed that, on a linear historical trajectory, every "end" implies a "beginning," it is indeed true that the emergence of the term "post" has served as an indicator of the location not only of present-day discourse, but also of a desire to move beyond and/or come back to that which preceded it. At the same time, that which is "post," as Jean-Francois Lyotard has written, "is not a movement of repetition but a procedure in 'ana-': a procedure of analysis, anamnesis, anagogy, and anamorphosis that elaborates an 'initial forgetting'."

In literary theory and cultural studies such statements may be useful for textual analyses. But can they be applied to arts that function in space: theater and architecture? It is my contention that art as a procedure or a mode of thinking (rather than a style or a representation of some form of reality striated by the rules of perspective) found its full expression in avant-garde or nontraditional practices that gave material shape to Einstein's famous dictum that "time and space are modes of thinking and not the conditions by which to live." Such art also disclosed the degree to which traditional representation partook in the process of producing subjective ideological, political and cultural structures of belonging and coercion. This is why Theodor Adorno, in his 1962 essay "Commitment," called for autonomous artworks defined as nonconceptual objects — and also why Lyotard has suggested that "the postmodern would be that which in the modern invokes the unrepresentable in presentation itself."

In my essay I would like to explore how the above-mentioned ideas are materialized in the work of Tadeusz Kantor and Daniel Libeskind — a theater visual artist, and an architect. Both have altered the attributes of forms that define their medium of expression, theater space and architectural space, respectively. More importantly, not only have they presented a different procedure for construction of mental and physical space, but they have modified the function of the artist in society by assuming the conscious role of chronicler. With regard to the twentieth century this has involved perturbing the order of normalcy in what we see and how we move through what can be perceived. Both Kantor and Libeskind's works disclose a weakness in official historical narratives, which have found a successful way of glossing over Adorno's haunting question of what it means to represent after Auschwitz. Consider, for example, Kantor's Silent Night (1990) or Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin. Both works perturb the line of progress by making the unsuspected depths or voids visible.

I would like to resingularize Kantor's and Libeskind's spatial practices of writing history. Thus, using Lyotard's notion of "gesture," Deleuze's notion of "diagram," and Foucault's notion of "fold," the paper will focus on a discussion of select fragments in Kantor's Silent Night and Libeskind's Jewish Museum. With these examples I will suggest that Kantor and Libeskind, though they use different media, materialize "that which cannot be

grasped or understood, because in the most concrete form it shows 'nothing'" (Richard Richter). They also express a mode of intensity which continuously thinks its own "history (the past), but in order to free itself from what it thinks (the present) and be able finally to think otherwise (the future)." By drawing attention to the need to "think otherwise" and to resist erasure of history, Kantor's Silent Night and Libeskind's Jewish Museum exemplify a technology of anamnesis that forces us to explore our own historicity and mode of effectivity and action.

#### TRADITIONS AND THE SPACES OF RESISTANCE: TAOS INDIANS' CONTESTATION FOR BLUE LAKE, AND AN "INDIAN MEMORIAL" AT THE LITTLE BIG HORN BATTLEFIELD Lvnn Paxson

Conflicts over space, its use and definition, have a broad range: from contestation between local businesses and skateboarders; to the competition between economic and environmental concerns in various regions; to larger-scale ethnic, racial, religious and cultural conflicts and civil war as evidenced in Kosovo, parts of Africa, Timor, and the Middle East. Unfortunately, such contestation or conflict is often seen as a problem that needs to be resolved or controlled. Frequently, the resolution involves withdrawal, removal or erasure, implying "solutions" that have winners and losers. As part of this process, differences are segregated and separated, walled off into homogenous subgroups rather than bound together, layered and overlaid, creating a knotted, unraveling tapestry instead of a variegated one.

What happens when multiple users, participants or groups disagree? Contestations between differing opinions and desires are critical to a vision of social construction and government, as well as to current debates, both social and legal, regarding the definition of what activities may occur in which spaces. Examples include prolife/pro-choice debates in parks and streets, who should be permitted to march in New York's St. Patrick's Day Parade, and whether homeless people should be allowed to squat in public places. What happens when a group sees a part of how they use space in the "public landscape" as "secret," open only to the initiated? Must the space for this activity move permanently out of the public realm? Or is it merely a concept of degree? Does this mean that all "public spaces" must be open to all people, all of the time, for all activities? Can public space acknowledge multiple publics, some of which may be restricted in order to support others? When different publics are in conflict, should the majority rule? Is this "tyranny of the majority"? What about the "tyranny of the minority"?

This paper argues that to be in support of contestation is not to support open combat in the streets and squares; it is to support the creation and use of space that will not always be placid or idyllic, and where the contestations will be made visible. In this sense, public space is not a battleground but the location of "peaceful" or civil contestation. Contestation in public space, life and behavior clearly foregrounds the role of "civility" in public culture. It is not about ignoring, hiding or disavowing difference; it is about acknowledging and discussing it, and it includes some level of tolerance.

This paper uses two examples to discuss these issues. One concerns contestation between the Taos Pueblo Nation and the federal government over the Blue Lake. The other concerns the creation of an "Indian Memorial" at the Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument in Montana.

For many decades the Taos Pueblo people were engaged in a conflict with the U.S. government over an area known as the Blue Lake. For the Taosenos this area was a sacred place, and it required that regular ritual activity be performed at specified times and under specific conditions. These sacred traditions and rituals had been in place for thousands of years, but because their expression did not mark the land-scape as owned, used, or "in-use" in a way apparent to outsiders, it was difficult for the Pueblo people to hold on to the site. After the area was brought under the aegis of the federal government, however, its continued use in a traditional manner initially became less of a problem. But now, as other uses have increased and as management groups within the federal government have come to view the space with an eye to "highest and best" use, traditional use has again become problematic.

The second example concerns the Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument, a place which has been called the most contested site in the U.S. Consideration of both historic and recent contestation surrounded the creation of an "Indian Memorial" near the existing Custer/7th Cavalry monument. This case example provides an interesting look at spaces of resistance and their role in civil society, particularly in terms of what is seen as "traditional" when multiple visions of tradition are under consideration. Contested traditions could support diversity by valuing the marginalized and invisible, and by providing a voice for the voiceless and for alternate history(ies) to be imagined.

## REGIONAL INFLECTIONS: A STUDY OF THE PASSAGE AND MALL AS CIVIC CONNECTORS Sevinc Yavuz

Imported trends or ideas are commonly embraced enthusiastically because of their novelty. Over time, however, they are inflected by local culture, and in certain cases transformed beyond recognition. Capitalism and globalization certainly continue to deform regional cultural habits. Yet imported technologies, materials and styles each in turn experience some degree of deformation in their local applications. A case in point is the International Style — the architectural interpretation of modernism. This one-size-fits-all style shed its purity when its initial unquestioning applications were followed by regional interpretations.

Taking the hopeful position that today's surge of globalization will encounter similar resistance, this paper attempts to identify how local inflection or transformation may take place in the case of the urban shopping mall. The shopping mall is one of the most visible building types in the recent wave of global trends. Aggregation of retail businesses has a long history: close proximity obviously makes good business sense for both store owners and clientele. Retail has also been an essential component of town centers, as exemplified by the agora and stoa, the *bedesten*, and the *çarsi* or bazaar — each of which also embraced the timeless civic values of proximity and connectivity.

Such historic forms evolved into widely disseminated types, which have been transformed over time. One remarkable variation was the French *passage couvert* or gallery model, which provided an elegant network of internal street connections. Exported both east and west during the nineteenth century, fine examples are still in operation today (for example, the 1828 Arcade in Providence, RI, or the nineteenth-century passages in the Pera district of Istanbul). The passage, albeit physically transformed beyond recognition, has persisted as a popular retail environment (*pasaj*) in Turkish cities, sustained by the tremendous vitality of their downtowns. The more successful examples are those that retain the original intention of providing convenient pedestrian connections to adjacent areas.

The urban mall of the late twentieth century is no more than a glorified version of the passage/arcade or the covered bazaar. The concept falls apart, however, when the mall replicates the suburban shopping mall, functioning primarily as a self-enclosed place of destination, with no attempt to forge strong connections to surrounding streets. This transplanted suburban model has not helped revive North American downtowns suffering from loss of population. Nevertheless, similar malls are now showing up around the world in cities that suffer not from population decline but from uncontrolled growth. Will local cultural forces be able to absorb and transform this Western model? How will this take place? A comparative study of the historical progression and transformation of the type may begin to answer these questions.

### A.9 PRACTICE AND THE RISE OF POST-TRADITIONAL PLACES

### PRESERVING CULTURAL LEGACIES IN AFFORDABLE HOUSING: CASE STUDIES FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA

Abimbola Asojo and Betty Harris University of Oklahoma, Norman, U.S.A.

### COUNCIL HOUSING IN TRANSITION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF A PROTOTYPE HOUSE IN INDONESIA

Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto University of Manchester, U.K.

### PUBLIC HOUSING: BETWEEN CONTROLLED SPACE AND CONTESTED SPACE

Rachel Kallus Technion, Haifa, Israel

#### REMEMBERING THE TRADITION: "VERNACULAR USAGE" AND THE SPIRIT OF MODERNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES IN VIENNA

Marina Pecar Kansas State University, Lawrence, U.S.A.

## TELEMATIC SUPPORTS TO HOUSING IN MARGINALIZED MOUNTAIN TERRITORIES: A PROJECT IN THE FRIULI V. GIULIA REGION

Mauro Bertagnin University of Udine, Italy

#### PRESERVING CULTURAL LEGACIES IN AFFORDABLE HOUSING: CASE STUDIES FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA Abimbola Asojo and Betty Harris

The African environment is a product of a triple heritage involving the indigenous, Western and Islamic legacies. These factors have combined to form cities different from those in any other part of the world. However, this uniqueness has not excluded African cities from the problems facing developing countries in other parts of the world. For example, squatting is a major problem in Africa's urban areas. This research examines the slums and squatter settlements in Cape Town, South Africa, and Lagos, Nigeria. It explores methodologies for housing the urban poor by developing strategies for affordable housing through field research, analysis of cultural legacies, local materials, skills and construction techniques.

Most African cities are organized into the following sectors: new towns, European quarters, African immigrant quarters and indigenous towns. During the era of colonialism, African towns served predominantly as administrative centers, housing only the colonialist employees, with no consideration for the masses.

In Cape Town, as in all of South Africa's major cities, there are several squatter settlements located near the African townships in the city. During most of the apartheid era, strict influx control regulations were enforced to prevent large numbers of Eastern Cape Xhosas from migrating to the Western Cape, where they would have competed with coloreds for employment. As a result, neither the government nor employers provided adequate housing for African workers. This led to overcrowding. Eventually, as the housing shortage increased, the crossroads squatter settlement emerged as an informal township constructed from corrugated iron and other scrap construction materials. The government bulldozed the settlement on a few occasions, but eventually decided to build a new township called Khayelitsha to accommodate most of its residents. The post-apartheid government has committed itself to a major housing construction project. However, it does not have the capacity to meet the demands of a rapidly urbanizing population.

A Yoruba city founded by the Aworis, Lagos, formerly Nigeria's capital, with a population of about six million, is one of the largest cities in Africa. The city is completely surrounded by lagoons and creeks. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese used Lagos as a base for slave trade because of its coastal location. In 1862 the British seized Lagos and declared it a colony, and in 1912 Lord Lugard amalgamated Nigeria with Lagos as its capital. The oil boom of the 1970s brought a brief period of financial prosperity, resulting in rapid growth, expansion, and rural-urban migration, leading to overcrowding. The problem was made more complex because both the state and federal governments were located in Lagos. Today the federal government has relocated to a new capital, Abuja, but Lagos remains the commercial capital of the country. Nevertheless, major infrastructure and government housing are still located in Lagos, with slums proliferating around it.

Today African cities are greatly affected by rural-urban migration. With their inability to absorb such new populations, this has led to a proliferation of squatter settlements. Some African countries that have tried to solve these problems have failed because of inadequate response to the cultural context, lack of research, and the use of expensive foreign materials. This study will address these issues.

## COUNCIL HOUSING IN TRANSITION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF A PROTOTYPE HOUSE IN INDONESIA

Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto

This paper examines the transformation of the council housing of a regional capital city in Indonesia. A number of alterations and improvements are identified, which are seen as having been critical in the destruction of uniformity in the houses in the area of regional capital of Surabaya, and possibly elsewhere on the Island of Java.

The author's research has shown that the exact transformation of a house can vary depending on the social and cultural

background of the residents, but that certain motivations tend to remain unchanged. First among these is the obligation of the residents to meet their personal needs, which cannot be wholly achieved in a prototype house. Second is the desire of residents to express their individuality by altering their houses to reflect their personalities and tastes. Third is the growth of families, which has also required adjustments to existing house plans.

The tendency of house improvements to introduce reformations of the prototype is a challenge to the authoritative form offered by the city council. On the one hand, it challenges the council to find a better solution in terms of design. But on the other, it threatens the conventional appearance of the house. The introduction of different solutions has not only destroyed the simple and uniform quality of the prototype houses, it has brought a rise of kitsch. This stems from the fact that many new architectural elements added to enhance the appearance of the houses have been added without coordination or knowledge of design. The main problem here is to find the best design solution for the prototype, as well as to offer guidance on possible future alterations and improvements.

It is argued that in the future the development of council housing should take account of the needs and desires of residents.

## PUBLIC HOUSING: BETWEEN CONTROLLED SPACE AND CONTESTED SPACE Rachel Kallus

The process of nation-building in Israel's early statehood, induced by internal colonialism, was based on the provision of public housing directed toward populations presumed to be unable to take care of their own needs in the free market. This official housing provision, declared by the government as a means to assist powerless populations — mainly Jewish Mizrahi immigrants — had, in fact, a dual purpose: to modernize space in order to proclaim a new (Jewish) territory; and to modernize society in order to shape a new (Israeli) citizen. Being based on government initiatives, this public housing was characterized by the controlled manner in which its physical environments were created and shaped. Planned, designed, produced, populated and managed by government agencies, these environments controlled both space and people, leaving little place for residents' personal initiatives and cultural preferences.

A close look at these environments today, however, does show how various signs of spatial protest did attempt to appropriate both personal and communal spaces for residents' personal needs and aspirations. Against public housing's enforced environments, through individual and collective everyday practices, residents did exercise powers of resistance that shaped the final face of their living spaces.

This paper investigates public housing provision carried on by the Israeli government in the 1950s as a means of enforced modernization. It examines the architectural practices used in the articulation of public housing's physical environment as an instrument of territorialization and of immigrants' so-called "absorption," contrasting them with the means by which public housing residents, even within the physical constraints inherent in these environments, expressed their language of social protest. The paper's main argument is that these environments, representing suppression on the one hand and contest on the other, contained a real potential for the revival of place-based traditions. However, being "incomplete environments" standing between economic pressures and social demands, they required a certain amount of balance between public control and residents' personal initiatives.

#### REMEMBERING THE TRADITION: "VERNACULAR USAGE" AND THE SPIRIT OF MODERNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES IN VIENNA

Marina Pecar

This paper will discuss the process of evolution, related cultural meanings, and spatial qualities found in selected contemporary Viennese social housing projects. The design of these projects can be characterized as a reinterpretation of the memory of traditional vernacular as well as of early modern housing estates.

The development of housing estates in Vienna has been strongly influenced by societal changes from the turn of the century. It has also been based on traditional housing types — bourgeois town house, tenement house, and single-family dwelling facilitated by numerous projects of Grunderzeit urbanism during the period of rapid city expansion (1857-1914). During this period several key movements were conceived as an antithesis to the thencelebrated "historicist" architecture. These included the Viennese Secession (1897), often referred to as a symbol of breaking with academic art conventions; the Jugendstil, the Austrian equivalent of Art Nouveau, which advocated total integration of design disciplines into an unified whole; the activity of the Wiener Werkstatte, founded in 1903 as a crafts cooperative with the intention of continuing the ideals of the Secession (until 1932); and the founding of so-called Red Vienna, a Social Democratic city government, which developed a politically based urban housing program (1923-34).

The utilization of these ideas and the embodiment of a so-called "new spirit" materialized most clearly in the form of Werkbundsiedlung, an international housing estate project (1930-32), the most important manifestation of modernism in Austria and evidence of contact with the Bauhaus as well as settlement programs in Frankfurt and Stuttgart. These projects strongly initiated a trend toward simple furnishings and superior craftsmanship, and their abstract forms and spatial meanings made a clear reference to characteristic traditional Central European urban dwelling types and environments. The spectrum of dwelling types ranged from semi-detached and row houses to detached family homes, most of which utilized compact and highly functional, yet dynamic and innovative, interior spatial configurations.

The mid-1980s to 90s in Vienna brought the development of various Pilot Projects and Initiatives (1983-84), marking the sixtieth anniversary of the building program of Red Vienna.

Among these were municipal council competitions organized around three themes: the housing estate, involving development on the edge of the city involving the rediscovery of the "settlement movement" of the 1920s to include row houses and individual gardens; a prototypical city apartment block; and the renewal of existing buildings to enable the part-by-part revitalization of a run-down areas of the city. These initiatives were strongly based on a number of explicit considerations: scale relative to the surroundings of the housing development; character of the existing urban network; creative design of individual outdoor spaces, such as loggias, verandahs and exterior apartment spaces; generous, impressive and communicative circulation areas, including entrances and stairways; and the commitment to resident diversity, especially in urban infill projects.

Several case-study examples of row-house estates, designed according to these design considerations, will be discussed in terms of their relationship to regional vernacular dwelling forms, and to the Viennese housing design tradition of the 1920s. The discussion will focus on interactive roles of social and disciplinary memory, and on degrees of "vernacular usage" (as introduced and elaborated in Stanford Anderson's recent *TDSR* article "Memory without Monuments: Vernacular Architecture").

## TELEMATIC SUPPORTS TO HOUSING IN MARGINALIZED MOUNTAIN TERRITORIES: A PROJECT IN THE FRIULI V. GIULIA REGION

Mauro Bertagnin

The project is the outcome of two years research on new possibilities for improving housing services in the mountain territories of the Friuli V. Giulia region. These territories are characterized by an increased marginalization due to such factors as decreasing population, replacement of industries, and lost jobs. Related to this general decay is also the progressive canceling of housing services in the mountain territories because of the decline of rentability on a cost-benefit basis. The project goal is to improve the existing services in periferic and marginalized mountain territories and settlements (such as small villages or little mountain towns).

The basic idea is to use telematic tools to concentrate all the services to housing and to inhabitants in the postal offices net, starting from a redesign of the layout and the functions of each postal office. By means of this restructuration it may be possible to achieve a new living quality in rural mountain settlements.

## B.9 HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOODS AND LANDSCAPES

### TRADITION, INNOVATION, LANDSCAPE: TOWARD A CORRECT USE OF TYPOLOGICAL VALUES

Enrico Genovesi University of Rome, Italy

## MODERNITY OR CONTEMPORARY TRADITION? A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN A HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOOD OF CAIRO

Debora Rodrigues and Seif El Rashidi Aga Khan Cultural Services, U.S.A./Egypt

### THE END OF TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE? LOOKING FOR CULTURAL LANDSCAPE RELICS IN ITALY'S ASOLO REGION

Giorgio Gianighian and Matteo Paolucci University of East London and IUAV, Venice, U.K./Italy

### THE OLD ALLEY AND TRADITIONAL URBAN HOUSING IN SEOUL

Inho Song

University of Seoul, Korea

### TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF APULIAN FARMS

Mauro Scionti and Cito Lucio Adriano Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

## TRADITION, INNOVATION, LANDSCAPE: TOWARD A CORRECT USE OF TYPOLOGICAL VALUES

Enrico Genovesi

The theme of typological studies is often to recognize forms and historical characteristics preserved in consolidated urban centers. But these morphological characteristics are also tied to the conditions under which they were born. Some of these characteristics are thus referable to historical situations; others are still valid; and yet others have been replaced by new solutions. Building typologies thus concretize aspects of the social, economic and cultural history of a city's inhabitants, and they reveal a program of optimization in relation to the environment. The same deliberate presuppositions must guide new interventions into urban form and become integral to the character of new typologies.

For the reasons above, the planner should know how to distinguish between those component typologies that are permanent and those that are recessive. He should calibrate the specifics of each project to make the most opportune and effective intervention. The outcome will then be better intervention in the historic the landscape. The paper discusses a simulation effected on a small country town in central Italy that confirms this hypothesis.

## MODERNITY OR CONTEMPORARY TRADITION? A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN A HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOOD OF CAIRO

Debora Rodrigues and Seif El Rashidi

Viewing domestic spatial arrangements as one of the most telling indicators of human needs, this paper studies the changes in the architecture of traditional neighborhoods in Cairo, analyzing the extent to which premodern architectural traditions have prevailed, as well as the manner in which the traditional and the modern have been assimilated in order to meet people's living requirements.

The study focuses on traditional, lower-income areas, where architectural changes are shaped more by necessity than by fashion, and where, in the absence of an architect, form does indeed follow function. With the effect of global architectural trends being almost negligible, and with limited economic resources meaning that any superfluous architectural features cannot be retained, building features and spatial concepts must, by definition, be fully functional.

Such an environment is ideal for assessing the influence of "modernity" on traditional building practices. This influence can be seen in, among other areas, the use of modern materials in structures following century-old spatial typologies; the unmistakable patterns of change, indicating different priorities and social conditions; and the effects of contemporary building practices on a basically nineteenth-century urban fabric.

Several aspects surface in this study. One is the persistence of the traditional townhouse even after the introduction of the apartment building. This persistence surely reflects the former's suitability to old plot lines, the financial capabilities of local residents, and social norms and customs. Yet despite the topological persistence, the widespread use of contemporary building materials makes such buildings modern — if not in conception, then in construction. At the same time, in their use of readily available materials, and in their intensive and often ingenious use of space, such buildings follow the age-old pattern of making good use of available, often limited, resources to meet basic human needs (and in the process separating the useful from the useless).

In parallel, comparisons are drawn between the traditional and the modern forms of collective housing: the *rab'* and the apartment building, respectively. The latter, although serving the same basic function as the former, differs in that it underestimates the communal aspect of the *rab'*, and thus is less well suited to traditional areas, where social ties remain important. As a larger-scale project, often undertaken with commercial gains in mind, the modern apartment building has not always been able to fully reflect community needs.

In effect, the study attempts to answer the question "The end of tradition?" in the specific context of residential areas in historic Cairo. It brings to light the fact that the so-called "modern" is often no more than "contemporary traditional."

## THE END OF TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE? LOOKING FOR CULTURAL LANDSCAPE RELICS IN ITALY'S ASOLO REGION Giorgio Gianighian and Matteo Paolucci

The study area, approximately 10x30km., is located near Asolo in the province of Treviso, 70km. north of Venice. The area is endowed with rich environmental qualities: fertile flatland in its southern part,

low hills in its central zone, and low mountains in its north. Settlement of this area goes back far into the past, and evidence indicates the region was already inhabited in Roman times. Never being entirely deserted, it knew various historical vicissitudes, up to the Venetian conquest at the beginning of the fifteenth century. During the Venetian period the region knew a significant transformation, undergoing a process of agricultural development, which involved the entire territory. Afterwards, the age of the Ville Venete started.

The landscape of the region was well preserved until after World War II, when many changes occurred. Among these were the modernization of agriculture, industrial development, and the introduction of new lifestyles linked to building expansions. New settlement areas were marked by greater land consumption, due to increased mechanization. Other changes related to the exploitation of land resources, such as clay quarries. Gentrification of previously cultivated areas also occurred, including the construction of a huge golf club at the foot of the hills.

Since World War II changes have also marked the region's built heritage. At first the area was abandoned to new individual small houses. Later, rehabilitation began to take place, but with no particular attention to shape and materials. Now the region is used as a source of architectural quotations, from which it has become possible to fish out sentences or words to build a new vernacular style.

A decisive point has been reached in the region today, as it is in danger of losing the last indicators of its traditional landscape and architecture. Some of these features, such as ancient *piantate*, have endured for three centuries. The *piantate* is a very interesting type of agricultural system, composed of rows of trees serving as supports for the climbing vines. These are in turn separated by strips of plowing or meadowed land. Other relics of the previous landscape include common woods and pastures, roads and streams, *roccoli*, and enclosures. Of course, there are also quite a number of traditional buildings, from the Asolo *rocca*, to churches, water mills of every description, and villas and peasant houses.

The overall situation of the study area is rather ambiguous: on the one hand, historical elements are quickly disappearing; while on the other, new traditions are rising. What we are witnessing today in the area may be a peculiar development, a kind of mystified historical tradition.

At present, what should be done with the remaining cultural landscape relics? Is possible to preserve them? Or must they mercilessly disappear? In the conclusion of our paper, we shall try to answer these questions.

### THE OLD ALLEY AND TRADITIONAL URBAN HOUSING IN SEOUL

Inho Song

This paper will focus on the relationship between urban morphology and architectural types in Kahwe-dong, one of the oldest residential districts in Seoul. As antique maps show, the form and order of nature was clearly reflected in the urban morphology of old Seoul. The aim of the paper is to show how this relationship was successfully maintained between in the adaptation of this traditional urban fabric to the *toshi-hanok*, an urban housing type that evolved in 1930s.

The central corridor of Kahwe-dong is Donhwamoon-ro, an important monumental street connecting Chong-ro (the oldest commercial street in Seoul) to Changduk-gung (the royal palace). This street has had great importance in the city since the early fifteenth century, and today, its original width has not changed, and Donhwamoon (the gate of the palace) still stands at one end, indicating its historical significance. However, besides this monumental street, there are four other public ways in Kahwe-dong: Pima-gil, a pedestrian alley behind Donhwamoon-ro; an alley along a narrow stream coming from Chanduk-gung; an alley along the wall of Chongmyo (the shrine for royal ancestors); and a fourth short dead-end alley. These alleys generally run in a north-south direction, reflecting the topography of Seoul. Some traditional urban housing still remains along them. In some cases this consists of transformations of *toshi-hanok* housing.

Kahwe-dong was originally an upper-class neighborhood. Although most of its original characteristics have vanished, some areas preserve the traditional townscape. This was made possible by the construction of *hanok* by housing companies in the 1930s. *Hanok* construction at the time created highly dense housing areas on sloping lots using new materials such as glass, tile and sheet-zinc. Most *hanok* had "U"-shaped plans open to the south or east; and since the north-south alleys and the "U"-shaped *hanoks* were constructed simultaneously, the *madang* (courtyards) of *hanoks* were both open to the sun and closed to the street. The slope in the area made the relationship between this urban alley and *hanok* more dramatic and rich.

The *toshi-hanok* was a modern urban housing type that evolved in the 1930s. It allowed urban adjustment to modernization without damage to the traditional urban morphology of Seoul. Since the 1960s, however, old Seoul has being largely destroyed by rapid Westernization and urbanization.

### TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF APULIAN FARMS

Mauro Scionti and Cito Lucio Adriano

In Apulia, each farm is a small town, where a system of enclosures and courtyards mediates the relationship between public and private indoor and outdoor spaces. The structure of each farm is either compact (and thus immediately plain), or so articulated that its morphology is worth appreciating.

On these farms sun and wind directed the location of every activity and served as the basic criteria for building placement. No position was casual, no choice rash; everything was designed following a definite order and hierarchy, drawing on local and traditional building knowledge. Such historical stratification, conceived as freedom of adjustment to housing and productive needs, does not create oppositions or contrasts, but simply keeps everything in unity. In further correspondence, materials and technologies were developed based on quality, resistance, propriety and economy.

By paying attention to building process, in which projects are conceived and constructed in accordance with the local environment, we may once again gain respect for tradition and its ability to brighten up modern features.

## C.9 PRACTICE AND TECHNOLOGIES OF MATERIALS

### REMEDIAL TREATMENT OF HUMIDITY DAMAGE IN HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Chiara Campo and Michele Stella Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

## LOCAL MATERIALS AND GLOBAL MEANINGS: AN EXPLORATION OF CHANGING BUILDING TECHNIQUES AND PROCESSES OF GLOBALIZATION

Suzanne Ewing and Peter Kellett University of Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.

### IN PURSUIT OF A CONTEMPORARY FORM FOR STONE ARCHITECTURE

Marco Mannino and Carlo Moccia Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

### MASONRY TECHNIQUES OF CONSTRUCTION IN APULIA, ITALY

Dino Mongelli Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

## THE STONE ENVELOPE: DESIGN METHODS FOR CONTEMPORARY URBAN FACADES IN THE NORTH EUROPEAN METROPOLIS

Eliana de Nichilo Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

### REMEDIAL TREATMENT OF HUMIDITY DAMAGE IN HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Chiara Campo and Michele Stella

This report is dedicated to the regeneration of "places of tradition." Historical centers define such places perhaps more than any other parts of a town. In such places tradition is clearly recognizable, especially in historical buildings.

The paper will report on the results of a research project by the Institute for Housing and Social Infrastructure of the National Research Council of Italy entitled "Development of experimental processes to characterize and to parametric check the artificial processes of damp rising in wallings." This project involved laboratory testing of different processes of chemical intervention to treat damp walling.

The results and the research will be related to three different buildings located in the historical center of Molfetta Bari, Italy. These buildings are in need of remedial intervention to be preserved. The target of the research was to elaborate "codes of practice" that might allow safe, sustainable, and eco-compatible treatments for such buildings.

## LOCAL MATERIALS AND GLOBAL MEANINGS: AN EXPLORATION OF CHANGING BUILDING TECHNIQUES AND PROCESSES OF GLOBALIZATION

Suzanne Ewing and Peter Kellett

This paper is an exploration of the concepts of globalization and localization through detailed investigations into the physical materials and processes of building. The initial premise is that cultural, political and social relationship shifts between the local and the global are embodied in changing patterns of use and perception, and representational and symbolic qualities of materials located in specific built situations.

It is argued that detailed analysis of specific constructional elements such as windows and roofs, for example, when combined with historical insights and ethnographic data, reveal some of the subtleties of the impact of globalization processes, and so inform our understanding of a range of contested meanings.

Manifestations of and changing attitudes toward world technology, hybridization, and decreased levels of sustainability in the making process are scrutinized. Constructional elements are fundamentally situated, and perhaps the most crucial, yet potentially most elusive (to analyze) impact of globalization is found to lie in changing attitudes toward local place and placing. In the context of this broader agenda, the physical locating of situated materials with reference to wider cultural and cosmological meanings will be examined with reference to literature from a range of disciplines.

The paper draws on empirical data from recent multidisciplinary research projects. The rural context is informed by detailed material studies of traditional dwellings in eastern Tibet. Field studies were undertaken as part of an international humanitarian project coordinated by CFS, a U.K. charity based at Loughborough University. Although this isolated region is perceived as the stereotypical antithesis to the developed West, it is the focus of intense "modernizing" pressures from China. Other data comes from ethnographic research in informal settlements in Colombia and Indonesia where the impacts of globalization are more directly visible. The study also includes data from a current international comparative research project examining home-based income generation in developing cities. Through a detailed analysis of these contrasting but complementary data sets, we aim to offer insights into the complex role of globalization processes in reconfiguring the form and meaning of local places.

### IN PURSUIT OF A CONTEMPORARY FORM FOR STONE ARCHITECTURE

Marco Mannino and Carlo Moccia

This presentation concerns the relation between form and technique in stone buildings. This interest was prompted by a competition to expand an old people's home in Trani. This competition was analyzed from two different points of view. One, concerning building character, was connected with the idea of a building made of stone as representing the memory of a place. The other tried to select a building expression that was capable of representing our time.

In the old people's home competition project, existing construction consisted of two building types, having different roles: one using blocks of stone, the other using concrete conglomerate. The character of the existing building was thus based on a dualism between two traditional techniques.

In terms of tectonic principles, the building expansion most clearly needed to highlight syntactical elements, while complementing the massiveness peculiar to stone walls. The incomplete shape of the building also pointed toward a need to reveal the building's tectonic logic. Meanwhile, in the Apulian landscape, the dry-stone and substructure walls presented the image of an archetypal concrete structure. This concept of space, recalling a base, further contributed to the structural hypothesis that was pursued.

## MASONRY TECHNIQUES OF CONSTRUCTION IN APULIA, ITALY Dino Mongelli

All over the Mediterranean world constructive practices connected to masonry technology have long prevailed, although there have been different aspects over time and according to context. These buildings show how a repertory of traditional practices have been related to the characteristics and environmental resources of the region. At the same time, masonry answers the practical necessity of dwelling and using the territory. Both the connotations of buildings and the characteristics of urban space, therefore, are derived from masonry construction.

Today the presence of discrete building elements, the architectural signs and their proportions, and the synthesis between construction and typological evolution permit recognition of the quality of urban space in relation to historical stratifications and various transformations. In this continuous process, masonry techniques have absorbed every aptness of space and structure in relation to previous configurations, and so are repositories of the precise meaning of building forms in every successive phase.

Masonry construction constitutes an exceptional tool, both for reading the context and for understanding the network of relations in which every building activity is located. From a reading of the old settlements of Apulia, I will explore two themes.

First, I will examine the relation between masonry structure, type, and its development within the urban fabric. Design qualities are layered in the existing built landscape that are intrinsic to masonry building. These include elementary rules of masonry constriction that cause each project to develop in a highly a priori manner; typological phenomena that contain constructive parameters which give measure and proportion to single elements and entire buildings; and the way the aptness, transformation, and stratification of masonry structures shows the relation between form and time.

Second, I will explore techniques and expression in relation to the vaults of Lecce. In the repertory of the Apulian constructive tradition, the phenomenon of "star" vaults, known generally as Lecce vaults, was an improvement on the masonry groin vault. This resource of the Apulian tradition cannot be identified with any

other known repertory of architectural signs, but it was a system that constantly produced original solutions. This system has interesting applications both for research and for didactic exercises.

## THE STONE ENVELOPE: DESIGN METHODS FOR CONTEMPORARY URBAN FACADES IN THE NORTH EUROPEAN METROPOLIS

Eliana de Nichilo

Among all the parts of a building, the facade is, without doubt, the one which first provokes the impression of architecture. Interest in facades and their urban meanings have becoming increasingly evident in recent years. In our contemporary culture, both the emphasis on buildings as vehicles for new urban images and on architecture as "part of a system of communication" poses problems in terms of representing the progress of science and the development of technology.

The monuments of the contemporary destructured metropolis are seen as urban "transmitters," in which the design of a building's skin (not only its facade, but also its roof) accentuates a dichotomy between covering and core — i.e., between supporting structure and exterior membrane. The problem inherent in this practice is one of formative principles. Since structure and perception of structure are different things, one must study how structure is related to form and how construction type affects style.

The architectural panorama is today undergoing a process of transformation. This trend seems oriented toward a more congruous use of natural materials. In particular, stone is becoming more prominent in the design of urban facades in North European metropolises (Berlin, London, Basel, etc.). This trend has many causes. One is certainly historical: stone has influenced architecture throughout history and continues to be a source of inspiration because of its intrinsic qualities (color, variation, wonderful expressiveness, etc.). A second cause regards technical-economic aspects. Developments in cutting and fabricating stone now allow its use as thin, lightweight veneers supported by steel truss frames, according to systems that are lighter, more economical, and faster to erect than in the past. However, this growing preference for stone poses several questions concerning the congruence between the material and its application. For example, the use of stone implies the rediscovery of system of proportions for facade design, and for elements such as windows, beams and lintels that have long shaped architecture as structure, object of use, and symbol. There have been many changes in the formative itinerary and conception of stone's traditional use. But a central question today regards whether it should be employed as a modern translation or revision of old architectural languages.

The design of stone facades may range from rusticated and sculptural treatments, to massive carved treatments, to complex layerings of planar surfaces or semi-transparent screens (depending on the material adopted — natural or artificial stone veneers, etc.). Many expressions tend to show the material's "stoniness" in terms of inherent qualities of permanence and mass (i.e., SOM's warmed-up "Beaux Arts style," and the gigantism of Farrell's

design and research into a new monumentality). However, the illusion of the traditional wall and of the structural continuity of load-bearing masonry is obtained only with difficulty. And in other kinds of solutions the wall loses its character as a constructive entity and becomes a pure surface, a graphic page, independent of the structural frame. As such, it appears most characteristically as a precious stone veil or membrane (as expressed by architects such as Kleihues, Kollhoff, Sawade, Dudler, etc., who have explored the truthfulness of a technology known as the rain-screen method).

Comparative analysis of contemporary theories of the stone facade shows that the present conception of stone cladding may be related both to the Semperian textile tradition (i.e., the notion of "dressing," or *bekleidung*) and to Viollet-le-Duc's principle of structural truth (for example, Michael Hopkins' reformulation of the architectural repertoire in terms of tectonic form). Such different interpretations are often related to the geographic conditions in which their authors work. However, they all explore the nature of the material through literal or symbolical exhibition of what is happening constructively. As such, they belong to a tectonic reasoning, even if stone envelopes continue to display intrinsic contradictions due to their nonorganic character.

#### A.10 GLOBALIZING THE LOCAL

### LOCAL HERITAGE AS HOSTAGE: RECENT URBAN HERITAGE POLICY IN XI'AN, CHINA

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## THE SPATIAL FOUNDATION OF URBANISM IN YAZD, IRAN Rafi Samizay

Washington State University, Pullman, U.S.A.

### GLOBALIZING THE LOCAL: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF HONG KONG'S URBAN LANDSCAPE

Weijen Wang and Li-Tsui Fu University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

### CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE IN THE BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN

Derek Japha and Fabio Todeschini University of Cape Town, South Africa

#### LOCAL HERITAGE AS HOSTAGE: RECENT URBAN HERITAGE POLICY IN XI'AN, CHINA Bruno Favolle Lussac

China is now developing rapidly, intensifying the urban modernization process. Since the late 1970s the opening of the country to foreign influences has brought the country into contact with globalizing ideas and models. In this context, urban and architectural heritage has become a legitimate priority. Starting in the 1970s its protection and development in China has also been reinforced by UNESCO's policies concerning world cultural and natural heritage.

In the case of the Xi'an, the capital of the central province of Shaanxi, the introduction in 1980 of a conservation master plan for the old walled city appears to conflict in some regards with the actual urban transformation of so large a metropolitan area, which is trying to claim the status of an international metropolis.

The old walled city, built on the archaeological site of the capital of the Tang Empire, one of the two historic models for Chinese capitals, is located in the heart of the city. The discovery there in 1974 of the imperial mausoleum of Qin Shi Huang Di (the first emperor to rule over a unified China) revealed the historical and archaeological value of Xi'an's local heritage. Today this heritage has become especially important as a means to bolster the international fame of the city and develop its touristic economy. As a result, Xi'an's current municipal policy is struggling to reconcile the contradictory images and priorities of urban and architectural heritage protection and modernization. In order to attract international investors, firms and tourists, the policy draws

its authority from local history and archaeology. Universal interest in global culture argues for enhancing Xi'an's fame and its recognition as an "international metropolis." Culture has been used as an argument to confer globalized status on the city.

In this paper, we try to show how the official documentation published for the last urban master plan (1995), and the master plan designs, actually uses heritage arguments to promote the image of the city as a twenty-first-century international metropolis at three scales: the old city, the metropolitan area, and peripheral areas including large protected archeological sites. Case studies based on fieldwork from 1990 onward will demonstrate and illustrate the reality of this policy in the field. We also want to emphasize the risks of such an attitude in which local heritage is taken hostage in the international competition of regional metropolises. If recognized at a global level, local heritage is considered important, but its authenticity may then become stressed and finally detached from its original context and practices. At the same time, an equal danger lies in the unnoticed destruction of less renown aspects of local urban and architectural heritage, as is the case in other large Chinese cities.

In conclusion, we must recognize how fragile heritage-protection practices are in large Chinese cities, due to these cities' breakneck growth and their wish to be recognized at an international level. At the same time, we find several small Chinese cities implementing realistic and economically well-integrated urban and architectural protection policies founded on local culture and practices, more or less according to sustainable development principles. This seems the more interesting way to avoid the "deterritorialization" of the local heritage.

## THE SPATIAL FOUNDATION OF URBANISM IN YAZD, IRAN Rafi Samizay

The oasis city of Yazd has grown at the edge of the Khavar desert in the Iranian plateau. Although the origins of the city date to the time of Alexander the Great, the foundation of the present old city was laid during the Islamic expansion of the twelfth century. Conquerors Genghis Khan and Timur both spared the city during their destructive campaigns in Afghanistan and Iran in the thirteenth century. Located on a continental trade route between Isfahan and Kirman, the city reached its zenith in the fifteenth century. Experiencing periods of growth and decline during the last two centuries, its population is now 230,500, but it is growing rapidly.

The old city of Yazd has maintained its historic character to a large extent. Its bustling bazaars, mosques, water cisterns, wind towers, ice houses, and courtyard dwellings do not only project a striking urban image, but also speak of its vitality as a site for commerce, industry and residence. The desert condition and shortage of water have historically shaped the ecology of the city and the character of its urban landscape. The morphology of the old city is shaped by a mass of tightly built buildings with carefully scaled courtyards, gardens and orchards. A unique spatial structure weaves an urban fabric connecting secluded courtyards

to outward-looking rooftops and balconies, and linking private domains to the public realm through narrow streets, public plazas and gardens, which order life within the city.

With globalization making its impact, both the image and ecology of the city is changing. This city of ochre-colored houses punctuated by rising towers, umbrella-shaped trees, colorful domes and minarets, with an infrastructure that includes a sustainable water system, solar-energy incorporation, and natural cooling devices, is changing. In this scenario of rapid turnover, growth is being hastily accommodated without developing indigenous systems, through the wholesale adoption of imported materials, construction systems, and spatial concepts alien to the city's traditions. Both the society's identity and sense of place have been threatened.

The paper explores the spatial structure of Yazd and the way its monuments and urban spaces link and unify this spatial order. It looks into how the culture of Yazd's inhabitants has influenced activities of urban life and the nature of introverted and extroverted spaces of the city that nurture these activities. Through a series of visuals, it will show how this order is woven in the overall conception of the city. The paper then examines how both the culture and physical structure of the city are threatened by forces of globalization. Understanding the spatial order of the city is therefore needed to help planners, architects, and city officials look with caution at how they will accommodate growth and plan for future development.

#### GLOBALIZING THE LOCAL: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF HONG KONG'S URBAN LANDSCAPE

Weijen Wang and Li-Tsui Fu

Western urban scholars used to low-density environments often find it difficult to believe that a city as claustrophobic as Hong Kong could exist. Even though most of the city has far surpassed humanly acceptable levels of density, it continues to grow at an ever-increasing pace, as it has for more than a century. Along with its congested urban condition and a unique aesthetic of density, Hong Kong has developed into a megacity, widening its lead as one of the world's prominent nodes of global finance. Behind the glamorous facade of a highly globalized, controlled and mobile urban landscape, supported by high-technological infrastructures, however, there lies another highly localized, diversified and territorialized urban landscape based on grass-roots social networking.

This dual landscape is best illustrated in an award-winning Japanese animation *Ghost in the Shell*, directed by Oshii Mamoru in 1992. Using Hong Kong as the prototypical hypercapitalist, cosmopolitan city of the future, narrated by a robot policewoman searching for her identity, the film weaves together a vertical world of towering skyscrapers with horizontal networks of highways, subways, ferries and skybridges. As the camera lens zooms in on the local streets and traditional markets, however, one discovers the other side of Hong Kong: exaggerated street signs and bamboo scaffoldings, barred-in balconies and clotheslines, illegal roof constructions, and congested alleyways.

Other filmed representations of Hong Kong are equally interesting. In Chinese-American director Wayne Wang's film *Life is Cheap, but Toilet Paper is Expensive,* we see another representation of Hong Kong's labyrinth-like urban fabric in a fifteen-minute long shot of a street chase. The internationally recognized Hong Kong director Wong Kar Wai has also frequently used Hong Kong's unique urban texture to set the tone for the alienated, double-faced city life. But one of the most extreme examples of appropriating Hong Kong's urban space is a popular Japanese video game, "Kowloon Gate," produced by SONY Entertainment, Inc., in 1997. The game centers around the Kowloon Walled City, an ultra-compact urban settlement, controversially demolished in 1993, which had developed without building regulation as a result of a legal vacuum left by the 1841 Sino-British Treaty. In the game, the Walled City is depicted as a surreal site of evil, dangerous, chaotic and exotic urban conditions.

Through examining such media representations of Hong Kong's urban landscape, this paper intends to discuss the following issues: the symbiotic relationship between the global and the local in the formation of Hong Kong urban space as a place(less) node for global capital flow; the various perceptions of Hong Kong's territorialized urban image as "the other space" in the context of global information flow; and, finally, the visual media's participation in the process of globalizing local tradition as an agent of deterritorializing a place-based society.

### CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE IN THE BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN

Derek Japha and Fabio Todeschini

In the eighteenth century, the first purpose-designed working-class housing for rental in Cape Town was built on the slopes of the "lion's rump" above the Dutch colonial city of Cape Town. By the mid-1840s this area, by then known as the Bo-Kaap, had grown considerably, driven by a booming market for rental housing following the abolition of slavery. The area then accommodated a diverse population entirely typical of working-class housing everywhere in Cape Town, including ex-slaves from Malaysia, Indonesia, China, India and elsewhere in Africa, as well as artisans and unskilled immigrants from Britain and elsewhere in Europe.

The environment that they shared and helped to create was, like its population, entirely typical of local patterns. It reflected cultural influences from the two colonizing powers, the Dutch and the English, as well as influences from the homelands of the various immigrant populations, from whose ranks the developers of the Bo-Kaap were drawn. The Bo-Kaap, however, was no simple amalgam of imported images of settlement. As is usually the case in such situations, the universe of the possible for its builders was limited by many local factors, including resource constraints, climate and colonial land prices. The necessity of response to these factors, as well as its complex cultural roots, made the Bo-Kaap a distinctively Cape artifact. Curiously, in the light of what follows, the significant absence in the construction of this environment was visible influence from the cultures from which the slave population was drawn.

By the late 1930s, the Bo-Kaap, then occupied mainly by Muslim descendants of this slave population, had been categorized as an inner-city slum, and was designated for demolition — which fate it survived only because it entered the complex arena of South African identity politics. In the 1940s an influential group of white Afrikaner intellectuals enlisted the support of the National Monuments Council to preserve the area as the domain of the socalled "Cape Malays," who supposedly had a distinctive identity and culture. The activities of this group of intellectuals led to the first step in the preservation of the Bo-Kaap (a single block), but the rest of the area remained a target for slum clearance. The second and decisive step in its preservation occurred when it was saved from the City Council by the same Nationalist administration responsible for razing to the ground the Bo-Kaap's sister area, District Six, in one of the Cape's most notorious race-based removals. What saved the Bo-Kaap was the concept that it was the cultural property of a distinctive ethnic group with a defined identity, a concept obviously congruent with Nationalist philosophy in general.

In the subsequent conservation program, which continues to the present day, the physical history of the Bo-Kaap was reconstructed to match its rewritten social history. One ideal house type was privileged as the supposed traditional dwelling of a supposedly homogeneous population — this being the single-story, flat-roofed, parapetted house that is one of the Cape's most distinctive vernacular creations. Bo-Kaap architecture had in fact been diverse as any other contemporary working-class area in the city. But building types thought not to fit the invented social image were systematically demolished, and new buildings were constructed according to the dictates of the chosen model.

The present historical moment has brought one final twist to a story not lacking in irony. Throughout the period of Nationalist rule, many of those designated as "Malays" resisted the term as an imposed Nationalist identity fiction. In the new South Africa, with race-based restrictions on where people can live now gone, the Bo-Kaap has become a prime inner-city area, and is under threat of gentrification. Many of the original residents seem now to be appropriating the concept "Malay" in an attempt to resist the current changes to the Bo-Kaap.

The paper will examine the history of the Bo-Kaap environment in the context of its physical development and the history of its identity politics. Material will be drawn from records in the City Council and state archives, from interviews with residents and community groups, and from fieldwork. The paper will address several of the key issues posed by the conference theme "Tradition as a Call to Arms": in particular, insidious revivals and invented traditions; the shifting politics of tradition; and the uses and abuses of tradition and the rise of kitsch.

## B.10 ARCHITECTURE AND THE MAKING OF TRADITION

#### BREAD AND BUILDING IN MÉRTOLA

Fernando Varanda

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### LOUIS KAHN IN DHAKA: FROM UNIVERSALISM TO NATIONALISM

Maryam Gusheh

University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia

### INNOVATION/TRADITION, GLOBALIZATION/GENIUS LOCI: A CASE STUDY OF CASTIGLIONE, SICILY

Maria Anna Caminiti

University of Reggio Calabria, Italy

### BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: CHINESE HUIGUAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE MALACCA STRAITS

Mei Qing

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#### BREAD AND BUILDING IN MÉRTOLA Fernando Varanda

This is a report on field research done since 1997 in Mértola, a region in southeast Portugal at the mountainous edge of Alentejo, the province on whose central plains wheat is grown. Alentejo was once called the "country's granary," but this characterization was never applicable to neighboring Mértola, whose geography is instead marked by the Guadiana River and its many subsidiary brooks and temporary streams, which run through the valleys and gorges of a mostly rolling landscape. Small-scale agriculture and animal husbandry have been the traditional ways of subsistence here, and have generated specific forms of building and settlement. However, the most striking constructions in Mértola, both in terms of form and in terms of the role they have played in society and settlement space, were those related to the transformation of grain into bread.

The traditional bread-making process in Mértola once began on threshing floors, always circular, whose different positions in space identified their role as private or communal. It then continued with the numerous and variously shaped water mills, at the river and at smaller water courses, which presented characteristic shapes and constructive solutions not used in domestic architecture. Windmills, of a design common to the rest of the country, fulfilled the same role in a contrasting setting, i.e., hilltops instead of valleys. The operation of these types of mills was not disrupted by the introduction, in the late nineteenth century, of mechanized mills, which became associated with the largest settlements of the

most fertile areas. The final step in Mértola's bread-making process was completed in bread ovens, which occupied a special role not only in the collective life of settlements and the routines of their residents, but also served as an important formal ingredient of private and public spaces. In the ensemble of low quadrangular volumes that made up the region's residential settlements, the systematic punctuation by the ovens' round shapes (cylinders and domes), and the spaces dedicated to them, were fundamental elements defining the quality of the built environment.

As might be expected, the modern era brought significant change to the region. By the mid-1970s most of Mértola's water and windmills were obsolete and had been abandoned. But the baking of bread in the traditional ovens did survive to a limited extent. Today some new ovens have even been built, mostly because of local appreciation of the bread's quality. But breadmaking is no longer a vital part of community life and space.

Nevertheless, more or less traditional building methods and shapes have been maintained in Mértola, not only because of the continuing local acceptance of former models, but also due to efforts by external agents to preserve historical situations. Nevertheless, there has been an unmistakable change in the overall quality of space. Several reasons for this are common to processes of change elsewhere. But among the local reasons the most evident is the lack of the formal complementarity provided by the ovens' rounded volumes. Efforts have been made to compensate, by introducing "community squares" and round shapes in houses or public buildings, but these have generally appeared artificial and contextually displaced.

#### LOUIS KAHN IN DHAKA: FROM UNIVERSALISM TO NATIONALISM

Maryam Gusheh

Louis Kahn's design for the Parliament Building in Dhaka, Bangladesh, has been hailed as the culminating point in his career, and the site where he most successfully captured the essence of a universal and timeless monument. Paradoxically, this building has also found a two-fold localized and yet conflicting status. First, it has gained appeal within the secular Bengali national discourse, which has both identified the project as an appropriate response to the topography of the delta and characterized it as a distinctively "Bengali" in character. Second, this monument has been celebrated as a powerful expression of an "Islamic" architectural tradition, and hence it has come to be valued according to the nationalist tendencies that define Bangladesh along religious lines. It is the intersection of the American architect's utopian vision for this project and the site's ultimate absorption into multiple Bengali nationalist narratives that forms the focus of this paper.

The original client for the project was the Pakistani government, which commissioned Kahn to design the master plan and the associated structures for the legislative capital complex in Dhaka. This development was to be subordinate to the "first capital" in Islamabad, which would house the principal seat of government, and was desig-

nated in Pakistan's constitution as the capital of the republic. Kahn's engagement with the project was, however, interrupted by the Pakistani civil war (1971) and the independence of East Pakistan. Upon completion, the parliament building thus became home to the legislators of the independent state of Bangladesh.

In contextualizing Kahn's commission within the social and political milieu of this period, the paper will demonstrate that Kahn's position as a "Western expert," along with the complex structure and the political motives of his client, provided him with the authority required to realize in the capital complex the quality of the sublime, the ruin, and the Piranesian aesthetics that had occupied him in the 1950s and 6os. These qualities, defined by Kahn as the essence of a universal and timeless architecture, were explored in his American projects, but they were ultimately mediated by his response to United States contemporary architectural culture, leading to the complex readings of his American public institutions. Given Kahn's appropriation of Pakistan as a mythical site of origins, his "volume zero," the Assembly project became more exclusively centered on fundamental ideals, where his abstract forms simultaneously shaped a mythical landscape of ruins and a utopian monument to the notion of assembly.

The paper will situate Kahn's interpretation of Pakistan as a site for beginnings and his assumption of contemporary cultural vacuity firmly within the Orientalist discourse. But it will also argue that, paradoxically, it was Kahn's design principles, and in particular the ambiguous spatial qualities inherent in his fundamentalist approach to the project, that have allowed the translation of this space into a symbol within competing narratives in the contemporary nationalist discourse in Bangladesh, and that have allowed it to become an icon informing contemporary architectural education and practice in Dhaka.

#### INNOVATION/TRADITION, GLOBALIZATION/GENIUS LOCI: A CASE STUDY OF CASTIGLIONE, SICILY

Maria Anna Caminiti

Today the reverberation of phenomena from a single place to the whole human system has given rise to the expression "global village." These conditions have also led to juxtapositions of concepts, such as small and large, particular and general, heterogeneity and homogeneity. Political, economic and social elements strongly influence the transformation of landscape. As a result, architectural debate today concerns such oppositions as innovation/tradition, globalization/genius loci. But must we accept the ineluctable prevalence of one over the other, or can we find a possible mediation? I think there are several ways to counteract the increasing loss of landscape identity in order to maintain existing conditions and building traditions.

We can adopt different approaches to restoration, including adaptation of existing buildings. We can research historical building typologies to transform them to fit new housing requirements, thereby saving old buildings and building techniques from obsolescence. New buildings can also interpret place and respect the most meaningful features of context. Finally, we can look for forms of

language contamination. In this field, there are many meaningful examples of proposals in the tradition of modern architecture.

In Southern Italy the range of existing context necessitates using different methods to preserve landscape identity. In larger towns, whose urbanized patterns have spread into surrounding rural areas, and in areas where diffused building connects a network of minor centers in a disorderly way, large interventions can be made in the natural geographic landscape. These can be related to engineering works, in the process giving aesthetic dimension to railroad junctions, service structures, and the big human containers characteristic of contemporary society. It is also necessary to recover abandoned areas and reconnect marginal zones to create new relationships. There are also areas where the relationship between urban centers, infrastructure, and landscape is clear enough, and where the different elements keep their identity. But within these areas there are newly built zones which are distinguished by their high density, pseudo-modern language, and casual assemblage of volumes. Within historic centers there are also many poor areas, the recovery of which may be best facilitated through economic renewal — although built interventions should be considered as part of a broader strategy.

I will outline here a study of Castiglione, a still-inhabited historic village in Sicily, which has some degraded areas and limited expansion zones. Its buildings show a very interesting setting in relationship to the complex orography of the place. Here we can find not only medieval and Baroque architectural features, but also an eighteenth-century planned intervention. The faculty of the University of Reggio Calabria began a joint project with the local authority to study the built areas of this village and propose projects possibly involving local firms, factories, and regional vocational centers.

#### BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: CHINESE HUIGUAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE MALACCA STRAITS Mei Qing

There is a saying that wherever there is a Chinese community, there is *huiguan* (association hall) architecture. Several types of *huiguan*, established by pioneer Chinese immigrants, appeared in the Malacca Straits around the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the heyday of the junk trade between southeast China and Nanyang (Southeast Asia).

Huiguans served as bases for sojourners, maintained their connections with each other in aboriginal places, and served as links with their native places. Huiguan buildings provided the immigrants with a public place to gather, to discuss issues within the community, and to repose their memories to their ancestors. It was also a place for merchants to conduct business and commercial exchange, which played a vital and multifaceted role in establishing the relations around the region of the South China Sea.

Why was the *huiguan* so popular a typological architecture built by Chinese immigrants in the Malacca Straits? How did these *huiguans* change in different social contexts? As a type of transplanted architecture, what was the main difference between *huiguan* architecture in the Malacca Straits and their prototypes in China?

The research was based on site visits and interviews with Chinese immigrants in Singapore and Malaysia. First-hand materials and archives helped to set up a functional comparison between the prototypes and their new typology in the Malacca Straits.

This study is focused on the origins of *huiguans* in China and Chinese *huiguans* in the Chinese settlements and their transformations in the Malacca Straits. Several *huiguan* types were studied for their social functions and meanings in Chinese communities. The Chinese activities related to *huiguans* within local contexts will be explored to illuminate the social structure of Chinese settlements in the Straits. Based on the explorations, we will see in what aspects these *huiguans* were still Chinese in style although transplanted to the new land, and to what extent these *huiguans* changed both in function and in form.

### THE TERRITORY AROUND ETNA: DISCOURSES OF PLACE OR DETERRITORIALIZATION?

Giuseppe Arcidiacono University of Reggio Calabria, Italy

### THE DISCIPLINE OF BUILDING: TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AS THE BASIS OF MODERN DESIGN

Giovanni Leoni Polytechnic of Bari, Italy

### CULTURAL HYBRIDITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF EASTERN POLAND

Andrzej Piotrowski University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, U.S.A.

## TOWARD POST-TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT: THE ROLE OF MEANING IN THE FORMATION OF COMMON SPACE

Mas Santosa

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### THE TERRITORY AROUND ETNA: DISCOURSES OF PLACE OR DETERRITORIALIZATION?

Giuseppe Arcidiacono

We ascribe to design the role of judgment about reality, as the inner need for its configuration. Architectural work suggests "critical comment" (Lucan), which fixes connections with forms and cultural characteristics of a territory. Nevertheless, it keeps and values distances that separate us from any tradition that does not forget discontinuity, and it implies a detachment and abstraction process. Therefore, by acknowledging a site identity, we could better know, by analogy and difference, our identity — bearing in mind that identification of "others" does not mean conciliation or refusal. The risk of conciliation is homologation, i.e., cultural mimetism. But though we can see ourselves as more "modern," the refusal of what is and precedes us, is only the other side of the coin: it belongs to an ancient order where, necessarily, the new passes through times of death. About art and architecture, the course will be therefore, of heritage and together with the ritual profanation of the place and history: because not all projects can be by context mechanically deduced that is folk "pastiche." At the same time a design can never be "abstract," unrelated to the living place. The punishment is not being architecture, but a "real-scale" model simply laid out on ground.

We are interested in "listening to places" (Portoghesi) — not when they concern "regionalism," or worse, "folk" — but when they express design tension that may fertilize places with architecture, mak-

ing us recognize potential and beauty, as opposed to those strategies of occupation and cancellation committed by modernist tabula rasa. The theoretical and intellectual characteristics of such a view were based in the controversial 1920s, but on Etna, this tabula rasa (which has to remain conceptual to assure critical detachment by context) has been banally transformed into a blunt tool, which has broken lavic flows and the ground terraces in order to bring back the "cliché" of the abstract plane. It has not recognized more than that "the territory around Etna was set up with elements and materials arranged symmetrically up and under ground" (Accasto): so Volcano's fire streets made themselves "basole" for streets; lavas were used to limit houses. We must recognize that the walls and the street stones, architraves, corbels and portals, and every element is taken from the Big Cava: which is the volcano itself. For centuries every generation has been able to converse, modify and enrich in its own way the tradition of building on Etna. In this way they have enjoyed sites that have been consolidated into aesthetic images with exact characteristics.

We took part in National MURST (Department of University) Research and study the Etnean small town of Castiglione. We carried out research into the possible common elements between the tradition of building on Etna and new languages introduced by the Modern Movement. We have tried to remove the modernist abstraction from the site, because invention could became finally what is "invented": what is found once again.

### THE DISCIPLINE OF BUILDING: TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AS THE BASIS OF MODERN DESIGN

Giovanni Leoni

The paper aims to demonstrate how in the second half of the twentieth century an accurate and scientific study of traditional architecture may downplay the myth that such architecture is natural and undesigned in order to establish a new direction for design. This research arrived at lessons from tradition that went beyond stylistic revival. In particular, it examined tectonic and functional qualities of traditional architecture, seen as the result of a building knowledge improved in the course of time. This building knowledge is a discipline to be respected, determined by conditions such as the relationship with the place, knowledge of materials and their characteristics, and respect for the framework of production. Such a discipline is not hindered by "passatism" (love for what is past), but is a discipline that can serve as the basis for a thoroughly modern design, absolutely nonlocalistic — or, even less, vernacular.

These research works can be explained only by inverting the successful formula of critical regionalism. It involves architects who do not think of their works as the regional expression of an international architectonic language. On the contrary, such architects believe that universally effective results can be reached through accurate research into local building disciplines. Thus they avoid traditionalist positions but, at the same time, provide a radical alternative to the architectonic research of the avant-garde and post-avant-garde.

Actually, the application of a building discipline learned from tradition implies a renunciation of the formal individualism and

obsessive search for new languages typical of the twentieth century. As a matter of fact, it advocates the adoption of a new architectonic anonymity. Thus, architectonic expressiveness moves from individual figurative invention, to research into intrinsic architectonic qualities derived from the application of building method. Of course, such a kind of analysis can be conducted only through the study of specific cases. The cases to be examined are as follows:

- Gardella, "Barbieri House" (1944-47), Càstana (Pavia), Italv.
- Gardella, "Block for Borsalino's clerks" (1950-52), Alessandria, Italy.
- F. Albini, B.B.P.R., I. Gardella, "INA-Casa quarter" (1951-53), Cesate, Italy.
- J.A. Coderch De Sentmenat, "La Barceloneta" (1951), Barcelona, Spain.
- J.A. Coderch De Sentmenat, "Ballvé House" (1957), Camprodon (Girona), Spain.
- F. Tàvora, Tennis pavilion, municipal park of Quinta da Conceição, (1956–60), Mathosinos, Portugal.
- F. Tàvora, Primary school "Do Cedro" (1958–60), Vila Nova de Gaia (Porto), Portugal.
- Konstantinidis, "Dressing rooms and guest's quarters" (1958-60), Epidaurus, Greece.
- Konstantinidis, "Motel Xenia" (1960), Kalambaka, Greece.
- J. Utzon, "Houses in Fredensborg" (1959-1962), Fredensborg, Denmark.
- R. Rainer, "Houses in Steinbruch" (1960), Steinbruch, Germany.

### CULTURAL HYBRIDITY IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF EASTERN POLAND

Andrzej Piotrowski

Even though many writers maintain that forces behind contemporary culture and economy uproot traditions, I believe that these forces, first of all, threaten to render a particular kind of architectural knowledge invalid. Globalization has seemed to reverse the efforts during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth, when traditions were invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger) to turn the symbolic complexities of physical environments into a stable and ideologically useful matrix of knowledge.

I am referring here, for example, to countries like Germany where the political project of establishing national identity manifested itself in historical research focused on an idealized Classical heritage, and where the architecture of public buildings (especially museums and their collections) actualized these symbolic references. I am also thinking here about late-romantic efforts undertaken in the countries of northern and eastern Europe to create epistemological filters capable of distilling knowledge of existing buildings so as to extract attributes that supposedly symbolized national identity. In these processes, as in the colonies, the actual complexity of many European environments was dismissed as symbolically inferior and imperfect.

I believe that exactly the knowledge of what was repressed may help redefine architectural traditions today.

In order to present these arguments, I will use two cases of provincial — that is to say, stylistically imperfect — religious buildings in eastern Poland. Furthermore, I will use the new strategy of focusing on what appears to be inconsistent or conflicted in these buildings. The first building is the Holy Trinity chapel in Lublin. Constructed in the fourteenth century as part of a royal castle on the eastern border of Poland, its most distinctive feature today is the tension in its interior between its Gothic architecture and its Russian Byzantine paintings. The second building is the church of Annunciation in Tomaszow Lubelski, built in the eighteenth century. The space of this church mediates two symbolic logics: a vernacular tradition of heavy-timber construction; and a form of late Mannerism imported to the region from Italy when Bernardo Morando designed and built the city of Zamosc.

It is my contention that such a critical understanding of "the other traditions" in European architecture will help open up the closure of architectural knowledge imposed by European scholars a century ago. My study will draw attention to the possible meanings resulting from processes which shaped representation of buildings on the periphery of political and ideological power, as well as those meanings that resulted from time shifts, as registered in the interactions between different architectural ideologies. I believe that this different knowledge may help us understand the issue of contemporary change caused by the forces of globalism in various traditional environments.

## TOWARD POST-TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT: THE ROLE OF MEANING IN THE FORMATION OF COMMON SPACE Mas Santosa

This paper is a result of research that attempts to look at the importance of attaching meaning in the formation of spaces in a settlement area. Three types of developed settlements were taken as case studies: the traditional kampung; the colonial kampung, as it represented the traditional settlement; and the recently developed walk-up flat, representing the modern settlement. The socalled colonial kampung consists of buildings with heavy-weight construction, like the colonial house. The recent condition of the two kampungs are the result of a kampung improvement project sponsored by the World Bank, while the local authorities have more recently developed the walk-up flat. The three settlements have similar conditions in several aspects, but they are physically differentiated by their arrangement of common spaces, even though these spaces have similar meaning. The local people inhabit the common spaces, maintaining their remaining traditional lifestyle, particularly practices related to their belief in Islam.

The first section of the paper begins by arguing that the values of space are valid only for a specific environment at a specific time, and that they change when the environment changes. This belief will be demonstrated in the spatial formation of common space in traditional settlements of several places in the country of Indonesia. I will then examine in detail the spatial formation of the common spaces in the case studies. Through a metaphoric way of thinking, the values for the environment can be explained, where humans are seen as an aspect of the environment.

The second part of the paper shows the value of similarities in the spatial formation of traditional settlements, traditional and colonial kampungs, and modern walk-up flats. Using the extensive body of data collected during the study, a definite pattern of space formation can be delineated. This will show the continuity and change of spatial-formation concepts in each case and between cases. The central court is the primary spatial unit in traditional settlement, and serves as the venue for many social and cultural activities. The spaciousness of the settlement is a response to the hot and humid physical environment. In case of the kampungs, the very dense environment, the narrow streets, and the public spaces are the primary spaces where inhabitants may carry on routine social and cultural life. The streets also act as wind corridors to distribute the air flow to each part of the settlement, cooling the settlement and creating thermal comfort for the inhabitants. In fact, the walk-up flat was also designed to make use of the open spaces for social and cultural activities, and to provide natural cooling for the inhabitants.

The third part of the paper traces the linkages in the meaning of spaces in traditional settlements. It offers the conclusion that even though traditional values have remained constant, a transformation of space has occurs in order to maintain a constancy of socio-cultural patterns despite changes in the physical environment. Thus, traditions are intact, but spaces have been transformed.

#### A.11 LOCALIZING THE GLOBAL

#### LOCALIZING GLOBAL ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS: POST-MODERN INTERPRETATIONS IN CURITIBA, BRAZIL

Clara Irazabal

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## LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS OR GLOBALIZING LOCAL TRADITIONS? RURAL SETTLEMENTS ON MADURA ISLAND, INDONESIA

Muhammad Faqih

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## NEIGHBORS MAKE GOOD FENCES: MEDIEVAL MYTHS AND TALMUDIC TALES IN THE HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB

Jennifer Rachel Cousineau

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### NINETEENTH-CENTURY GLOBALIZATION: TRANSFORMING THE HISTORIC CENTER OF CAIRO

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#### LOCALIZING GLOBAL ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS: POST-MODERN INTERPRETATIONS IN CURITIBA, BRAZIL Clara Irazabal

This article examines three prevalent types in the production of recent architecture in Curitiba, Brazil: residential, commercial, and business-related. Through the examination of specific examples in each category, I investigate how these types grew out of and have simultaneously affected social elitism and urban alienation, consumerism and pleasure, and prestige and global appeal. I argue that these conditions signal an acculturation of globalization trends that finds little resistance among the local design, planning and governmental elite of the city. However, tensions exist between the local and the global in Curitiba that are expressed in the production of these specific types of architecture and urbanism, resulting in a hybrid postmodern built environment where global traditions are "localized" — i.e., where they are assigned different, syncretistic meanings and reconstructed forms.

The modernist idea of "cities-in-parks" has been redefined in Curitiba to make it more appealing to the upper class. Curitiba's Ecoville presents the same type of high-rise, isolated residential towers contained in modern visions of these cities. Yet instead of the "universal space" once promoted as a public realm, the spaces and amenities between Ecoville's towers are discontinuous, fenced-off, and privatized. The result is an exacerbation of the social and physical alienation that results from this type of development.

Ecoville thus represents a "localization" of a global modern tradition, but with an inverted social agenda. In addition to Ecoville, the paper explores the potential impacts of Alphaville, a new walled "edge city" that takes the form of a fortified, self-sufficient subdivision that includes many urban services in addition to residences.

In the 1990s the private sector came up with the latest "theming plot" in Curitiba: the Estação Plaza Show, a mixture of shopping and entertainment center, tellingly dubbed the "shopping of pleasure." The Plaza Show is a unique hybrid entity, inspired both by the hyper-real Main Street in the Universal Studio theme park in LA, and by a prototypical "traditional" Brazilian town, train station included. In addition to Estação Plaza Show, several American-style shopping malls and "big-box" hypermarkets have been built in the past few years in Curitiba. The superimposition of these massive structures on an existing fine urban fabric has breached the continuity of the urban grain and imposed tremendous competitive pressure on local entrepreneurs. It has also caused distress to the street network and created greater inequality in the social appropriation of the city.

Curitiba has made major attempts to attract global corporations. Private developers are seizing the moment, as clearly manifested in the boom in recent private office development. As singular examples of this trend, two office buildings, the Curitiba and the Batel Trade Centers, have resulted in a postmodern architecture that formally mixes elements of international architecture with local, vernacular traditions, affecting their urban surroundings in distinct ways.

## LOCALIZING GLOBAL TRADITIONS OR GLOBALIZING LOCAL TRADITIONS? RURAL SETTLEMENTS ON MADURA ISLAND, INDONESIA

Muhammad Fagih

Many studies on international migration have focused on migrants and the nature of their destination, but few have given adequate attention to migrants' origins. However, globalization not only changes migrants' lives but also alters what they leave behind — socially, culturally and environmentally. Exploring the migrants' behavior within their settlement of origin can help depict the process of localizing global traditions. This paper is based on a case study in a rural area of Madura Island in Indonesia.

The Indonesian government program to encourage people to work overseas in the 1980s accelerated the globalization process within the rural areas of Java and Madura. Suddenly, the mostly illiterate farmers were hit by an information explosion that changed their lives. People went to work abroad, sent back their earnings, and developed their dwellings within their original settlements. A case study of two villages has been conducted to explore this phenomenon. Data collection included participant observation, indepth interviews, sketching and photographs. Based on this data, the paper examines the spatial and cultural implications of the international migration process for income generation.

The fact that migrants lived for long periods in their dwellings in a foreign country and built a new house in their home village depicts, on the one hand, the dynamics of attachment to places redolent with meaning, and on the other, the changes of meaning and use of space within the migrants' original settlements. Examining the changes of housing form and space organization can illuminate the impact of globalization on housing behavior. Further, the paper discusses how an analysis of the acculturation process can depict the dynamics of localization and placelessness, attachment to place, the meaning of home, and the process of localizing global traditions.

## NEIGHBORS MAKE GOOD FENCES: MEDIEVAL MYTHS AND TALMUDIC TALES IN THE HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB Jennifer Rachel Cousineau

An article in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* in December 1993 told of a "bizarre madness [that] seems to have taken hold of a North London suburb, with predictions of pitched battles and warnings of Bosnian-style ethnic disintegration." At a superficial level, the issue was the proposal by a group of London Jews to construct an *eruv* in their neighborhood. An *eruv* is a physically enclosed area serving as a large private domain within which Jews who are forbidden to carry objects from public to private domain, and vice versa, on the Sabbath are permitted to do so. The territory onto which the orthodox Jews had proposed mapping the *eruv* was not a neutral zone. Part of the *eruv* bordered the Hampstead Garden Suburb, a national conservation area, and thus an officially sanctioned locus of English identity.

The *eruv* debates spanning the eleven-year period between 1988 and 1999 exposed the encounter of two responses to modernity. While each side viewed the other as retrograde and reactionary, both parties appealed to notions of "tradition" to legitimize their interventions in the urban landscape. With evidence derived from public hearing records, local and national newspapers, architectural documentation, and narratives and interviews with neighborhood residents, this paper will explore the ways in which two groups of English citizens imposed their identities and their interpretations of tradition onto a North London suburb.

Middle- and upper-class reformers planned the Hampstead Garden Suburb at the beginning of the twentieth century in response to the disease-ridden condition of nineteenth-century London slums. Though essentially segregationist in nature, the garden suburb proffered the myth of the medieval English village to all citizens. Myth it was, for the vernacular house types (from workers' and artisans' cottages to luxurious terrace-houses arranged neatly by social class), the expansive public greens, and the access to the employment opportunities of the city, never existed in the medieval context. Moreover, a few years after its construction, this dream of English communalism became available for purchase only to upper-class Londoners.

The orthodox Jews who shared the neighborhood by the last decade of the twentieth century appealed to a text-based tradition to define their place within the city. After the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the banishment of Jews from the city in the first century, rabbis legislated the *eruv* into existence, and set down

their discussions in the Talmud. The eruv could be imposed on and incorporated into any landscape, and would function to maintain the bonds of the Jewish community within it.

My narrative begins at the point when these two groups, with their entrenched place-based traditions, confronted each other openly and publicly in North London. Ultimately, my exploration of their encounters and interactions will join a growing literature in offering a perspective on competing and contesting ideas about the role of tradition within English society. This case study is part of the ongoing discourse on identity, citizenship and belonging in the modern world.

#### NINETEENTH-CENTURY GLOBALIZATION: TRANSFORMING THE HISTORIC CENTER OF CAIRO

Yasser Elsheshtawy

With regard to colonialization's replacement by "globalization," strong similarities may be seen to exist between the city of Cairo at the end of the nineteenth century and the political climate of today. Just as advances in information technology and global communications are revolutionizing life today, so did the technological and artistic advances of that earlier time revolutionize people's sense of space and movement, and lead to a "new architecture" and "urbanism." This paper argues that rather than resorting to globalization's opposite, fundamentalism, or to some imagined and romanticized past, one can uncover the positive qualities of globalization through a historical discourse in which the political and social underpinnings of urban design are dismantled. In such a discourse, globalization becomes an expression of the local political climate in each city, modified by the needs and desires of its citizens.

At the end of the nineteenth century Cairo underwent a series of transformations which in many respects radically altered its medieval urban fabric. Behind these changes was the hand of Ali Mubarak, Egypt's public works minister. He described these transformations in minute detail in his seminal 1888 book Al-Khutat Al-Tawfikia Al-Gadida, which he modeled after Al-Magrizi's fifteenth-century classic. In this work, Ali Mubarak left a complete record of the ideas, projects, problems, and ultimately the ideology of a regime which had set out to move Egypt away from its (Ottoman) Islamic past. In terms of the capital city, the regime's goal was to create a center of civilization compatible with, and equal to, such European capitals as Paris, Rome and London — which were themselves undergoing radical urban development projects at the time.

According to historian Spiro Kostof, these clearance projects were termed sventramenti (i.e., "disemboweling, taking the guts out of, making hollow"). Hausmann, himself, in his redesign of Paris, had used the term eventrement to express the same idea — hence, the term "Hausmannization." Under the guise of health and traffic issues, these projects aimed at removing the historic fabric, or altering it, thus curing various administrative, social and economic problems. Another political aim, according to Kostof, was to "reevaluate the monumental achievements of the past in relation to the new masters of these old cities." A prime example was

Mussolini's grand Via dei Fori Imperiali in Rome, which linked his seat of power in the Piazza Venezia opposite the newly constructed Vittorio Emmanuel monument with the ancient Coliseum, thus associating the new ruler with the ancient Roman emperors.

In a similar manner, the ultimate project symbolizing the emergence of Egypt onto the world stage was the "creation" of a street that would disect the traditional city, extending from the old center of power, Salah al-Din's citadel, to the new seat of government at Ezbekiy'ya square. This project had originally been proposed by Egypt's Albanian ruler Mohamed Ali (1805-1842), yet it had remained a dream until the ascendancy of Isma'il (1863-1879). Acting as Isma'il's agent, Ali Mubarak thus completed a modernization process that had begun more slowly under the reign of Mohamed Ali.

The story of these developments is ultimately the story of a city shaped by its rulers, and molded and modified by its residents, in a process that continues until this day. Through a reading of Cairo's urban and architectural artifacts it is possible to understand its contemporary conditions, and therefore acquire the knowledge necessary to direct its future.

## B.11 DETERRITORIALIZATION AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF TRADITION

#### TRADITION, PROPAGANDA AND POWER

James Steele

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## FROM DETERRITORIALIZATION TO RETERRITORIALIZATION: GLOCALIZATION AND THE IMAGINED GEOGRAPHIES OF EMERGING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS

Matthew Sparke

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

#### THE ORIGIN OF "WORLD HERITAGE"

Walter Lanchet

University of Tours, France

## TRADITION AND CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Joseph Aranha

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### TRADITION, PROPAGANDA AND POWER James Steele

Addressing the claim that vernacular studies and the search for authentic traditional expression have been usurped in some instances to serve exclusionary, segregationist agendas, this paper will concentrate on a number of recent case studies. These studies are all taken from one specific socio-religious context in which image and form, rather than integrity of content, have been utilized as a means of cultural propaganda. The paper will analyze why this is so in relation to each case study — which range from residential to urban in scale.

The paper will begin with a brief overview of the tremendous social pressures brought by global homogenization, since these have triggered and exacerbated exclusionary initiatives. Using many sources, such as Friedman's *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, this overview will trace the extraordinary growth in world trade over the last fifty years, one in which American goods and services, and the value they embody, have come to dominate world markets. This discussion will emphasize that the present weaving of commercial and cultural connections is nothing new. It has had many precedents, from ancient history through the nineteenth century. However, it is the speed of information transfer today that has so radically transformed cultures, political entities, and businesses worldwide. Two of the most venerable of these cultures — China and India — offer the most obvious examples. Since the Chinese economy was opened to the West in 1978, the trappings of consumer culture have become ubiquitous as

symbols of social change. A similar shift has taken place in India since 1991 due to the influx of multinational corporations.

In The End of the Nation-State, Kenichi Ohmae argued that the most significant effect of the information revolution has been, and will continue to be, that national borders are becoming meaningless, and it is this possibility that has prompted political opposition. The paper will focus on instances of such opposition in the heartland of the Islamic world. Here, religious and social values are so closely intertwined that the threat of the assimilation of Western values is particularly noxious. In spite of this common attitude, however, important differences exist in the societies from which the examples are chosen. These case-study examples include the rural residence of Prince Sultan in Riyadh, by Abdel Wahed El Wakil (1999); Oasral Hokm in Riyadh, by Rasem Badran (1998); the Cultural Museum in Qatar, by Rasem Badran (under construction); a tourist resort and hotel on the Red Sea in Egypt by Rami Dahan, as compared to another in the same area by Michael Graves (1999); and renewed activity at Dar al Islam in Abiquia, New Mexico.

## FROM DETERRITORIALIZATION TO RETERRITORIALIZATION: GLOCALIZATION AND THE IMAGINED GEOGRAPHIES OF EMERGING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS

Matthew Sparke

It has been something of an automatic response among geographers in recent years to challenge claims that globalization is deterritorializing the world. Counter-claims are made that such border-eroding developments are paralleled by reciprocal tendencies toward reterritorialization. Rather than repeat such counter-claims in the abstract, this paper develops an argument about the way reterritorialization has taken form in the emergence of localized cross-border regions.

The promoters of cross-border regions often present them as by-products of both the regionalizing and border-transcending tendencies associated with globalization. Such areas are thus presented in the academic literature as examples of so-called glocalization. By presenting primary research on two such regions — Cascadia (a bi-national region incorporating British Columbia in Canada and Washington and Oregon states in the U.S.), and Transmanche (a region linking Kent, Nord-Pas de Calais, and Belgium) — this paper examines the peculiarly marked way in which cultural geographies of imagined landscapes have been put to work in the promotion of trans-border reterritorialization. The paper concludes with some questions about what this portends about discourses of place in a world shaped ever more by the economics of space.

### THE ORIGIN OF "WORLD HERITAGE" Walter Lanchet

This paper will center on research on the origin, meaning and application of the concept and paradigm of "World Heritage" underlying the orthodoxy of cultural globalization. I have examined a common policy of conservation put into practice in World Heritage Towns (see *Management Guide: The Recommendations of World Heritage Towns Organization*). Both WHTO's *Guide* and the World Heritage Convention's presentations consider World Heritage inside designated cultural areas as a typology defined according to the parameters of function, civilization, and artistic or historical epoch or style. In keeping with this definition, UNESCO has instituted an elitist policy of assistance based on a differentiation between those who know about safeguarding practices (U.N. experts and institutional preservationists) and those who do not (you, me, and the ordinary inhabitants of a place).

The attitude described above is now widespread (one only has to listen to local specialists in cultural property conservation). As a result, the treatment of architectural forms and building materials has become dominated by strategic and political points of view. According to this dynamic, after a government has chosen a course of preservation, institutional practitioners are brought in to magnify the historic urban order in order to provide a positive touristic image.

Such "patrimonialization" has now come to bear on the old towns of Fez and Tunis (my examples in this paper). Here, the trend has been linked to a spatial fictionalization, according to which the *madinas* of both towns have acquired a new touristic vocation. At the expense of the traditional inhabitants, projects are now underway which will substitute one population for another through gentrification and the replacement of artisanal activities. One key to understanding this patrimonialization is the way both *madinas* have been institutionalized as the exclusive heritage of one intellectual aristocracy. Thus, Fez has come to be seen as the "first imperial town," the "cultural and spiritual capital-city" of the Moroccan Cherifian Kingdom. And Tunis has become a cultural capital-city, the particular heritage of the imagined "real Fassis/Baldis" community. As such, both may be understood as the virtual "World Heritage" of certain romantic scholars.

## TRADITION AND CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE Joseph Aranha

Major forces of change during the twentieth century, such as the spread of the Modern Movement, together with more recent phenomena, such as economic development, consumerism, mass production, and globalization, have changed the lives and built environments of the people of South and Southeast Asia. On the one hand, the negative effects of these forces have drastically changed, and even obliterated, centuries-old architectural traditions and traditional built environments in this part of the world. On the other, these forces have brought renewed interest in traditional architecture and in reexamining local architectural heritage for ideas, directions and solutions to contemporary architectural problems.

The invocation and application of tradition in South and Southeast Asian architecture today ranges from innovative use of local materials and the skill of local craftsmen to produce simple, low-cost, and culturally appropriate buildings, to high-tech high-rises and upscale tourist resorts intended to evoke feelings of nostalgia and

exoticism. Some architects and designers in the region have produced works of substance derived from careful study and understanding of the underlying planning and design principles of particular architectural traditions. Others have used traditional materials and architectural forms in imitative and gratuitous ways that emphasize style and image without regard to function, symbolism or meaning.

For societies in South and Southeast Asia, the notion of heritage and continuity of tradition in architecture is complex, and requires careful consideration when viewed in terms of present modernization, globalization, and rapid development. This paper discusses and reflects upon the uses as well as abuses of tradition in contemporary architectural practice. It argues that despite the loss of traditional built environments due to the forces of change, tradition continues to play an important role in contemporary architecture in the region, and tradition-based design from this region has even begun to influence architecture in other parts of the world.

The material for the discussion comes from the author's continuing field research and more than two decades worth of involvement with research in continuity and change in the traditional built environment, as well as from the author's knowledge of new developments and trends in contemporary architecture in Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent. In searching for creative, economically affordable, and culturally meaningful solutions to contemporary architectural issues such as energy conservation, sustainability and identity, the examples discussed in this paper point not toward the end of tradition but toward new directions for architectural research and innovative design based upon tradition.

## C.11 PRESERVING TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS: FIELD CHALLENGES

#### HOUSE HUNTING, OR I'VE NEVER "LIVED" IN MY HOUSE André Casault

Université Laval, Quebec, Canada

## AN AUTHENTIC FUTURE? CONTEMPORARY ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL BUILDING ASPIRATION AND PROCESS IN EASTERN TIBET

Suzanne Ewing

University of Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.

### DEFINING TERRITORY FOR THE PEOPLE ALONG THE CILIWUNG RIVER IN JAKARTA

Yulia Nurliani Harahap University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

## VILLAGE CULTURE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF ADAPTIVE REUSE OF A HAKKA VILLAGE AND ITS ENVIRONS

Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

#### HOUSE HUNTING, OR I'VE NEVER "LIVED" IN MY HOUSE André Casault

Less than fifty years ago the Innus of Unamen Shipu, a Northern Québec native community in Canada, were still a nomadic tribe, hunting, fishing, and picking food in the vast land of northeast Canada. Their first (known) contact with white men had occurred centuries before. Their caribou-fur winter huts and bark summer huts had long since been replaced by the canvas prospector tents of early European explorers.

It was around 1954 that the government of Canada officially created an Indian reserve. The group of Innus were then strongly advised, forced or compelled (depending on the point of view taken) to settle in Unamen Shipu, a site that they had occupied seasonally for thousands of years. At this time the first sedentary houses were built, as well as a church for the first Catholic priest. Also at this time, the first recipients of the Canada welfare program among the Innus received their first monthly allowances. In order to qualify for this program, the Innu had to have a permanent address, and their children had to go to school in Sept-Îles, a city located several hours away by boat. This meant that the children had to be separated from their parents for an entire year. These were all incentives to permanently settle the Innu.

Although the reserves were initially meant to be a temporary alternative to the nomadic Innu way of life, a kind of transition phase before their total integration into Canadian society, around

180 houses have since been built for the Innu by the Indian Affairs Ministry of the Canadian government. The community now houses about 800 people.

The Innu people have been alienated from their centuries-old way of life by their relationship with white men. They are still having problems having their traditional nomadic fishing and hunting customs recognized. The vast majority of Innus, apart from their traditional activities like hunting and fishing, want to have a television, wash their clothes in washing machines, and ride skidoos in winter and trucks in summer. They are, however, reacting implicitly, but strongly, against the type of houses that have been built for them. Inside the houses, room and wardrobe doors have been removed, and clothes have been stacked on the floor in the corners of bedrooms. Very often the only piece of furniture is a mattress on the floor. The basement is empty except for a wood stove, and is used to prepare caribou fur and dry caribou meat. The houses have been built with a big bay window in the living room, no vestibule, a laboratory type kitchen, and no proper place to install a wood stove on the ground floor. These houses and the Innu dwelling culture are totally mismatched.

For the last four years the author has collaborated with members of the Innu community in their search for a more adequate sustainable dwelling, for a house that would correspond to and respect their way of life and their aspirations. The paper presents this experience and the search for a built form that expresses their contemporary identity in a world that either refuses them or, too often, accepts them, but in a nostalgic or romantic manner.

## AN AUTHENTIC FUTURE? CONTEMPORARY ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL BUILDING ASPIRATION AND PROCESS IN EASTERN TIBET

Suzanne Ewing

The rural areas of eastern Tibet are just being opened to visitors. Here, the influence of both social and urban "modernization" have been brought by increasing numbers of Chinese residents. Western globalizing influences have also been brought by tourists, whose expectations of cultural "consumption" have had further impacts on traditional culture. At the root of this situation is a fundamental paradigm shift, variously manifest, from the implicitly evolving process of "tradition" to the primarily replaceable products of "modernity."

The focus of Tibetan architectural studies, limited by historically restricted access, has primarily been on monasteries and other religious institutions of "high culture" and associated Lamaistic literature and art. More recently, however, given the potential for increased revenue from tourism, internationally funded research projects have tended toward economically driven conservation projects. Nevertheless, difficulties of accessibility to more remote rural areas continue to hinder more comprehensive study of Tibetan domestic dwellings — and the study of how recent socio-political and cultural change have affected the physical environment of the "everyday," which is the primary preoccupation of this study.

The paper will present a historical analysis of rural and semirural family houses in the Ganze area of Kham, a traditionally Tibetan area now officially part of Sichuan Province, P.R.C. Illustrated by relevant aspects of case-study houses, the study will explore the impact of contemporary agents of change, as exemplified by critical building issues. The pace and economy of construction arising from a new incoming population with building skills, the shortage of timber following a government logging ban in the upper reaches of the Yangtse River, and the perception of traditional construction and form (for instance, rammed earth and traditional roofs) as inferior are all aspects of globalization. An increasing awareness of style seems to be accompanying such shifts, exemplified in the diagrammatic equating of a specific culture with decorative differences of buildings. The paper will conclude situating its conclusions within the wider debates related to authenticity.

The author was part of a multidisciplinary U.K. team engaged with a pilot ecotourism project in Eastern Tibet during the summers of 1998 and 1999. Quantitative and qualitative case-study material, including drawn and photographic illustrations, informed initial proposals for the adaptation of existing traditional Tibetan houses, based on historical and architectural analysis, surveys of traditional dwellings, and interviews with local officials and residents.

## DEFINING TERRITORY FOR THE PEOPLE ALONG THE CILIWUNG RIVER IN JAKARTA

Yulia Nurliani Harahap

The objectives of this research were to study how the people along the Ciliwung River in Jakarta perceive their territory and make a place for themselves given their different cultural backgrounds and the restrictive conditions of moving to a big city.

Vernacular societies, which hold their traditions strongly, build their environments according to internal values. But when people from these societies move to a city, most do not continue to build in the traditional way. This does not mean traditional buildings are limited in their range of expression. While they can normally fit many different situations, traditional buildings cannot fit such exceptional changes of environment. In particular, some of the most dominant characteristics of traditional buildings lose force with the greater institutionalization and specialization of modern life. Attachment to tradition is a common human emotion, but people who live in cities also form emotional ties of other kinds. When people no longer live on sacred lands, for example, the meaning of their environments are no longer fixed or attached to given places.

Urbanization is a phenomenon that every big city has to face. However, the different cultural backgrounds of the people who move to each city make it a peculiar and unique condition. Nevertheless, all people devalue their traditions in order to adapt to urban living. In addition, globalization causes two other things to happen in cities: a decrease in local values, and adaptation to modernistic trends. The effect of these changes on settlement form is remarkable — from the changing meaning of personal space, to the use of walls as territorial borders.

The Ciliwung River, the main river of Jakarta, is where people from other parts of Indonesia come to build their houses. Here, the personal space of low-income migrants is devalued by the need to

make a place with others. Tradition decreases as a regulator, because in cities there is no longer a common value system or image of the world.

The findings bring up questions of how urban migrants people perceive space, and how given their background and the effect of globalization, they make a place for themselves. If they long for a more permanent home, how is this desire expressed? The paper also attempts to examine the patterns that emerge from daily use of space, as connected to the considerations above.

#### VILLAGE CULTURE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF ADAPTIVE REUSE OF A HAKKA VILLAGE AND ITS ENVIRONS Alex Lui

This research concerns a group of Hakka villages in Wu Kau Tang in the suburban New Territories of Hong Kong. The villages are located in a small but rugged basin and are surrounded by rice fields, which used to support their residents. After hundreds of years and many generations since Hakka people first settled in this basin, many of the village houses are now vacant, and the fields are abandoned. Most villagers have given up farming and moved to urban areas, or overseas, looking for better lives. In their absence, the old villages and rice fields are deserted in the middle of a still largely undisturbed environment.

Hakka people have been settled in Hong Kong for hundreds of years, ever since their long migration from central China starting in the sixth century. Their culture is old and unique. On account of the rapid urban growth of Hong Kong, many old Hakka villages and their surrounding farmlands have been lost, and the Hakka culture has disappeared with them. The Wu Kau Tang villages represent a rare opportunity to preserve old Hakka villages and their surrounding farmlands through adaptive reuse. There are two main objectives to this research:

- To introduce the concept of adaptive reuse of old Hakka settlements so that their economic value may be renewed, and so that more Hakka villages may be saved from obliteration by urban development.
- To preserve, present and promote Hakka culture in a traditional setting so as to enrich cultural life and maintain its diversity in modern Hong Kong.

This paper first briefly describes the historical background of Hakka people, their culture, and the general characteristics of their villages and houses. It then looks into the Wu Kau Tang villages, their origin, social and geographic contexts, the village development process, and the village houses by types. These findings are then analyzed in comparison to the general characteristics found in Hakka settlements. Last, this research explores the feasibility of the adaptive reuse concept as a way to both preserve and restore two groups of deserted and ruined village houses for use as a Hakka Cultural Park and Chinese Herbal Medicine Center, and to convert the abandoned rice fields to a Chinese herb plantation. Following such a course of action, it might be possible to regain the economic value of the villages and preserve the Hakka culture in Wu Kau Tang.

## IV. SPECIAL PANEL: EMERGING TECHNOLOGY FOR HERITAGE: EXAMPLES FROM ITALY

Alonzo C. Addison, University of California, Berkeley Bernard Frischer, University of California, Los Angeles Marco Gaiani, Polytechnic of Milan

In recent years a broad range of 3D technologies have emerged with the potential for aiding documentation and interpretation of historic environments. From multimedia authoring environments, to 3D modeling, real-time virtual sets, and 3D laser imaging, the potential is vast. But how does one apply these new technologies to the many challenges of traditional-environment work?

Using Italy as a case study, the panelists will review recent high-profile projects utilizing these and other tools. Examples will range from a rich digital multimedia database replete with QuickTime Virtual Reality walk-throughs of Palladio's villas in Vicenza, to use of real narrators in a virtual reconstruction of the Roman Forum, and 3D photogrammetric and laser surveys of sites including the Coliseum and the Baths of Caracalla. From practical issues of deploying sophisticated tools in remote locales, to questions of ease of use, high versus low tech, and even debates on technologic and cultural imperialism, the panel hopes to bring the IASTE audience into the increasingly important discussion about technology's role in heritage.

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Provide a one-paragraph abstract of no more than 100 words. This abstract should explain the content and structure of the paper and summarize its major findings. The abstract should be followed by a short introduction. The introduction will appear without a subheading at the beginning of the paper.

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Sample Progression: The Role of the Longhouse in Iban Culture. The Longhouse as a Building Form. Transformation of the Longhouse at the New Year. The Impact of Modern Technology. Conclusion: Endangered Form or Form in Transition?

Do not use any numbering system in subheadings. Use secondary subheadings only when absolutely essential for format or clarity.

#### 6. REFERENCES

Do not use a general bibliography format. Use a system of numbered reference notes as indicated below.

A condensed section of text might read as follows:

In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.<sup>1</sup>

An eminent architectural historian once wrote, "The roof form in general is the most indicative feature of the housing styles of North Africa." Clearly, however, the matter of how these forms have evolved is a complex subject. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

In my research I discovered that local people have differing notions about the origins of the roof forms on the dwellings they inhabit.<sup>4</sup>

The reference notes, collected at the end of the text (not at the bottom of each page), would read as follows:

- E. Regis, Egyptian Dwellings (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirs Old Debate," Smithsonian II (December 1983), pp.24–34.
- 2. B. Smithson, "Characteristic Roof Forms," in H. Jones, ed., Architecture of North Africa (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p.123.
- 3. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see J. Idris, *Roofs and Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).
- 4. In my interviews I found that the local people understood the full meaning of my question only when I used a more formal Egyptian word for "roof" than that in common usage.

#### 7. DIAGRAMS, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

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