



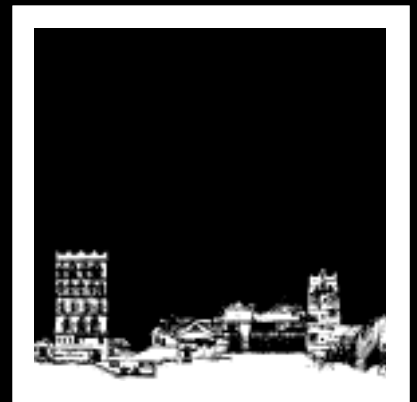
TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

[un]bounding tradition: the tensions of borders and regions

**EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
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无边界的传统





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TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

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Editor's Note

This special issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is dedicated to the 2002 IASTE Conference to be held in Hong Kong. Its purpose is to provide IASTE's individual members who are unable to attend the conference 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.

"[Un]Bounding Tradition" is the theme of the Eighth IASTE Conference. The study of traditions has for the most part been grounded in neatly bounded regions. Indeed, it can be said that the understanding of the traditions of certain built environments has been as influenced by regional genres of research — what in the U.S. is called "area studies" — as it has been by the mandates of related disciplines.

The current moment of globalization necessitates and provokes a remapping of such intellectual cartographies. The restructuring of nation-states, the emergence of megaglobal institutions, and the speeding up of labor, investment and commercial flows have all served to unsettle old regions and borders. Until recently, the study of tradition has been bounded by preordained geographical regions. Such study has also been accompanied by a belief in the inherent stasis of the "traditional" condition. Contemporary debates about space and place seek to take these changes into account by drawing attention to the traditions endangered through migration, diasporas, and hybrid cultures. At the same time, there is a growing recognition that despite porous borders and shape-shifting regions, despite e-freedom and e-trade, social and spatial fixities continue to intensify.

In a world increasingly defined by the premise of global citizenship, the legacy of political borders — and thus of identities — is creating unprecedented tensions between groups of people, which are manifest today in practices of exclusion, segregation and conflict. Thus, border stories have increasingly become identity stories. It is worthwhile to remember that the act of establishing a border between two entities, separating lands and peoples, is based on endorsing and often magnifying differences to the point of binary antagonism. But the border has always had a dual role, which, while defining the "other," has simultaneously validated the self. It is not surprising that the very borders which once served to exclude and differentiate have now reemerged as celebrated icons of cultural overlap and political mediation.

This year, more than 130 scholars from a variety of disciplines will address these issues by presenting papers structured around three broad themes: "Reconfiguring Regions," "The Space of Borders," and "The Tensions of Ethnicity and Hybridity."

I would like to end this note by thanking our sponsor in Hong Kong, the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust; our co-organizer, the Department of Architecture at the University of Hong Kong; and our local conference co-director, Professor David Lung.

We hope all of those in attendance will find this year's conference intellectually stimulating. For those of you who will not be able to make it to Hong Kong in December, we hope that this issue of *TDSR* will be able to convey the gist of the debates and discussions held there.

Nezar AlSayyad

PLENARY SESSION. DWELLING AND SPACE: RECONFIGURING TRADITION

TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AND ANY-SPACE-WHATEVER

Ackbar Abbas

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BELONGING

Neil Leach

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TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AND ANY-SPACE-WHATEVER

Ackbar Abbas

The contemporary city is the site of fascination *par excellence*. In the process of being transformed at unprecedented speed by new forms of capital, media and technology, the city today threatens to outpace our understanding of it. It fascinates not because of the new places it introduces to us, but because of the “old” places that remain — old places whose coordinates have somehow shifted. Side by side with the empirical city that we can observe and the cognitive city that we can map is the fascinating city that is always both familiar and elusive, and that requires new terms to evoke. One such term is the concept of “any-space-whatever,” which points to the problematic nature of urban space today. How can ethnic identities and traditional environments survive in “any-space-whatever”?

BELONGING

Neil Leach

In their evocative description of the interaction between a wasp and an orchid in *A Thousand Plateaus*, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari open up the possibility of understanding attachment to place as a rhizomatic condition of territorialization and deterritorialization. Recent work by other theorists has begun to explore this construct further. In particular, the work of the notable gender theorist Judith Butler, who has famously elaborated a vision of identity based on the notion of “performativity,” has been expanded to deal with identification with place. Out of this has developed a discourse of performativity and “belonging,” which suggests a way in which communities might colonize various territories through literal “performances” — actions, ritualistic behavior, and so on — that are acted out within a given architectural stage, and through these performances achieve a provisional attachment to place.

What is so productive about the concept of “belonging” is that it resists the more static notions of “dwelling” that emanate from

Heideggerian discourse, which seem so ill at ease with a society of movement and travel. What is being proposed is not a discourse of fixed “roots,” but rather a more transitory and fluid discourse of nomadic territorializations and deterritorializations, which provide a complex and ever-renegotiable set of spatial “belongings” while maintaining ongoing connections elsewhere. This is most useful in trying to understand the complex and multilayered identification with “place” that exists within diaspora communities, which need to develop strategic mechanisms of identification with new places against a backdrop of attachments to earlier places.

By drawing on the work of Judith Butler, together with that of postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha, this paper seeks to explore the concept of “belonging” as a productive way of understanding a flexible sense of attachment to place. In so doing, it will also serve as a radical critique of Critical Regionalism, which has been premised almost entirely on a discourse of form. In the context of postcolonial studies this will help develop a more sophisticated understanding of the role of architecture in cultural identity.

PLENARY SESSION. HYBRIDITY AND THE SPACE OF BORDERS

CROSSING BORDERS

Margaret Crawford

Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A.

FROM BORDERLANDS TO GATED COMMUNITIES: HYBRID LANDSCAPES OF PRIVILEGE AND PROHIBITION IN A NOT-QUITE-BORDERLESS WORLD

Matthew Sparke

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

CROSSING BORDERS

Margaret Crawford

A conference dedicated to “borders” is a useful occasion to reflect on our own intellectual borders — the borders of our disciplines, our subject matter, the categories that constitute these boundaries, and most importantly, on the influences of borders on our work. Our conceptual boundaries structure our thinking. This meeting, for example, is devoted to the category of “traditional” settlements. Our analysis and interpretation of this academic field are subject to the boundaries of our scholarly disciplines. This underlines our continued dependence on borders. While it is impossible to eliminate such boundaries, it is useful to reveal and examine them critically.

Historian Richard Terdiman in his provocative essay “Is there Class in this Class?” offers an insightful analysis of this

issue. Conflating three usually distinct meanings of class, he reveals their interdependence. Class is usually understood either as a social and economic position or as the specific time and place where education occurs. Terdiman argues, however, that it is a third meaning of class — the act of classification, creating categories and ordering them into hierarchies — that is most socially and intellectually determinant. Classification, he asserts, is never a neutral taxonomy, but always a mode of separation and an assertion of power. Inherently hierarchical, classification always assumes the superiority necessary to make evaluations. This is followed by a powerful act of exclusion and, inevitably, subordination. Such distinctions are never merely intellectual. Classes and classing are always social; in life, if not in logic, differences become meaningful in real situations. Every act of classification is therefore an exercise of one's own power against that of others. As scholars and teachers, classification is a key element of our intellectual repertoire. In class we learn (and teach) to class, and then use this to insure our own class.

What are the primary classifications that structure our work? Some boundaries are obvious: the borders between modern and traditional, or between high and low, professional and vernacular, First World and Third World, mainstream and marginal. Others are less evident: those between building and landscape, male and female, function and aesthetics. In *IASTE* our work begins with the less privileged side of the polarity, thus inverting conventional hierarchies. But in spite of this reversal, as interpreters of culture and arbiters of taste, we often adhere to the interpretive assumptions of the dominant pole. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu explains this as socially necessary: in order to maintain their status in society, intellectuals and academics need to acquire cultural capital. To do this, we need “high” cultural values such as purity, difficulty and authenticity to legitimate our work.

Can we move beyond this contradictory social and intellectual position? Bourdieu, himself, was unable to do so; interested in the high, he recognized working-class taste only as the “choice of necessity.” One alternative strategy is transgression — the crossing of boundaries. Operating in the ambiguous terrain where categories are structures, transgression offers interpretive practices that violate borders, including the interrogating, challenging, invading and redrawing of boundaries; the mixing, colliding, and interpenetrating of categories; and the dismantling and inverting of hierarchies. Can this abstract concept inform empirical work? One suggestive demonstration is anthropologist James Holston's study “Autoconstruction in Working Class Brazil.”

FROM BORDERLANDS TO GATED COMMUNITIES: HYBRID LANDSCAPES OF PRIVILEGE AND PROHIBITION IN A NOT-QUITE-BORDERLESS WORLD

Matthew Sparke

Around the world, in Asia, Europe and North America, in the context of increasing free trade and market-oriented planning, there has been much discussion and hype surrounding the development of localized cross-border regions. This paper examines three examples in detail: the Singapore Growth Triangle, linking the island state with the Riau Archipelago of Indonesia and the Malaysian state of Johor; Cascadia, a region of North America combining the Canadian province of British Columbia with the U.S. states of Washington and Oregon; and the Transmanche, which links Kent in the U.K. with the Pas de Calais region of northeastern France.

Advertised by their promoters as cosmopolitan “gateway regions” in a “borderless world,” these landscapes of reconfigured regionalism provide a valuable lens through which to view tensions between “borderless-world” discourse and the messy, mixed mediations of life on what is still in many respects territorialized ground. These cross-border regions are certainly hybrid landscapes, and they challenge local traditions in all sorts of ways. Indeed, they actively rework traditional depictions of the landscape — of buildings, of nature, and of ways of life — instrumentalizing them and commodifying them for the purposes of “landmarking” a particular cross-border region as a worthy gateway of development in the global competition for investment and consumption spending.

However, these geographical imaginations of cross-border regionalism are also hybrid in another way. Beneath the glossy depictions of cosmopolitan growth potential are a host of not-so-deeply buried patterns of inequality and uneven development. Borderless hypermobility for some comes together, it seems, with prohibitive restrictions on movement for others. The plans for cross-border collaboration and development come together with fierce competitive struggles over the very natural resources instrumentalized as the traditional ground of cross-border connection. And the global marketing of local traditions *as* “tradition” goes hand in hand with the repeated foreclosure of their earlier articulations in prior global circuits of imperialism and postcolonial resistance. In short, these landscapes make manifest a not-quite-borderless world, a world where processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization unbind and bind tradition anew.

A.1 GLOBAL NETWORKS: UNBOUNDING THE CITY

REDEFINING BANGALORE: GLOBAL NETWORKS AND THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

John Stallmeyer

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THE EAST/WEST INTERSECTION: ON PALMS, SAILS, AND GLOBALIZATION IN DUBAI, U.A.E.

Yasser Hassan Elsheshtawy

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REDEFINING SPACE: BETWEEN CASTELLS' "SPACE OF FLOWS" AND BETTY'S "CYBERSPACE"

Hesham Abdelfattah

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FROM ON-LINE TO OFF-LINE: THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW URBAN COMMUNITY IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

Sung-Hong Kim and Jong Ho Yi

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REDEFINING BANGALORE: GLOBAL NETWORKS AND THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

John Stallmeyer

Historically and politically defined regions and their borders are in a constant state of flux and negotiation. Evidence of these redefinitions can be seen in the emergence of new networks of production and consumption in the computer industry throughout the past twenty years. These global networks have resulted in the rapid redefinition or reconfiguration of borders and regions on several scales. Nation-states, regions of nation-states, cities, and even subregions of cities are drawn into or excluded from this new geography. At the same time, this new high-tech geography is overlaid on and influenced by extant historically and politically defined regions. This new layering redefines existing regions and produces new regional relations. The scale at which this occurs varies from intercity to intracity, as new regions and borders are not necessarily geographically contiguous entities.

This paper will address the creation of this new high-tech region and its relation to historically and politically defined regions and borders in the context of Bangalore, India. Bangalore presents a compelling case in which to understand how historical, political, economic, social and cultural processes redefine regions and borders. The paper uses three specific sites in Bangalore to highlight the ways these new regions are formed,

their roots and their physical manifestation in the landscape. The first site is the Philips Software Innovation Center, constructed in the former cantonment area of Bangalore and abutting one of Bangalore's poorest residential areas. The second site is the Brigade Plaza, a speculative office building near the "Old Town" of Bangalore. The final site is the Whitefield development, located on the periphery of the city and financed primarily with Singapore capital. Each of these sites has a very particular relationship with the local and the global context. All are part of what we might term a high-tech region tied by new global networks to other parts of the same region half a world away in Silicon Valley, Ireland, Japan, or New York.

Through an analysis of these three sites, the paper will highlight the complex and overlapping nature of new regional relationships that occur at both local and global scales. These relationships complicate and call into question the very nature of what it means for a city to be part of a region; or to be a resident of a region defined by a network of relationships with far-off geographic locations.

THE EAST/WEST INTERSECTION: ON PALMS, SAILS, AND GLOBALIZATION IN DUBAI, U.A.E.

Yasser Hassan Elsheshtawy

The city of Dubai, an oil-rich emirate located in the Arabian Gulf, has been a crossroad for transient residents and travelers since its establishment as a small fishing village in the nineteenth century. Within the last two decades it has witnessed rapid urban growth — due in part to the income generated from oil, but mostly from various economic and industrial developments. Its multicultural and hybrid nature is evident from its unique population makeup. Dubai is a city-state of approximately one million residents, 20 percent of whom are local or native, but the remaining 80 percent of whom represent a mix of various Arab, Asian and Western nationalities. Given this unique population as well as its location at the tip of the Arabian peninsula, Dubai has become a border region in which one can detect a variety of "conflicts": West vs. East, modernization and globalization vs. religious fundamentalism, Arab vs. Asian, and so on. These conflicts are resolved spatially through a policy which superficially attempts reconciliation through coexistence. But a closer examination reveals several exclusionary processes through the development of clearly defined "borders" which mark spatial zones or enclaves.

Dubai's new borders are evident in modern projects such as the luxurious Burj Al-Arab hotel and the more recent Palm Island development in which authorities have attempted to create an easily recognizable icon for a city that is on the verge of joining the global community. Of the two, Burj Al-Arab is already a symbol of Dubai, since the image of its towers is used extensively in advertising and can even be found on car license plates. In terms of imagery, the towers evoke the form of the sail, thus paying cognizance to Dubai's historical seafaring tradition. However, located next to this tower is another megaproject — a

\$1.5 billion development to create “the largest manmade island” in the Arabian Gulf, a project that will supposedly be “visible from outer space.” With a site shaped like a palm tree, the island is appropriately known as “The Palm” and will contain exclusive residences, hotels, shopping and entertainment facilities. The symbol of the palm was chosen because it is “one of Dubai’s most enduring symbols of life and abundance” — another allusion to Dubai’s historic past. Both these projects — the Burj Al-Arab and “The Palm” — are physically removed from the shore and are only accessible by bridges, thus highlighting their exclusive nature. Their images of sails and palms are directed toward the global media, thus reinforcing Dubai’s image as what some have described as “the most globalized of all Arab societies.”

The paper will start by providing a brief historical background on the development of the city, with specific focus on its rapid growth within the last two decades. This analysis will rely to a large extent on travelers’ accounts and historic photographs that illustrate the dramatic urban transformations witnessed within this century and highlight the multicultural nature of the city. Following this review, the author will present the two case studies of Burj Al-Arab and “The Palm” and discuss the extent to which they both represent a continuation of modernization efforts in Dubai, which began early in the twentieth century and represent a unique response to the current globalization discourse.

REDEFINING SPACE: BETWEEN CASTELLS’ “SPACE OF FLOWS” AND BETTY’S “CYBERSPACE”

Hesham Abdelfattah

In the history of global urban settlements, cities that prospered in terms of economics, employment, and resulting population and urban growth were strategically located with respect to transportation routes. Early port, river, and Great Lakes cities had a head start on urban growth, and continue to be large centers today. We tend to forget that the advent of telephone technology drastically changed business practices, social structures, and individual lives.

Within today’s cities, telecommunication technology has contributed to the reconstruction of urban space, creating a social environment in which “being digital” is critical to knowledge, wealth, status and power. Information systems such as the Internet may reinforce existing disparities in wealth, connecting elites in different nations who may be increasingly disconnected from their immediate environments.

As Manuel Castells notes, “By space of flows, I understood, and understand, the material arrangements that allow for simultaneity of social practices without territorial contiguity.” Empirical evidence has proven that new information and telecommunication technologies fit into a pattern of flexible production and network organization, permitting a simultaneous centralization and decentralization of activities and population settlements. Castells defines the space of flows as networks of interactions; nodes and hubs that structure connections; and habitats for social actors who operate the network.

Cyberspace clearly plays a role within this space of flows because it allows for the reconstruction of “communities without propinquity,” groups of users who share common interests but not physical proximity. Hence, as cities, spaces, and the corridors between them become permeated with ever-widening arrays of telecommunications infrastructure, such IT grids are becoming, in a very real sense, the sinews of today’s cities. The relationship between new media and telecommunication technologies and the future of our cities is clearly critical.

The goal of this paper is to answer the following questions. What does this so-called “cyberspace” really mean to our cities? What is the future of our urban spaces, and the traditional roles and functions that first generated the need for such spaces? Can the theory of the “space of flows” be adopted to reconfigure and redefine contemporary digital spaces? And is there any interaction or connection between traditional spaces and digital spaces? The paper is an attempt to address these issues by inserting the realm of urban planning into debates about new technologies and the future of the cities.

FROM ON-LINE TO OFF-LINE: THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW URBAN COMMUNITY IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

Sung-Hong Kim and Jong Ho Yi

Seoul is one of the densest urban areas in the world. On the other hand, the ratio of Internet users in Korea is one of the highest in the world. These two contrasting features represent the urban culture of Seoul today. As of June 2001, about 50 million Internet users, more than the total population of Korea, had access to the four major portal sites, creating 2 million on-line communities. The size of the market has reached almost US\$ 3.5 billion. However, the growing amount of Internet communication does not seem to have replaced the traditional notion of face-to-face contact. On the contrary, on-line communication often leads to off-line activities. In 2001 more than 50 percent of Internet users in Korea used on-line communication to arrange off-line activities. How does the distinction between on-line and off-line communities differ from that of the mechanical and organic solidarity, as suggested by the sociologist Emile Durkheim? What are the characteristics of the places where various types of off-line meetings take place? How are they related to contemporary, hyper-dense Asian urban conditions?

The paper summarizes an architectural project for one of Korea’s leading telecommunication companies, which plans a new business model in the age of information technology and globalization. The aim of the project is to analyze the types of off-line activities, transform them into spatial typologies, and develop an architectural model in real urban sites. It was discovered that the members of Internet communities are constantly regenerated and reorganized. They are both clients and servers. They seek selective, anonymous and individualized space, yet reject hierarchical, centralized and territorialized spaces. The

concepts of *browser*, *contents*, *link*, and *intro* were interpreted as real spaces. These four types of space were organized in plans and sections considering such traditional architectural perimeters as site, program, structure and materials. Architectural students have tested and experimented with the scheme at design studios. Based on this report, the company plans to launch its first branch in a pedestrian-oriented shopping district in Seoul. Architects, urban sociologists, graphic designers, furniture designers, and Internet specialists will make a team to initiate a pilot project. This paper reports the processes and results of the project and discusses the impact of this new type of place on traditional urban areas, particularly in the context of fast-changing Asian cities.

B.1 LOCATING AUTHENTICITY

IDENTIFYING TRADITIONAL THAI MARKETPLACES FROM PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THEM

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BORDER ARCHITECTURE AND THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS: TRANSFORMATION OF A WATCHTOWER IN TAIWAN

Min-Fu Hsu and Mei-Fang Kuo

National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan

ETHNICITY AND URBAN DESIGN IN BALI: REINVENTING DESA ADAT AS AN URBAN DESIGN UNIT

Nirarta Samadhi

National Institute of Technology, Malang, Indonesia

THE SUSTAINABILITY OF CHINESE SHOPHOUSES IN ASIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Widya Sujana

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IDENTIFYING TRADITIONAL THAI MARKETPLACES FROM PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THEM

Apichoke Lekagul

Traditional marketplaces have been serving the Thai people economically and socially for a long time. It is only recently that they have begun to be replaced by modern, Western shopping experiences brought to Thailand largely by the forces of globalization. Traditional marketplaces in Thailand are now threatened by environments that offer a more modern and comfortable shopping experience. They may soon either become extinct or be transformed into Western-style shopping malls and department stores. In either case, the characteristics of the traditional Thai marketplace and its special relationship to its users may disappear altogether. This situation requires a careful consideration of what people think about their traditional marketplaces, and what they like and dislike about them. In many ways the future of these traditional environments will depend on the preferences of their users.

This paper explores the marketplace as a type of space on the border of transformation from traditional to modern, as well as on the border of existence and extinction. It studies traditional environments by using the environment-behavior approach and a preference-rating survey to solicit people's attitudes toward their environment. The paper analyzes the traditional Thai marketplace on three levels. First, it identifies traditional marketplaces and their common physical characteristics by analyzing their

users' underlying dimensions of preference. Second, it identifies the perceptions and preferences of users for either traditional marketplaces or their modern counterparts. Third, it classifies users' preferences for different marketplaces based on their socioeconomic backgrounds, and identifies these relationships.

A study was conducted using preference-rating surveys, scene-description surveys, and background surveys completed by 356 Bangkok residents. The data were analyzed using factor analysis to identify the underlying dimensions of perception via preference. The surveys were further assisted by content analyses of the verbal descriptions of people from the scene-description survey. A cluster-analysis format was used to classify people into groups based on their preference patterns. Finally, the classified groups were profiled by their backgrounds and tested for differences in frequency distribution using cross-tabulation with the chi-square test.

The results yielded five dimensions of preference for traditional and modern marketplaces. Users' perceptions revealed two basic prototypes of traditional marketplaces, identified as fresh and outdoor marketplaces. Traditional marketplaces were associated with positive attitudes toward physical commodities, such as fresh produce. However, when compared to modern marketplaces, users saw traditional marketplaces in a less favorable light because of their lack of space and order, conditions of overcrowding, inadequate ventilation, and the fact that traditional marketplaces often have less opportunities for recreation and socialization.

The results of this study imply that Thai traditional marketplaces can respond to changes brought about by globalization by improving on those qualities that are perceived as being negative by their users, preserving characteristics preferred by users, incorporating positive characteristics from modern marketplaces, and addressing the needs of those subgroups that currently prefer modern marketplaces over traditional ones.

BORDER ARCHITECTURE AND THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS: TRANSFORMATION OF A WATCHTOWER IN TAIWAN

Min-Fu Hsu and Mei-Fang Kuo

The ethnic groups who made their home in Taiwan, several aboriginal tribes, the Chinese Ching Empire, and the Japanese Empire have all tried to define their borders through a unique building type: the watchtower.

Literature today suggests that watchtowers have been present in Taiwan throughout history. They were once important spatial elements in aboriginal settlements, and were usually the tallest and most spectacular constructions in a tribal village. In such usage, the watchtower was a tool of telescopic monitoring and defense that also signified power and control over territory. As an element of a border architecture, it also delineated space into "inside" and "outside." Their forms also reflected the nature of a conflict or the relationship (whether dominant or subordinate) between different groups. Therefore, the form of the watchtower may provide valuable clues in the study of architectural and social history.

Although watchtowers have found mention in literature, few fully preserved examples remain in Taiwan today, making their study difficult. As part of this study, relevant historic images and descriptions from literature were collected and analyzed, and the watchtower development processes was reconstructed. A four-stage typology of watchtower transformation was suggested, classified according to architectural styles and ethnic-group relationships: 1) the original aboriginal watchtower stage; 2) the stage of coexistence of Han and aboriginal watchtowers; 3) the stage of Japanese control and more simplified watchtowers; and 4) the stage of the diminishing watchtower.

Through a careful reconstruction of historical materials, the author suggests that the transformation of watchtower architecture in Taiwan is a direct and clear reflection of the changing power relationships between ethnic groups in the period under study.

ETHNICITY AND URBAN DESIGN IN BALI: REINVENTING DESA ADAT AS AN URBAN DESIGN UNIT

Nirarta Samadhi

Desa adat, or "customary village," is a settlement unit which though not always rural, uses traditional codes as its guidelines in regulating the everyday life of its dwellers. *Desa adat* defines the dwelling patterns of the Balinese Hindus and encapsulates the Balinese Hindu cosmological unit. In this regard, *desa adat* consists of three elements: *parahyangan*, the sacred sites and objects within the *desa adat* territory (usually represented by the village temples); *pawongan*, the *desa adat* dwellers; and *palemahan*, the physical territory of the *desa adat*. Furthermore, as a cosmological unit, *desa adat* embodies the important Hindu-Bali philosophy of Tri Hita Karana, or "three causes of goodness" — that is, the harmonious relationship between man and his creator; man and his fellow *desa adat* dwellers; and man and his *desa adat* environment. Fulfillment of Tri Hita Karana is central to achieving the ultimate spiritual goal as understood by the Balinese Hindus.

This paper aims to describe urban design concepts based upon the Balinese Hindu traditional and religious conceptions of space. Its central findings concern the use of the psycho-cosmic concept as a primary tool of spatial organization. This concept posits the *desa adat* as a unique spatial-design unit with the following attributes: a fixed and independent cosmological territory; a traditional code which regulates spatial manipulation within territory under its jurisdiction; and a set of socio-cultural institutions, such as *sangkep* or *adat* assembly, which facilitate public participation in the design process. These features are the vehicles by which the Balinese, as a microcosm, maintain a balanced relationship with the macrocosm of their immediate living space — the *desa adat* — in order to reach *moksa*, or spiritual liberation, the ultimate goal.

The operative spatial-planning and design system in Indonesia employs administrative as well as functional territory as a unit of design. However, the formal *desa* republic in Bali that serves as the design unit rarely coincides territorially with the centuries-old *desa adat*, and thus cannot effectively address the cos-

mological aspects of space demanded by Balinese rules of spatial organization. This paper engages the possibilities of accommodating the *desa adat* as an urban design unit in the spatial planning of urban areas in Bali. Such accommodation would allow new urban design proposals to gain necessary connections with their cultural (traditional-religious) context. At the same time, these initiatives could garner local support, even as they promote the production of an appropriate “sense of (cosmological) place.”

THE SUSTAINABILITY OF CHINESE SHOPHOUSES IN ASIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Widya Sujana

An understanding of how building techniques have survived economic changes enables us to grasp the cultural value of traditional buildings. The history of commerce and trade in Southeast Asia is rich with the constant movement of people such as merchant commuters. This has also been accompanied by the occasional settling of traders in one particular place. Chinese merchants from East Asia had developed a network of commerce over centuries, and their arrival in Southeast Asia also brought a unique building type, the shophouse. The shophouse is a unique concept that combines commercial space with dwelling space. This paper covers the origin of shophouses through history. The shophouse typology as a combination of residential and commercial space under one roof will also be discussed. The development of commercial space is paralleled by changes in the economic model.

Over time Chinese Malay shophouses came to serve as models for Chinese traders in other parts of Southeast Asia. Kinship values in Chinese families were related to the formation of their dwelling types. Although migration and the community’s need to adapt to alien cultures placed pressure on Chinese society, traditional values remained important and were expressed in the physical form of dwellings. However, the processes of colonization and other forms of interaction with tradesmen in Southeast Asia also added to the final form of the Chinese shophouse as it exists today.

The traditional models of commerce that gave rise to the form of the shophouse show few signs of being able to survive the current trend toward a global monoculture. The accessibility of goods and services via electronic media such as the Internet has greatly facilitated their distribution around the world. This has undoubtedly influenced small communities, whose existence was once based on traditional methods of commerce, in ways that will ultimately affect their physical forms and dwelling patterns.

Yet, while it may initially seem inevitable that the traditional Chinese and Malay shophouse will be replaced by newer forms of commercial buildings, these shophouse are also being reinvented as new types of commercial buildings and are being incorporated into the tourist industry, thus adding a new chapter to their historical evolution. This paper illustrates the history of the shophouse with maps and figures that explain migratory patterns, and explains the relationship of such migrations to the evolution of the shophouse typology in China and Malaysia.

C.1 COLONIAL HYBRIDITY

ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITIONS UNBOUNDED: ITALIAN AND ARAB VILLAGES IN 1930s LIBYA

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NEGOTIATING BOUNDARY AND CONSTITUTING IDENTITY: THE URBAN TYPOLOGIES OF FOUR ASIAN PORT CITIES

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THE EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF ASMARA: COLONY TO HYBRIDITY

Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren

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TRADITION, IDENTITY, AND THE CONTEMPORARY BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Joseph Aranha

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ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITIONS UNBOUNDED: ITALIAN AND ARAB VILLAGES IN 1930s LIBYA

Mia Fuller

In this paper I examine the place of “tradition” in Italian designs for Italian and Libyan agriculturalists’ houses in northern Libya during the 1930s at two levels. The first level is that of design history: specifically, what notions of “tradition” and “innovation” did Italian architects bring to bear on the buildings they designed for agriculturalists of both nationalities? The second level is that of historiography: specifically, how have scholar’s assumptions about national borders distorted our understanding of the context in which these designs were formulated?

Roughly thirty villages and thousands of government-sponsored farmhouses were built as part of the late-1930s migration of Italians to northern Libya. These buildings evoked a simplified Italian vernacular, corresponding to Italian agricultural shelter in general, but connoting no particular region. Even though “Italianness” was prominent in architects’ justifications of their designs, local elements — specifically, ones that provided extra protection from sun and heat — were nonetheless incorporated into the architectural designs. These buildings were often white, thick-walled, and had few windows. The colonial government dictated that these villages would be “islands of ethnicity,” which implied that Italians there would not mix with Arabs. In practice, however, neighborly ties and economic interdependence between Italians and Arabs continued throughout the 1930s and until the

Italians left Libya in 1970. Furthermore, the colonial government built four villages for agriculturalist “Muslims.” These villages were somewhat different from those for Italians — they included mosques and used public spaces differently — but the outlying houses were very similar to those for Italians, and although they had fewer windows and were smaller, they too expressed a reductionist “traditional” profile. They also incorporated “foreign” traits, particularly Italian traits, such as in the designs for livestock stalls and courtyards. In sum, the Italian government’s designs for both groups were at least as hybrid as they were “traditional,” despite the government’s statements to the contrary and its clear political agenda of anti-hybridity in the social and political domains.

At the level of historiography, I claim that scholars have been unduly “bounded” by their own “traditions,” omitting from analyses of these designs two facts that challenge their implicit understanding of this history in terms of nationalities and citizenships. First, “Libya” was an Italian colonial creation, an early-1930s amalgamation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Second, the Italian state moved its own national border when it declared Libya an integral territorial part of Italy in 1939. In this context, the thrust of the Italian plans was not to isolate Italians within Libya, but to isolate Libyans in a setting in which they had newly become noncitizens, and where Italian numbers were expected to keep growing dramatically. This new perspective shifts the context in which we regard house and village designs. In order to understand Italian colonial architects’ designs, we must understand how they saw the setting for these designs. And while scholars have consistently regarded these villages as colonial outposts or “border zones,” for Italian colonizers they were anything but outposts — they were Italy itself.

NEGOTIATING BOUNDARY AND CONSTITUTING IDENTITY: THE URBAN TYPOLOGIES OF FOUR ASIAN PORT CITIES

Weijen Wang

This paper identifies the distinctive urban pattern that has emerged from the intersection, overlapping and negotiation of territory between two different urban forms — the Chinese settlements and the European quarters in the trading port cities of Southeast Asia.

From the fifteenth century onward, following in the footsteps of Admiral Zheng He’s marine expedition during the early Ming dynasty, Chinese traders expanded their business networks and established settlements in Southeast Asia. Along with traditions, festivals, family structures and guild systems, these traders brought distinctive urban forms — architectural typologies such as shophouses, temples, schools and gateways from their hometowns — to their diasporic communities. Simultaneously, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, Portuguese, Dutch, and later British traders, missionaries and armies extended trading routes from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea, building colonial towns with plazas, boulevards, churches, trading houses, town halls, clubhouses, villas and fortresses across Southeast Asia. The European quarters in these strategic trading ports

were often located adjacent to the Chinese settlements, resulting in two completely different, yet interdependent urban enclaves surrounded by the local people. Malacca and Penang (George Town) are two typical examples of cities that have grown as a result of these different forces.

Macau and Hong Kong (Victoria City) provide a second type of setting in which these cultures met. They were treaty ports established by the Portuguese and British along China’s coastal frontier during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Over the years, however, Chinese immigrants from the mainland developed their own communities alongside European areas of both cities, thus forming multitextured symbiotic relationships and territorial contrasts between the European quarters and the “other” spaces: Chinatowns in China.

The urban typologies in these four cities reflect not only historical divisions of colonial and diasporic configurations, but also social-cultural maps of domination, overlapping and negotiation. The boundaries of such geographical, or cultural and social maps often appear to be clearly demarcated; and yet they constantly reveal ambiguity and vagueness in their definitions. They are landscapes best defined by Homi Bhabha’s notion of “beyond,” where people find themselves in the moment of transit, and where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion.

By examining the formation and evolution of these urban typologies, this study attempts to uncover traces of tension and struggle that were interwoven between different cultures and ideologies. It involves a remapping of urban elements and a rereading of urban texts.

THE EVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT OF ASMARA: COLONY TO HYBRIDITY

Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren

The twentieth century saw a remarkable paradigm shift in the notion and conduct of cross-national relations. As the century dawned, European colonial powers were either embarking on or consolidating imperial gains, while by the century’s close, embryonic manifestations of a globalized society were emerging. Such expressions will continue to profoundly affect regional cultures and communities formed therein. This paper explores these expressions by examining the evolutionary development of Eritrea’s capital city, Asmara, and the identity of its urban society. Briefly, Asmara society was created by the Italians (1890–1941), administered by the British (1941–1951), annexed by Ethiopia (1961–1991), and is now independent (1991–present).

In the wider context of Italy’s imperial designs in Africa, Asmara was fundamental to the growth of the notion of an “Africa Orientale Italiana” under Mussolini. In a bid to alleviate high domestic unemployment and poor living conditions, the Italian government’s “*colonia*” campaign saw more than 70,000 Italians migrate to Eritrea. For indigenous Eritreans, whose own population is itself deeply hybrid, Asmara’s new urban environ-

ment was to proffer entirely new expressions of community. This community attracted broad inclusion from the indigenous population, comprised roughly equally between Muslims and Orthodox Christians. Asmara's creation, therefore, can be regarded as not simply a quantitative step but a fundamentally qualitative leap that gave rise to a unique urban society founded on the assimilation of European (Italian), African (Eritrean highland), and Arabian (Eastern lowland) influences.

This fusion of identities under the broad umbrella of Italian colonialism gave rise to a distinctive built environment that remains almost entirely intact today. Such processes raise pertinent questions concerning the ways in which society creates environment and how environment affects the character of society. The Eritrean experience is important in that no national boundary or urban culture existed prior to Italy's arrival. Despite being a prerequisite to Italian colonial designs, and therefore heavily influenced by Italian cultural aesthetics, Asmara did adopt local influences such as Muslim/Islamic forms and certain vernacular styles. These are most evident in the areas around the Grand Mosque (1930s) and the St. Mariam's Coptic Cathedral (1917). The Coptic Cathedral, in particular, offers many symbolic and functional gestures that demonstrate how Italian engineers adopted and remodeled certain vernacular styles and techniques. It therefore remains a crucial example of cross-cultural synthesis.

Many physical and metaphysical influences remain evident today where the fusion of styles, customs and forms exerted through European, African and Middle Eastern influences have produced a uniquely "Asmarino" culture. Interestingly, this is entering a new phase, as colonizers are being replaced by Eritreans returning from the diaspora with expectations of higher living standards. This has necessitated recent rapid development, giving rise to entirely new communities and environments manifested in habitats that appear to some as contextually atypical. As an increasingly mobile, informed and hybrid Asmarino culture emerges from this most recent transformation, so must its built environment accommodate these changes to positively encourage new forms of cross-cultural integration.

TRADITION, IDENTITY, AND THE CONTEMPORARY BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Joseph Aranha

In Zimbabwe, as in many other parts of Africa, the legacy of colonial rule is not always reconcilable with African traditions or customs. From national borders created by colonialism to urban forms and architectural vocabularies based on Western ideas, the town and city designs of Zimbabwe — formerly known as Rhodesia — are very much a part of its colonial inheritance. Not only did the European settlers in Zimbabwe superimpose Western architectural and planning models onto the local landscape of the southern African veldt, but they created urban settlements in which Africans were separated from Europeans by law as well as architectural design. For almost a century colonial hegemony and the segregation of people according to race served to suppress the history and culture of the native African peoples of Zimbabwe. Even though Zimbabweans lived among their monuments — such as Great Zimbabwe — that pointed toward a glorious African past, they where denied most of that heritage so that the European might appear superior to the African. European languages — namely, English — and European culture and history were emphasized and encouraged over their indigenous counterparts.

Today, two decades after independence from colonial rule, the borders and boundaries that confined the African to the Zimbabwean townships and commonages no longer exist, and the formerly segregated city is now open to all. The change has had social, cultural and economic implications and has also affected the built environment. As the native peoples of Zimbabwe cross over the boundaries imposed by colonialism they have begun the search for expressions of their own identity, and a revival of indigenous traditions in all aspects of life, including the built environment, has begun. However, the process of recovering indigenous traditions is not easy, and the processes of modernization and globalization also add to the complexity of the challenge. Zimbabwe's search for a new architectural identity that expresses its African traditions while also embracing modernity has demanded the innovative exploitation of new opportunities, a skillful crossing over from its colonial architectural legacy, and a movement toward a design that is derived from the local African context. This necessarily involves design initiatives that draw from local cultures and build upon indigenous building traditions.

This paper identifies and discusses these issues using a selection of contemporary Zimbabwean architectural works as case studies. The architectural expression in the country ranges from architectural pastiche based on formal expressions of historic traditions to designs derived from a deeper understanding of basic principles and problems unique to the local context. The discourse begins with a brief overview of the architectural context in Zimbabwe, then goes on to present case studies of recent works. It concludes with a discussion of the pressing issues and complex concerns facing architecture in Zimbabwe today.

A.2 POLITICS OF CARTOGRAPHY

A MATRIX LANDSCAPE FOR THE REMAPPING OF A PYRENEES BORDER

Magda Saura, Spain

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TRIBAL BORDERS AND THEIR EXCLUSION OF SACRED SPACE

Anne Lawrason Marshall

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MENTAL MAPS AND SHIFTING SETTLEMENTS: THE INVISIBLE BOUNDARIES OF THE ZIMBABWEAN MUSHA

Rowan Roenisch

De Montfort University, Leicester, U.K.

DRAWING BOUNDARIES: VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN MAPS

Marcel Vellinga

Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, U.K.

A MATRIX LANDSCAPE FOR THE REMAPPING OF A PYRENEES BORDER

Magda Saura

Between Perpignan and Barcelona a new matrix is gradually evolving. Here the Roman cadastre once provided an official register of the ownership and value of real property, and created a recurrent pattern of field boundaries, roads, and drainage ditches. Three-fourths of the land in the Ter and Têt valleys is peasant owned. Before the opening of borders for the free circulation of goods and people under the E.U. treaty, the region developed without much environmental concern. Clean air and the unique spatial settings of historic villages contrasted with the deteriorated environment of metropolitan areas such as Barcelona, where large-scale urbanization was geared to a motorized market dependent on a freeway network. But this area is now located in a border region that has been opened to new investment, migration and trade. By the year 2004 a new high-speed rail line (TGV) will be built.

In this paper a centuriation interpretation of this border region will be made. According to this system, two axial roads at right angles to each other started the land survey. Field tracks (*limites*) were then driven parallel to their course until a grid of squares or rectangles took shape. The squares measured 700–720 m. (about 2,400 feet) per side, and contained one hundred small holdings (*centuriae*). The standard measure was the *actus* (35–37 m., or about 122 feet). Farmland lot-division was done with Egyptian *groma*, a tool that passed on to the Greeks and Romans. Ropes and pegs marked straight lines. Greek land surveyors used one of the

groma lineals for sighting a main direction, and the other to determine the direction in the field at right angles to it. An officer, the *horistes*, was in charge of establishing boundaries (*horoi*).

The approach of this paper will be to recapture the physical reality of the building, alteration and destruction of this matrix. A debate exists among scholars from various fields regarding the matrix. Conzen's morphogenic legacy, and legal, artistic, agriculturally and culturally bound approach to land tax and to customary laws of the cadastre matrix, will be compared to Kostof's claims. Kostof believed that geographers such as Whitehand pushed the limits of urban morphology into urban economics by neglecting the artistic, cultural and social determinants of the cadastre form. Archaeologists who have studied the cadastre matrix focus on understanding its utilitarian purpose, ignoring any aesthetic ones (Lepore, 1989; Clavel-Lévêque, 1982; Pons, 2001). Evidence will be given through a set of examples to prove that it is cultural, artistic and social factors that determine matrix shapes.

A sample of ten villages will be chosen. The regional governments of Languedoc-Roussillon and Catalonia, jointly with the wine industry, are subsidizing eco-cultural tourism projects. The conservation policies of vineyards and traditional settlements aim to preserve heritage sites and to increase sustainable wine production. This globally competitive regional industry values the artistic intention of ancient planners. A patrimony once at risk is now being used for the future remapping of an E.U. region.

TRIBAL BORDERS AND THEIR EXCLUSION OF SACRED SPACE

Anne Lawrason Marshall

As I consider a discussion of borders, the first thing that comes to mind is the issue of tribal borders in the United States. Before Europeans came to North America five hundred years ago, each of its many tribes had a defined territory and a close association with the land, which included the designation of specific natural features as especially sacred. As Europeans displaced Native Americans, Native people were pushed into smaller and smaller parcels of land, often quite far from their traditional home landscapes. This process initiated numerous problems, such as increased conflict between tribes, inadequate natural resources, disruption of the social structure, and separation from landscapes that held specific spiritual significance.

This paper will discuss tribal boundaries and issues that arise when legal tribal boundaries exclude sacred landscapes. Native American groups may revere certain landscape features as supremely sacred, yet the boundary of a sacred feature or precinct may not be recognized as such by other people. This leads to conflicts through competing interests such as tourism and economic development, and in some cases conflicting beliefs between different tribes.

A recent example is Zuni Salt Lake, one of the Zuni Pueblo's most sacred sites and a unique geologic feature, located in the state of New Mexico. The lake, within a 700,000-year-old volcanic crater, is a half mile in diameter and four feet deep during the monsoon. Springs and seeps, including a salt spring in one

of three cinder cones at the southern end, feed the lake. When the lake evaporates, a layer of salt forms that is considered the flesh of Salt Mother. This salt is highly prized, and the Zunis and three other tribes who also revere the lakes (the Hopi, Acoma and Laguna) have for centuries made ritual pilgrimages to collect its salt for ceremonies and healing. Recently, a Phoenix-based utility proposed building a coal mine twelve miles from the lake. The Zuni people are concerned that mining activities could harm the lake. Pumping groundwater for dust-suppression could draw down the lake, whose aquifer is probably connected to the aquifer of the mining area. The Zunis are also concerned that pilgrimage trails and burial sites may be disturbed by the mining.

MENTAL MAPS AND SHIFTING SETTLEMENTS: THE INVISIBLE BOUNDARIES OF THE ZIMBABWEAN MUSHA

Rowan Roenisch

This paper is based on research into Shona and Tonga vernacular architecture in northeastern Zimbabwe. It seeks to uncover the surviving legacy of precolonial concepts of territoriality and spatial designs ignored or hidden beneath current debates about land ownership and rights. In Zimbabwe today there are many tragic and violent disputes over land. The government has cleverly manipulated deep-seated feelings of injustice regarding territorial ownership and mapping. Meanwhile, the wealthy minority that is the white settler population own vast tracts of the most fertile and productive land, while the majority population — made up of the Shona and the Ndebele, along with minority groups such as the Tonga — have been forcibly crowded into impoverished terrains and the remote border areas.

The narrative that is currently used to discuss the land issue in Zimbabwe is that of the market. In this narrative, land is referred to in terms of quantifiable, measurable units that can be valued in productive and financial terms — units that can be owned, bought, sold, occupied and taken over. However, this ignores the traditional narratives that the majority population hold with regard to land. One such narrative is that physical territory is less about ownership and borders than about spiritual requirements and clan relationships. This has often been negatively construed in Western observations of “traditional” settlements. Among the many Western conceptions of space that have been imposed on the Other have been those of nineteenth-century Western travelers in this part of Africa, many of whom imperitantly described traditional settlements as formless, incoherent or rambling, with no clear borders between villages or individual homes. They argued that Zimbabweans had no concept of urban or town planning. Imbued with their own notions of privately owned pockets of land with clear demarcations and borders, such travelers sought simplistic conceptualizations of the Other.

Today some traditional villages that have imposed strong physical borders on their landscapes may give the appearance of coherent identities and order, yet ironically these often hide the underlying heterogeneity and the fissures within the communities they house.

Colonialism, the market economy, war, punitive taxes, legislation, and forced land-redistribution and resettlement schemes have created many new villages in alien districts that are often amalgams of unrelated individuals and clans. This disruption has created tensions and severed many of the relational, emotional and spiritual bonds that traditionally bound local communities.

The paper will identify surviving traditional Shona and Tonga mental maps of territory, the village and home, and the principles embedded in the planning of many of the so-called “unplanned” villages and homestead designs. It will discuss the Shona linguistic concept of home, or “*musha*,” which makes no distinction between village and dwelling. It will identify the invisible boundaries of space, and consider their roots in ethnicity, ancestor worship, gender, and fission and fusion in families and communities — as well as in relation to patterns of shifting agriculture and the development of an impermanent, portable architecture.

DRAWING BOUNDARIES: VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN MAPS

Marcel Vellinga

The processes of globalization and localization that characterize present-day global culture entail identity reconfigurations and a continuous negotiation and reinterpretation of boundaries. These boundaries are not only political, but are also of a symbolic, social and cultural nature, and may interrelate in a complex manner. The contemporary reconfiguration of identities and boundaries has obvious consequences for the state, and for the study of the world’s vernacular architecture. The increasing necessity to house refugees and war victims, a more widespread distribution and availability of particular building materials, and the political manipulation of ethnically inspired architectural revivals are but a few examples.

The impacts of global cultural processes on vernacular building traditions justify and necessitate the focus of attention on architectural boundaries. Vernacular architectural boundaries may be of various sorts. For example, they may concern the distribution and use of building materials and resources, technologies or service systems, building forms and types, or decorative motifs and symbolic associations. The geographic positioning of such boundaries, and the traditions they define, is based on a combination of geophysical, climatic and cultural factors. The ways in which these boundaries sever or coincide with cultural or ethnic boundaries is complex and to some extent variable. Our understanding of the geographic constellation of technological, functional and formal traditions that is the result of this overlap of boundaries as yet seems limited and fragmented. Such an understanding is nevertheless essential if the consequences of globalization are to be fully appreciated.

One of the means that will enable a better understanding of the complex constellation of architectural boundaries and the way it relates to the configuration and negotiation of cultural identities is the map. Although maps are hardly part of the new media com-

plex, in the discourse on vernacular architecture their potential has never been fully explored. Nevertheless, maps can communicate information on the geographic distribution of architectural features such as resources, service systems, or building types in a way that is visually direct, clear and effective. Besides, if made on a small scale, maps can easily go beyond a narrow focus on bounded culture areas, and reveal cross-cultural relationships that were otherwise perhaps less apparent and, consequently, left unnoticed. It is this dual function of maps that makes them powerful tools for documentation and analysis. In being able to communicate as well as visualize (cross-) cultural patterns and relationships, similarities, differences and lacunae, maps can give rise to new insights, raise new questions, and help identify new areas for research and documentation beyond a narrow focus on culture areas.

B.2 PLACING “AUTHENTICITY”

TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS, CONSERVATION, AND LAND USE: A STUDY OF THREE VILLAGES IN SAI KUNG, HONG KONG

Sidney Cheung

Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

TYPOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF THE BUILT TRADITION IN TAI O, HONG KONG

Wai-Keung Yeung

City University of Hong Kong, China

BEYOND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: REVEALING (IN)VISIBLE BORDERS IN A BRAZILIAN LANDSCAPE

Leonardo Castriota

Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil

“AUTHENTICITY” AS A TENSION OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL VALUES

Ipek Akpinar and Semra Aydinli

Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey

TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS, CONSERVATION, AND LAND USE: A STUDY OF THREE VILLAGES IN SAI KUNG, HONG KONG

Sidney Cheung

With intensive rural development and increasing property values since the late 1970s, people in Hong Kong are paying more attention to the prime sectors of land than ever before, making land administration a more complicated task. At the same time, the Hong Kong government increasingly needs more land for future development, but has become aware of the importance of heritage preservation, environmental conservation, and sustainable development as priorities in future policy. Therefore, the meanings of traditional dwellings have become an important issue with regard to the purposes and directions of Hong Kong’s environmental policy.

In this paper I explain the historical background of three traditional Hakka villages in the Sai Kung area, the northeastern part of the New Territories, with the intent of exploring current problems that these settlements face and the complications of contemporary conservation and land-use practices in Hong Kong. Through an understanding of the roles in social development played by several groups, including indigenous inhabitants, the government, developers and environmentalists, the paper will offer a holistic understanding of land administration, a process in which tourism, conservation, the rights of local inhabitants, the natural landscape, heritage preservation, and environmental consciousness are all involved. Finally, by examining the relationship between local culture and ecological concerns, I will try to discern practices of conservation and environmentalism and their relevance to globalization in contemporary Hong Kong society.

TYPOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF THE BUILT TRADITION IN TAI O, HONG KONG

Wai-Keung Yeung

This paper will investigate the ongoing reconstruction of stilt houses in Tai O, begun after a fire destroyed significant parts of the village two years ago. It will also look into the recent transformations in local traditions that have occurred as a result of adaptations to changing social and political trends.

Tai O is a small historic fishing village located in the western part of Lantau Island. Within the macro-perspective of city development plans, and among international intellectuals and social and political parties, the preservation of such traditional living environments and cultural heritage has always been a controversial topic. But the fire that destroyed almost two hundred traditional stilt houses in Tai O in the summer of 2000 further aroused the public's concern over the future of traditional communities. Now, fierce discussions between local activists, political parties, and professional institutes have led the Hong Kong government policy to review the importance of this living heritage. The terrible fire has thus served to focus attention on important issues of conservation of traditional heritage and the living conditions of local minorities. But at the same time, current planning efforts have also fallen in line with the government's master strategy for developing mass tourism in Hong Kong.

After the fire and before any far-reaching development plan could be consolidated for Tai O, the District Land Office (DLO) granted permission for registered local villagers to rebuild their stilt houses. The reconstruction process started autonomously in 2001. At the time, there were only two construction teams in the village who could still employ traditional techniques. Most of this work for building stilt houses is done manually and without the aid of heavy machinery. Therefore, due also to limited resources and manpower, the reconstruction of Tai O has been a slow process.

As part of a research project that started last summer, the author joined a construction team led by master builder Cheung Hoi Chuen and became part of the actual rebuilding of Tai O. The construction process of a stilt house was documented in detail, and the author also interviewed workers and local residents to obtain a more complete picture of their living conditions and customs.

Stilt houses first appeared in the early eighteenth century. Before then the residents of Tai O were a fishing community who lived on *sampans*, a type of traditional fishing boat from southern China. Later, in order to acquire a more secure environment, parts of the community began to move ashore. These fisherfolk employed readily available materials such as wood, bamboo and leaves to create shelters with the most basic construction skills. In doing so, they replicated the structure of their *sampans* on land and created a vault-shaped house, which stood along the shore on stone pillars. Often a part of this stilt house projected over the water and had ladders that led from the living rooms to the water below, thus providing a convenient access to fishing boats which would be tied underneath.

The population boom in Hong Kong of the 1950s increased the population of Tai O to more than ten thousand people, and a large number of new stilt houses were needed for this increased population. And due to the availability of new materials and the shift in performance requirements, the design of stilt houses went through a process of evolution. *Kwan din* wood gradually replaced the original stone pillars for the foundation, and pitched roofs were chosen over vault-shaped ones. Today stilt houses are mainly two storied, made out of galvanized tin plates and wooden planks, and the durable *kwan din* wood has been replaced by *chao* wood. The spatial configuration of the traditional stilt house has also been revised. According to modern dictates of hygiene, the kitchen and toilet are now detached from the main house and situated at the far end of the front stage. Statutory controls and the effect of mass tourism during the 1980s and 90s have also had an impact on the configuration of traditional stilt-house settlements.

Vernacular architecture can be seen as a figurative calibrator that reveals the very nature of living traditions. The fishing lifestyle of the early Tai O people inspired the creation of a unique habitat that closely integrated the waterscape and the villagers. However, as a settlement goes through a process of modernization, both social structures and human activities are continuously changing. Thus, while the construction of stilt houses reflects the local people's attachment to their traditional customs, it also reveals their aspirations toward a future community. By analyzing the reconstruction of traditional houses in Tai O, observing the spatial redefinition and reprogramming of spaces, this paper will provide a better understanding of the morphological transformation of the physical environment and the meaning of preserving a traditional culture to both the local people and the public.

BEYOND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: REVEALING (IN)VISIBLE BORDERS IN A BRAZILIAN LANDSCAPE

Leonardo Castriota

Analysis of the contemporary urban landscape reveals a tendency toward homogenization of the built environment. As the processes of globalization gain momentum, cities all over the globe tend to look much alike, with regional differences being increasingly obliterated. This tendency is manifested even more dramatically in large metropolises, where different traditions are brought together and seem to disappear into a homogenizing whole. However, a closer look into mega-urban centers may yet reveal a vast array of differences that delimit both visible and invisible borders.

This paper presents the experience of the "Inventory of Belo Horizonte's Urban and Cultural Heritage" (IPUC-BH), a large research program conducted by the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). Belo Horizonte is the capital of the state of Minas Gerais and the third largest city in Brazil. The project tried to reveal the real cultural landscape underlying the discouraging surface of a homogeneous urban sphere. The ambitious program also aimed to go beyond the mere registration of cultural references, to design preservation policies which may be integrated

with the general urban policies of the municipality. The methodology used reflected the contemporary comprehensiveness of the concept of heritage. Thus, instead of merely listing cultural assets, the IPUC-BH started from a more general urban context, with its multiple spatial, functional and symbolic crossings, to eventually identify local cultural references. For this purpose, it combined historic, urban, architectural and sociological research in pursuit of the essence of the various aspects of the urban landscape.

The research had two main axes: urban history and sociology. Belo Horizonte's urban history is a lived tradition. In this respect, physical and socio-cultural issues were dealt with simultaneously. Furthermore, this effort was not confined to studying spaces and buildings of historic, architectural or artistic significance, but attempted to include analysis of representative forms of organization and structuring of the city's districts. These were conceived to be the processes whereby spaces are appropriated and an array of relationships and practices in people's daily lives are defined. The sociological research, in turn, attempted to draw an accurate contemporary picture of the areas studied by focusing on their objective and subjective aspects and combining quantitative and qualitative methods. To this end, attention was paid both to the micro- and macro-spheres in order to determine the differential conditions of behavior/space relationships and the social processes derived from different forms of spatial organization and appropriation.

This paper presents as case studies the inventories of Lagoinha and Primeiro de Maio, two traditional districts in Belo Horizonte with quite distinct urban configurations. The districts are also different in terms of their ethnic backgrounds: while Lagoinha is mostly populated by descendants of Portuguese, Italian and Jewish immigrants, Primeiro de Maio, a working-class neighborhood, embodies a strong African influence. In both cases, the IPUC-BH produced accurate pictures of the local realities studied, which proved to be multifaceted and culturally rich. The study made it possible to draw preservation proposals that reconciled preservation and local development.

"AUTHENTICITY" AS A TENSION OF GLOBAL AND LOCAL VALUES

Ipek Akpinar and Semra Aydinli

Although tourism is a global industry, in Turkey cultural tourism is dominated by local values and by vernacular architecture that has been modified on behalf of the power of image. Tourism, therefore, becomes a phenomenon which represents itself through authentic or inauthentic buildings, artifacts that embody the tensions between global and local values. Current designs for tourism projects reinforce the notion of authentic "experience" — modified spatial and physical reality.

According to David Harvey, cities that once sold themselves as places of "production" are now selling themselves as places of "consumption." In the 1990s this statement became evident in the southern Anatolia coastal region of Turkey. Here traditional values are being redesigned in the form of hotels, holiday villages, or residences, ready to be sold on behalf of "authenticity." The questions of ontology — of "authenticity" and of "spirit" — are ultimately rooted in a linguistic line from authenticity to authority. Thus, local governments/authorities in the region have sought to regenerate their natural and traditional environments through leisure and tourism. These trends and policies are widely found in many types of traditional environments in Anatolia. Increased competition arising from globalization has combined with changing physical requirements for authenticity to create designs for "virtual realities/dreams."

This paper discusses the concept of authenticity in terms of architecture and artifacts that are being used by tourists as commodities to generate meaning and pleasure. The starting point is phenomenological, since the concept of authenticity asserts the primacy of the lived world of everyday experience. Underlying concepts of authenticity (the inside/outside dialectics that become ordered along lines of enclosure/spaciousness, unity/variety, familiar/strange, self/other and private/public) consist of shifting opposite images which constitute the whole. Comparison between the vernacular and the new in terms of these underlying concepts will clarify the problem of authenticity. In this regard, Appleton's prospect/refuge theory, which suggests a general spatial preference for edge conditions where one can see without being exposed, will give clues to understanding the thin line between authenticity and inauthenticity.

C.2 PERFORMING IDENTITY

TECHNOLOGY AS MEDIATOR: THE JEAN-MARIE TJIBAOU CULTURAL CENTER, NEW CALEDONIA

Susan Frosten

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BANTERING AND MAGIC: POLICING ACCESS TO DJIENNE'S BUILDING TRADE WITH JESTS AND SPELLS

Trevor Marchand

SOAS, London, U.K.

EATING AT THE BORDERS: CULINARY JOURNEYS

Jean Duruz

University of South Australia, Australia

A PLACE OF IDENTITY AND FEAR: BOUNDARIES EXPERIENCED IN A "GYPSY" QUARTER IN ANKARA

Emine Incirlioglu

Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

TECHNOLOGY AS MEDIATOR: THE JEAN-MARIE TJIBAOU CULTURAL CENTER, NEW CALEDONIA

Susan Frosten

In the French territory of New Caledonia tensions continue to persist as the result of the remnants of nineteenth-century colonialism, continued French rule, and the more recent onslaught of globalization. The combination of these forces have resulted in an internalized border condition — the outcome of overlaying a repressive, colonialist culture onto an indigenous society within the region. In this particular context the border is not necessarily established quantitatively as a physical territorial condition, but rather exists as a qualitative element in the midst of daily discourse, and is perceived as a boundary that divides the global and the local, the Western inhabitants from the indigenous people, and modernity from tradition. The recently completed Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Center in New Caledonia can be examined through an architectural and technological lens as an expression of several of these internal social, political, historical and cultural border conditions.

During the twentieth century not only were global technologies often used in place of traditional practices, they were applied universally with little sensitivity to context. Thus, local cultures were suppressed in multiple ways. However, technology can, if employed carefully, provide the common ground for globalization and regional specificity to coexist. While technology is an essential part of any culture, it is also the method by which universalization is implemented. These tools, whether local or universal, traditional or contemporary, passive or active, are the means by which human

beings create their relationship with the earth. In examining the word *techne*, the philosopher Martin Heidegger stated in *The Origin of the Work of Art* that “*techne* signifies neither craft nor art, . . . the word *techne* denotes rather a mode of knowing.” In this way, technology becomes a mode to comprehend the site, as well as a way to enhance the legibility of its essence and culture.

The choice of the internationally renowned architectural firm the Renzo Piano Building Workshop as the winner of the competition to design the Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Center made several of these inherent paradoxes evident. The first was that New Caledonians had looked to an international architect — one outside their own borders — to find an expression of their indigenous culture. Second, was that a major piece of architecture would be designed for a group of people who did not have a large history of building. In addition, there was also a tension between their desire to be brought into the twenty-first century yet preserve their own culture.

Understanding both that the people of New Caledonia realized they needed outside help and that they were looking for a source outside the colonial power structure to build their new architectural symbols, Piano turned to the native culture for inspiration. He brought knowledge of advanced technologies as well as a sensitivity and understanding of place, rather than a desire to indulge in the imposition of outside culture. In the design of the building, he capitalized on local understanding of place, traditional technologies, and nature, and integrated these with global technologies and construction practices. He also mixed local and nonlocal materials in the execution of the architectural design.

As contemporary architecture looks to the vernacular for inspiration in terms of form and meaning, the Jean-Marie Tjibaou Cultural Center has brought New Caledonian culture into the twenty-first century.

BANTERING AND MAGIC: POLICING ACCESS TO DJIENNE'S BUILDING TRADE WITH JESTS AND SPELLS

Trevor Marchand

Based on current research conducted with local masons in Djenne, Mali, this paper will examine two principal components in the expert mason's discourse that control access to the traditional building trade. These two components are interethnic bantering and the possession of magic and secret knowledge. In relation to these means of exclusion, I will also consider the ways in which builders of ethnic and national minority groups negotiate their positions and status on the construction site and within the widely circulating expert discourse of the trade. Access to the profession, and the possibility of becoming a full-fledged mason, is highly salient in Djenne, where the characteristic *style-soudanaise* of mud architecture — a symbol of regional and national identity — constitutes an important form of cultural capital over which various groups compete for control.

The linguistic and ethnic diversity of the particular building site where I worked was quintessentially “Djenne” in character.

Of the eighteen-member team, there was representation from eight ethnic groups from both Mali and Burkina Faso, and five languages were regularly spoken, of which Bambara (and to some extent Djenne Chiini) served as the *lingua franca*.

However, all the master masons on site were of a Bozo ethnic identity — reputedly the earliest inhabitants of the inland Niger Delta region. In Djenne, the Bozo comprise the majority of masons, along with more recent representation from the Marka, and some Hourso, who are historically a casted group.

Many masons insist that only young men from the town's building families can be admitted to an apprenticeship that teaches the necessary combination of technical skills and trade secrets. Though the masons trace their genealogical origins to legendary Bozo families, in practice access to the profession now cuts across ethnic boundaries and social classes.

Borders to the trade became porous during the two decades of drought in the 1970s and 1980s when many local masons went abroad as migrant laborers, causing the *barey ton* — a guild-like organization that regulated practice — to dissolve. However, one factor that continues to keep individuals of nonbuilding families from the trade is the nature of the mason-client relationship, whereby a mason is bound to every family in the town. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, for a mason without arranged or inherited connections to find work, and the possibility of usurping someone else's clients is curbed by the dominant discourse on magic. Master masons are believed to possess powers that can cause harm to those who compete with or betray them, and can make their buildings fail. Bantering relations are also invoked to maintain a defined hierarchy on site between the masons and their labor team. The most highly developed and historical form of bantering is the one that exists between the Bozo and Dogon. Another important one exists between the Malian builders and the laborers from neighboring Burkina Faso. These hierarchies and power relations are also colored by nationalism.

The paper will consider how both the discourse on magic and bantering relations are manipulated to control access to the trade, to maintain professional boundaries and hierarchies that reflect ethnic divisions and national borders, and most importantly, to create opportunities for individual resistance and accommodation.

EATING AT THE BORDERS: CULINARY JOURNEYS

Jean Duruz

This paper examines intersections of food, identity and place within the imagined “regions” of everyday practices, stories and memories, and within the “real” of different places. Specifically, the paper is concerned with ways that conceptions of ethnicity delineate and divide these spaces: how meanings of Britishness and Australianness, based in the primacy of “tradition,” “the West,” and Anglo-Celtic belongings, permeate the spaces of everyday life in London and Sydney and shape their food cultures. In doing so, the paper, following Cook et al. (1999), seeks to uncover and reinsert “mainstream” identities into conceptions of ethnicity, rather than emptying the “ethnic” of dominant interests for the project of rewriting the space as “other.” However, with a gaze rerouted and from the margins, “Australian” and “British” foods become curious, “exotic,” their scrutiny a disruption to established boundaries and forbidden zones.

The paper traces moments in the culinary biographies of two women — one English, one Australian of British descent — living in London and Sydney, respectively. Both women's homes are located near shopping streets known for the diversity of “ethnic” communities that occupy these spaces, and for their associated cuisines. The women's narratives are instructive in their continuities as much as their disjunctions. Despite differences in age, family migration history, class and cultural background, these women's stories “speak” to each other of the meaning of “home” and “traditional” cooking, of the place of rural life in the urban imaginary, and of Britishness as a culinary and “ethnic” heritage. However, while such stories appear to confirm dominant conceptions of “invisible” (white, “British”-based) power, they are not without unexpected twists. The argument follows some of these, including engagements with “Asia” and “Europe” and “cosmopolitan identity.” These counter-threads in the narrative produce a multitextured and more ambivalent/borderline sense of belonging than first supposed — a classed and gendered one, marked by constant shifts in the sense of “place” and by an occasional porosity of boundary.

To some extent, this paper is written against the starkness of Hage's binary of “authentic” migrant homebuilder versus consuming cosmo-muticulturalist (1997). In doing so, the argument searches for the gray spaces of intercultural interactivity and identity mobility — however uneven, politically limited, and fragmented these may be. It is, after all, these spaces of “in-betweenness” — to which Dean Chan (2000) refers in relation to Chinese-Australian identity — that might produce minute, everyday “in-between” transgressions within “British” and “Australian” identity, allowing moments of eating into ethnicity's borders, alongside the actual eating contained by these.

A PLACE OF IDENTITY AND FEAR: BOUNDARIES EXPERIENCED IN A “GYPSY” QUARTER IN ANKARA

Emine Incirlioglu

This paper explores the practices of exclusion, segregation and conflict in Çiçin Bağlari, a rigidly defined quarter in Ankara, Turkey. This quarter has gained a reputation as an “unruly” place inhabited by lawless people, undocumented “gypsies,” drug pushers, prostitutes, pickpockets and petty criminals. Most of the residents of the quarter live in squatter settlements. Thus, while Çiçin Bağlari is an everyday place and “home” to hundreds of families, it has become an “other” place for the rest of Ankara’s population — to the extent that most city residents feel like “foreigners” and experience fear within its boundaries. Foucault’s politicized concept of “heterotopia” (other place) is applicable to Çiçin Bağlari, where “the notion of ‘other’ refers to that which is both formally and socially other.”

Based on surveys and observations conducted by a group of university students in 2001 and 2002, as well as interviews with municipal officials, this paper focuses on the social relations and territorial behavior patterns that define the boundaries of Çiçin Bağlari in the absence of walls or fences. The traditions or cultural traits that are practiced within the quarter, such as cock-fights, dogfights, pigeon competitions, self-mutilations, or the creative use of various “weapons,” serve to reinforce the cultural identity of the residents in a negative way. Specifically, this paper will focus on the tensions that are created by the occasional demolition of squatter houses and the subsequent confrontation which takes place between the police and the residents.

At a time when cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are being widely discussed, a considerable number of Çiçin Bağlari residents are not registered or documented, and thus are not “citizens” of the modern nation-state of Turkey. Considering the global dispersion of “gypsies,” “unbound” around the world beyond commitment to any one nation-state, it is ironic that the boundaries of Çiçin Bağlari are spatially well defined, and that they so rigidly separate its inhabitants from “outsiders.”

A.3 RETHINKING HISTORIOGRAPHY AND DISCOURSE

THE HERITAGE (IN BETWEEN): DISCOURSES OF “REGION” AND “NATION” IN BILAD AL SHAM

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NARRATIVE BORDERS AND THE POLITICS OF NEW HISTORY

Alan Mikhail

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

ALTERNATIVE MODELS TO CLUSTERED CULTURES: A DISCUSSION OF PARADIGMATIC THEMES

Anne Hublin

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TROPICAL TROPES: THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF BUILT FORMS IN HOT AND HUMID CLIMATES

Chee Kien Lai

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

THE HERITAGE (IN BETWEEN): DISCOURSES OF “REGION” AND “NATION” IN BILAD AL SHAM

Rami Daher

The definition of heritage and the past and their links to identity construction have always been a highly politicized, contextualized and contested process. The region of the eastern Mediterranean (locally known as Bilad al Sham) witnessed ample cultural, socio-economic and territorial transformations within the last couple of centuries. The most significant and recent of these was the destruction and replacement of the dynastic religious realm (represented by the Ottoman Empire) first by periods of European colonialism and Mandate, then by the various postcolonial and post-Mandate nation-states of Syria, Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine during the first half of the twentieth century.

This paper is about inherent differences, conflicts, and unresolved issues regarding the definition of “the heritage in between.” This is a heritage that falls between historical and cultural definitions and politically and functionally constructed regions/nations. This research reexamines the contested reintroduction of a certain concept of heritage to suit the construction of a national identity. Thus, issues related to authenticity, definition of heritage, and promotion of certain sites for conspicuous consumption (whether associated with processes of late capitalism or highly politicized national agendas) are examined. Ultimately, the research will compare and contrast such investigations with the impact of latent regional and historical realities on the definition, production and transformation

of the architectural heritage in Bilad al Sham beyond the limitations of nationalism or the boundaries of the nation state.

Alternatively, a new discursive approach to the understanding of heritage emerges out of invigorating and stimulating latent and suppressed regional realities and historical and contemporary networks of relations between cities, towns, cultural landscapes, and various heritage sites in the region. This new reconceptualization of heritage and of the region transcends current geopolitics, national discourses, and formal historiographies.

Ultimately, the body of knowledge generated by the research might affect socioeconomic realities by building potential economic and cultural alliances within the region in terms of its heritage and tourism research and industry. In addition, it may foster a new temporal understanding of the region of Bilad al Sham through its cultural and architectural heritage.

NARRATIVE BORDERS AND THE POLITICS OF NEW HISTORY

Alan Mikhail

Land and power are central to any understanding of twentieth-century Israel and Palestine. Numerous governments, individuals, and world bodies have presented plans aimed at solving the conflicts of the region based on the notion that division or separation are the only means toward a lasting solution. Perhaps more importantly, both Israeli and Palestinian historiographies of modern Palestine seem content with this formulation. In this paper, I seek to reconceptualize the historiographical trends toward separation and nonrecognition by arguing that one cannot write a history of modern Palestine without studying both the Jewish and Arab communities of the region. This paper, therefore, falls within the realm of reconfiguring regions, as I seek to show that the traditional definition of the Jewish or Arab community of Palestine as separate from the other ignores their mutual impact on one another. The regions under consideration are thus both geographic entities, that is, Israel and Palestine; and textual entities, that is, Israeli and Palestinian historiographies.

The paper is divided into two sections. The first discusses traditional Palestinian and Israeli histories by exploring the specific mechanisms used to exclude the other from the narrative. Not only do these official historiographies deny the inherently reactionary nature of nationalism, but they also ignore the formative power of communal interactions. In order to disrupt these dominant histories, which are based around the notion of mutual exclusivity, I present examples of exchange, borrowing and cooperation between Jews and Arabs in pre-1948 Palestine. I do not mean to suggest that these interactions were somehow missed opportunities, but rather I wish to complicate our understanding of the period by showing that the two communities did interact at a level other than violence, and that these exchanges cannot be ignored. To understand these border crossings and the consequent hybridity that emerges from them, I employ Homi Bhabha's notion of a "third space" — that is, a space which is distinct from the two sealed and separated communities.

In the second section I engage with a recent and noteworthy Israeli historiographical trend known as "New History." Working from the newly declassified state documents of the 1948 and 1967 periods, a group of no more than ten Israeli historians has sought to break down many of the dominant Zionist narratives, and thereby rewrite the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. With titles such as Tom Segev's *One Palestine, Complete*, it is often assumed that the work of this group is a type of relational history that includes both Jews and Arabs. In actuality, these writers remain largely within the traditional school of Israeli historical writing. In addition, I argue that the work of Israeli New Historians represents an effort to appropriate Palestinian historical narratives within Israeli discourse so that Israel's past may be addressed by Israelis rather than by others. By confronting history and claiming to have dealt evenly with it, these historians distance past Israeli actions from present realities. In short, instead of opening up the space of Israeli historiography, the New Historians help to solidify its borders, and they preclude the possibility of a Palestinian presence in that space by inscribing Palestinian histories within Israeli discourse.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS TO CLUSTERED CULTURES: A DISCUSSION OF PARADIGMATIC THEMES

Anne Hublin

"Clustered-cultures" hypotheses are based on the immediate correspondence between delimited areas and patterning. However, archaeological, anthropological and historical theories provide abundant examples illustrating complex relations between environment and culture. This paper discusses a few examples of "un-bounded" traditions which could be relevant in the context of the present age of deterritorialization. Restrictions in this comparison come from the new scale and pace of current cultural transmission, which seems instantaneous and ubiquitous.

At the end of the nineteenth century Friedrich Ratzel initiated the specific discipline of anthropogeography. The notion of a "cultured area," issued by Leo Frobenius, already included a dynamic conceptualization explaining change and variations in traditional cultures by effects of diffusion, mainly based on migrations. Using this concept of "*kulturkreis*," Gordon Childe (1929, 1950) assumed that in Neolithic Europe, change in local patterns of culture could only come from a rush of invaders bringing in new material items and customs. Conversely, Colin Renfrew (1979, 1987) suggested a "wave of advance model" including low-pace demographic expansion of Neolithic peasants, on very short distances for each generation, with trajectories obeying a random dispersion. This model differed from the colonization process, which implied a deliberate settlement on distant countries, but which also, in some situations, might explain substantial differentiation in local cultures.

The structural study of American myths by Claude Lévi-Strauss enhanced the symbolic dimension of traditional cultures through a semantic manipulation of cosmogony. A specific

example of differentiation between neighboring tribes, the Hidatsa and the Mandan (Missouri), showed a simple rhetoric of symmetrical inversion of common emblematic items and rituals (1971). Such an arrangement allowed bordering peoples to be “close enough to be friends and not far enough away to be enemies.” Levi-Strauss developed a related concept of structural classification in *La pensee sauvage* (1962), and the article “Comment meurent les mythes” (“How Myths Die,” 1971), which put forward the question of the coexistence of oppositions. The Levi-Strauss opus, from kinship systems to totemism, displayed the immense field of traditional social responses to the paradoxical and universal need for systems of symbolic differentiation for mastering social complementarities.

A model of world-systems analysis was issued as early as 1949 by Fernand Braudel. Describing the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century, the French historian outlined the hegemony and rivalry of capital cities (core) versus “secondary regions” and “peripheral areas.” According to the author, capitalistic equilibrium was unstable. Thus, central cities successively imposed on Europe and the Mediterranean their political, social and cultural rule. These cities included Venetia, Lisbon, Anvers, Geneva, Amsterdam, and finally London. Braudel’s concept of a mobile “world economy,” transgressing national boundaries and imposing its global order, has influenced recent interpretations of globalization, including Immanuel Wallerstein’s theory in *The Capitalistic World Economy* (1974).

The presentation will include maps and schemes to give a visual approach to the theoretical topics exposed. In conclusion, it will discuss the possible application of models elaborated for traditional societies, still based on localized processes of production, to the present “network society.”

TROPICAL TROPES: THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF BUILT FORMS IN HOT AND HUMID CLIMATES

Chee Kien Lai

The tropics are defined by a combination of geographical and astronomical phenomena as that area located between two imaginary latitudes — south of the Tropic of Cancer and north of the Tropic of Capricorn. Absent in early world maps and discovered much later by the West, the land masses that are circumscribed within this area include countries in Central and South America, Central and South Africa, Southeast Asia, and northern Australia, the majority of which were once colonies and dominions governed from European metropolises. Hence, the loading of multiple identities and other meanings on the term “tropical” extends its relationships and frameworks beyond the seemingly neutral description of a climatic zone to North-South and colonial/postcolonial dialogues, as well as the politics of governance and development. The descriptor has also been used to formulate specific aspects of medicine, geography, and other disciplines. This paper focuses on the use and development of the term “tropical” as applied to the architecture and built environments in these countries. It argues that constructions of tropical architecture as knowledge, doctrine and pedagogy that span design and building science have had implications and impacts on architectural discourses and practices that continue to this day.

The paper also examines two important periods in the development of tropical architecture. The first is the period of the 1950s, when knowledge about tropical architecture was built up through texts and literature, conferences, research stations, and architectural schools, at a time when colonies were being developed with the expertise, building materials, and designs of a post-war Europe engaged in its own reconstruction. The second period is the recent reemergence of the subject in architectural discourse in tropical countries, staged in a postcolonial climate amid emergent discussions of globalization and ecological sustainability. In each case the paper hopes to compare the rhetoric and the implements of the protagonists, and to forward possible reasons and intentions behind postulations and their eventual outcomes as built forms.

B.3 BLURRED BORDERS/POROUS IDENTITIES

NEW GEOGRAPHIES IN NORTHEAST CHINA: REGIONALISM, PATRIOTISM, AND MAKING THE “HONG KONG OF THE NORTH”

Lisa Hoffman

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

BORDER ENCOUNTER: A SEARCH FOR A TRANSLOCAL REALITY IN NORTHERN VIETNAM

Chan Yuk Wah

Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

BORDERLAND ENVIRONMENTS, SITES OF REGIONALIZATION

James Scott

Free University of Berlin, Germany

SPEAKING IN THAI, DREAMING IN ISAN: POPULAR THAI TELEVISION AND EMERGING IDENTITIES OF LAO ISAN YOUTH

Catherine Hesse-Swain

Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia

WHAT IS THE ABORIGINAL BOY DRAWING? EXPLORING VISIONARY SPACE BETWEEN FILM, ARCHITECTURE AND AGENCY

Mirjana Lozanovska

Deakin University, Victoria, Australia

NEW GEOGRAPHIES IN NORTHEAST CHINA: REGIONALISM, PATRIOTISM, AND MAKING THE “HONG KONG OF THE NORTH”

Lisa Hoffman

In the 1990s municipal planners in Dalian, a major port city in northeast China, named the city “the Hong Kong of the North” in a bid to attract more international attention. In competition with other coastal cities for limited foreign capital, they advertised Dalian as a place with a diversifying economy, state-of-the-art deep-water port, and abundance of educated and talented workers. Located on the end of a peninsula, just east of Beijing and near Japan and the Korean peninsula, Dalian hoped to move away from its industrial role in the planned economy and toward a more diverse and border-crossing one. As part of the “open-door” policy toward globalization in China, municipal leaders sought to make the city a regional hub of trade, finance and tourism for what is called the Northeast Asian Economic Circle (*dongbei jinjiquan*). Such an emerging regional geography crosses multiple national borders, suggesting also that Dalian is more

appropriately associated with other Pacific Rim cities than with its own provincial capital of Shenyang, or even its national capital, Beijing. This paper provides detailed ethnographic evidence of this new geography and its cultural, planning and built forms.

In addition, this paper argues that linked to the appearance of these new geographies is the emergence of political and economic subjects whose sense of value and imaginings of the future are informed by these new spatialities. In particular, young college graduates have been encouraged to train and promote themselves as skilled, talented and professional workers essential to the success of open-door development and its resulting spaces. Such citizens are supposed to act in high-quality (*suzhi*) and civilized (*wenming*) ways, obtain training in appropriate industries, and learn to engage the global economy — while remaining patriotic. The subjects who emerge in such a border-crossing zone are both outward-looking professionals and nationally focused patriots. A particular kind of “patriotic professionalism,” in other words, is emerging as a critical standard in the governance of cities and their citizens.

By analyzing the links between new geographies and professional subjects, this paper argues that a focus on the nation (through patriotism) does remain in this border-crossing space. While much scholarship associates regionalism with the withering of state power and threats to state sovereignty, this paper presents evidence that state power is not disappearing in the face of globalization. Rather than looking for pockets of nonstate intervention, this paper argues we must turn our attention to the ways states are changing their modes of governance. For instance, it asks how the post-Mao state has turned away from familiar methods of policing toward notions of self-management through ideals of civility, talent and patriotism.

The case of regionalism in Dalian offers evidence both of how the spaces in which people live, work and dream are being remade, and how state governing is changing. It advocates that a zero-sum understanding of global-state power relations should be resisted.

BORDER ENCOUNTER: A SEARCH FOR A TRANSLOCAL REALITY IN NORTHERN VIETNAM

Chan Yuk Wah

Since the reopening of the Vietnam-China border and the normalization of diplomatic relation in 1991, border trade and border tourism between Vietnam and China have been thriving. In Lao Cai (a town in northern Vietnam sharing a border with Hekou of Yunnan, China), petty traders, business people, and Chinese tourists frequently walk through the border gate. Here, memories of a bloody war fought twenty years ago have been transfigured into a moving scene of vibrant economic activity and human interaction. The specific sense of a reviving town and vigorous transgression of (both geographical and cultural) borders draws a basic framework for the human and cultural geography of the “translocality” of this border town.

This paper sketches the translocal landscape of the border town of Lao Cai. It shows how new forms of contacts and connec-

tions are made through daily border crossing for the purposes of shopping, trade, and tourism. In contrast to the border conflicts two decades ago, the border now symbolizes economic opportunities and development. The newly revived contact has infused people with high hopes of development and modernization. Within a discourse of developmentalism, both Chinese and Vietnamese are striving to imagine for themselves a model of modernity.

In this regard, one peculiarity about the Chinese tourists in Vietnam is their enthusiasm in evaluating Vietnam in terms of its economic progress. On the other hand, Vietnamese read Chinese people through a scale of style, manner and taste. A number of examples will show how cultural identities are vigorously displayed and negotiated between Chinese and Vietnamese during touring activities. In this sense, the border demarcates cultures while at the same time blurring them.

The borderland is a place particularly apt for examining how people arrange different layers of identity and orders of values within a transnational setting. The paper will mark the concrete “space” where cultural differences will be hardened and where identities can be transcended. It will also reflect on the historical intimacy and hostility between the two peoples, and will show how such intimacy and hostility have simultaneously made claims on cultural similarity and difference that are both easy and difficult.

Chinese tourists and business people who travel to the little border town of Lao Cai make it a perfect site for studying “traveling cultures.” Elsewhere, I have mentioned that the study of tourism should be a study of culture in the context of tourism, rather than a study of tourism in the context of culture. Although this paper does not intend to be a tourism study, such “traveling culture” in Lao Cai may be attributed to its particular translocal reality. Through a thick description of the translocality of Lao Cai, I hope this paper will cast new light on our understanding of borderlands.

BORDERLAND ENVIRONMENTS, SITES OF REGIONALIZATION *James Scott*

Border regions are spaces where nationally defined cultures, political systems, institutions, and economies meet. They are also “transnational” in nature, characterized by cross-border interaction and cultural overlap, generating their own specific borderland identities. As the defensive role of state boundaries is challenged, border regions seem to be undergoing deep functional transformations. Inherent in much recent discourse on the significance of state boundaries is a notion that borders can be “spiritualized” through the development of local transnational political communities. Since 1989, for example, border regions have become central to European integration policies. In other political-integration contexts, such as in the Americas and Southeast Asia, border regions are seen as flexible vehicles with which to manage conflict and facilitate collective action in the management of social, economic and environmental issues.

However, experience indicates that there is no guarantee that border regions can assume such integrative functions. Whereas

internationalizing discourses can promote an “opening” of cross-border interaction spaces, nationalizing elements can often provoke “closure” and/or ambivalence to cross-border interaction (Matthiesen, 2001). Indeed, whether borders serve to divide or unite communities, or whether they are perceived to be an economic liability or an asset, is as much a product of perception and behavior as it is of the explicit regulation of border “permeability.”

In order to interpret the broader significance of border regions, I argue that cross-border regionalization must be captured in its multiple dimensions. In doing so, I attempt to develop a notion of borderlands as products of social practices and discourses (see Paasi, 1999, 2001), and hence as complex social spaces where multiple and often asynchronous processes of regionalization unfold. Regionalization, as understood here, is a permanent process of spatial signification (the attribution of meaning to place), and bounding (the formation of boundaries around various realms of activity), that gives social substance to physical space. This theoretical perspective coincides with Henri Lefebvre’s (1974) contention that social practices, when projected upon territory, define places. Spatial practices, while themselves subject to values, norms and institutions, (re)convey meaning to places and action.

I will discuss the German-Polish border region in order to argue the merits of this theoretical approach, focusing on multilevel regionalization processes as expressed by patterns of cross-border interaction. European integration creates an opportunity space that cross-border actors use to promote their own agendas. These cooperation projects find concrete expression in “Euroregions” and twincity initiatives that selectively network regional actors. At the level of local communities, everyday practices and perceptions are at work, defining the degree of citizen identification with cross-border regionalization projects. Nevertheless, the complex legacies of German-Polish relations, as well as very different trajectories of societal transformation, ensure that regionalization in this specific context remains a contested project.

Based on the evidence presented, I will conclude with questions relevant to comparative research on borderlands and cross-border cooperation. A critical issue is one of the capacities of cross-border regions to initiate learning processes, and thus improve conditions for collective action and cooperative development.

SPEAKING IN THAI, DREAMING IN ISAN: POPULAR THAI TELEVISION AND EMERGING IDENTITIES OF LAO ISAN YOUTH *Catherine Hesse-Swain*

This paper will draw upon my doctoral research on Lao Isan youth living in the city of Khon Kaen and the town of Mahasarakham in northeast Thailand. It will discuss aspects of identity formation within this community of young people, and specifically its relationship to popular Thai television. The purpose of this ethnographic research is to open up new debates on contemporary constructions of Lao Isan identity.

While people living in northeast Thailand are broadly referred to as Khon Isan, or people of the northeast, I use the

term Lao Isan to refer specifically to Isan people of Lao origin or ethnicity. More ethnic Lao live in the northeast region of Thailand than in the nation-state of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The Lao Isan are subject to complex and often competing notions of Lao-ness, Isan-ness and Thai-ness. Some of these constructions highlight the exclusivity of Isan identity — conflating it with a tight geographical space that is no longer Lao but Isan, embedded within the larger nation-state of Thailand. Other constructions of the same identity ignore geographical boundaries and explore Lao Isan identity within a more open cultural space that encompasses both northeast Thailand and Laos.

Informing these constructions are overlapping and often conflicting views of both Thai and Lao historiography, Lao Isan indigenous studies, and the influence of popular culture. This paper will present findings from my first six months of research in Khon Kaen, Mahasarakham, and surrounding areas.

I am interested in challenging the dominant discourse and assumptions made by experts about the pressures of mass media on cultural integrity. What do Lao Isan youth make of their own identity? What attributes qualify as Lao-ness or Isan-ness, and what do these labels represent? How do Lao Isan youth negotiate socio-cultural pressures exerted by various Thai, Lao, Western, regional and global forces? Do they live with and express multiple identities? By looking at the personal responses of Lao Isan youth to television produced in Thailand, this paper investigates the everyday notions and rituals that contribute to their evolving definitions of identity.

My research into emergent culture is grounded in the contemporary paradigm of open cultural space, which draws upon the postmodernist discourse on culture, identity, the nation-state, and ethnicity. Theories of globalization and postnationalism also inform this study. Once regarded as the territorial gatekeepers of markets, livelihood, identity and history, states are rapidly becoming just one orbit among the many forms of global flows. An ethnographic study of the relationship between television and the construction of self may contribute to a deeper understanding of how Lao Isan youth situate themselves within diverse and often competing identity constructions.

WHAT IS THE ABORIGINAL BOY DRAWING? EXPLORING VISIONARY SPACE BETWEEN FILM, ARCHITECTURE AND AGENCY

Mirjana Lozanovska

Fringe Dwellers, a film directed by Bruce Beresford (Australia, 1986; based on a book by Nene Gare), portrays the cultural and political battles between an aboriginal family, who live in an aboriginal community on the fringe of town in makeshift shelters, and the housing policies of the Australian government. The film portrays the moment when the family can finally occupy one of the modern, clean and neat dwellings that they have been waiting for. On arrival, the family stops across the street and casts its gaze toward the house — a gaze tinged with ambiguity, conflict and discomfort. The “house” has become “a precious object” of desire and aspiration, and for this reason it is also the beginning of the family's undoing. Sociological interpretations, which have addressed the lack of fit between “white” housing policy and the needs of aboriginal communities, along with the filter of postcolonial studies, are the theoretical premises for this essay. Its focus is on the subjectivity of the boy, the youngest member in the family, as it is presented in relation to the “house.” The essay reinvests these theories with specific architectural mediations about the role of “drawing” as a projection of imaginative vision and its relation to architecture's canonical narrative of the “master architect.”

Scenes in the film of the family sitting around a table present the boy drawing quietly, while other members of the family are engaged in discussion. The boy is less visible, more passive and contemplative, and his subjectivity is suggested rather than explored in the film. He repeats the same activity with the same inward concentration. My hypothesis is that the boy's subjectivity and agency are projected elsewhere, not within the family, and in a sense not within the narrative of the film, but toward an imaginary field beyond the film's structure and beyond the social reality of the film's outside. What is the aboriginal boy drawing? In one scene we get a glimpse of his “projection” — the house which he has been drawing. The boy is preoccupied with his drawing — he makes his house and loves the house that he makes. We have seen the mystery of this preoccupation in images of heroic modernist architects, such as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Oscar Niemeyer, and the presentation of the connection between the hand of the architect and his sketch, as an essential gift in the making of a “master architect.”

Through this visual association, the “aboriginal boy drawing” projects itself onto the field of “a universal human subject,” and through his inscriptions, the aboriginal boy expresses more than a wish: he articulates and inhabits another dwelling, an imaginary dwelling of a subjectivity and “identity” beyond the black-and-white divide. The boy, however, is not a “master,” making his drawing a subversive and risky practice, and the essay will investigate how his practice might participate in a meta-narrative across disciplines.

C.3 HYBRID FORMS: TRADITION VS. MODERNITY

EXPLODING PUEBLOS AND MULTIPLYING HOGANS: SUBURBANIZATION OF THE FIRST AMERICANS

Jeffrey Cook

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

THE ADOPTION OF THE BRITISH COTTAGE ROOF FORM IN THE FAR EAST: ACCIDENTAL ARCHITECTURAL IMPERIALISM?

Lynne DiStefano and Ho Yin Lee

University of Hong Kong, China

THE ROLE OF THE VERNACULAR IN THE MAKING OF TRADITION

Bashir Kazimee and Ayad Rahmani

Washington State University, Pullman, U.S.A.

MAKING KUWAIT: TRADITION VS. MODERNITY

Yasser Mahgoub

Kuwait University, Kuwait

EXPLODING PUEBLOS AND MULTIPLYING HOGANS: SUBURBANIZATION OF THE FIRST AMERICANS

Jeffrey Cook

Ironically, the First Americans were the last to become Americanized. The project of modernizing traditional cultures and habitats long native to the present United States has been synonymous with the project of Westernization, and in many cases has meant their conversion into American suburbs. As nations that struggle to exist within a dominant “other” culture, American Indian reservations have often been compared to modest-sized Third World countries, especially in light of their almost complete economic and cultural dependency on their host.

Two Arizona Indian tribes, the Hopi and the Navajo, have been exhaustively studied as traditional societies by American and foreign specialists. The Hopi, who claim ancestry from the ancient Anasazi, are considered the most conservative of the First American tribes. They continue the Anasazi tradition of living in pueblos, flat-roofed stone dwellings connected to form a village. These pueblos also create and define a central plaza where traditional dance ceremonies are performed. By contrast, the Navajo, who moved into the same area in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are traditionally nomadic, and are also considered among the most adaptive of American tribes. With the Spanish introduction of sheep, the Navajo went from being nomads to herders. Their traditional dwelling, the single-room hogan, is built in isolation, widely separated from its neighbors, thus creating a decentralized community usually spread across arid land.

Both the Hopi and Navajo inhabit the high desert of Arizona at elevations of 4,500 to 7,000 feet. In terms of geography, the Hopi reservation is surrounded by the Navajo nation, and thus the strong cultural differences between the two communities are closely juxtaposed. However, both communities are now strongly dependent on cars and pickup trucks, just like the rest of the U.S.A. They watch the same television, purchase the same groceries, catch the same school buses, and are essentially all Americans. Yet their traditional and legislated national boundaries are very clearly recognizable even without signs on the highways to designate their individual territories.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs and several other agencies have used national standards to provide badly needed housing as well as amenities to the Hopi reservation and the Navajo nation. This includes the provision of water and sewer systems — a practice that reinforces the scale, dimensions and footprint of a typical American suburb. In addition, house designs follow national HUD (Housing and Urban Design) models and construction-material specifications.

This essay documents the recent construction of housing for the Hopi and Navajo by public agencies and private initiatives. For instance, the development of New Walpi occupies a flat site using a curved street layout that defies traditional orientation. Here, individual houses contrast with traditional Hopi pueblos, which were built on top of precipitous mesas. New private houses built within the development of Oribi — claimed to be the oldest continuous settlement in the U.S.A. — are constructed with imported concrete blocks, and are built in the manner of individual villas separated from their neighbors.

Attempts to reconcile the Navajo single-room hogan with American standards of plumbing and multiple rooms have had similar results, as illustrated by the recent buildings at Cameron and Loupe. A comparative review of the plan of the Zuni pueblo over the last century illustrates the progressive fracturing, separation and individualization of housing. Thus, these two very different tribes, Hopi and Navajo, are becoming very alike, and simultaneously their geographies are beginning to take on the anonymity of suburbanized American modernism.

THE ADOPTION OF THE BRITISH COTTAGE ROOF FORM IN THE FAR EAST: ACCIDENTAL ARCHITECTURAL IMPERIALISM?

Lynne DiStefano and Ho Yin Lee

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the British promoted the relatively humble hip- and gable-roof cottage for farmers, tradesmen, and the aspiring middle class through a variety of pattern books. In addition, by the early nineteenth century, immigrant guides featured the simple but easily adaptable cottage house form. Although both gabled and hipped roofs can be found in both the pattern books and immigrant guides, there appears to have been a preference for cottages with a hip roof, which became popularly known as the “cottage roof,” probably for reasons of structural stability and constructional

simplicity, if not for aesthetic reasons alone. By the latter part of the nineteenth century the humble hip-roof cottage had evolved into the bungalow, although this evolution was partly influenced by sources far removed from British soil.

While the hip-roof cottage as a unique house form spread rapidly through the English-speaking world, and particularly in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, it also appeared throughout the entire British Empire (and, as this paper will demonstrate, even beyond it). This phenomenon is partly attributable to the influence of the British Royal Engineers. Although many of the corps' military buildings were large in scale, the stable "cottage roof" frequently capped smaller structures.

In ex-British colonies in the Far East, such as Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, the appearance of the "cottage roof" can be directly traced to British influence. Meanwhile, in other areas, such as Thailand (which was never colonized by the British or any European power), the influence is less direct, but nonetheless clear. Was the adoption of the hip roof in the vernacular house form in the aforementioned places in the Far East a case of cultural imperialism? Or was it really a matter of architectural expediency by the local people in the face of economic reality, technological practicality, and climatic suitability? This paper analyzes the possible reasons for the popular acceptance of the British hip roof in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand during the mid- to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through case studies in these four countries.

THE ROLE OF THE VERNACULAR IN THE MAKING OF TRADITION

Bashir Kazimee and Ayad Rahmani

It is by now a common understanding that tradition has fallen out of favor. In the 250 years or so since the Enlightenment, the term has come to mean something like backwardness, inability to reason for oneself, and perhaps sheer laziness. In this sense, tradition is seen as an embodiment of values that are simply incompatible with contemporary challenges; which are dubious at best, but which at the least have fuelled a feverish angst to stay on top of the cusp of invention. The unfortunate thing about this view is that a lot of time has been wasted in trying to create differences where there are none.

Unless a colossal tragedy descends on us and wipes away our memory, we will always have within us both the desire to look back and find familiar ways with which to feel confident, and the desire to push the envelope and use invention to assert our individuality. Even considering the present effects of globalization, when transcontinental migrations have blurred distinctions between parts of the world, there remains the need to hold tight to past rituals while seeking opportunities on new ground. As Saskia Sassen and others have indicated, ethnic groups do not shed their ways once transplanted, but continue to reinforce their unity, so much so that at times the role of tradition may be amplified to compensate for the displacement.

In this paper the cause of tradition will be taken up less as a choice and more as a significant component of the human condition. Whether we come from the East or the West, we all rely on tradition in one form or another to remain oriented and to engage in communication. In particular, the paper addresses the role of the vernacular in the strengthening of tradition.

Of all subjects that give meaning to tradition, it is the vernacular that is the most comprehensive. Through such principles as nesting, for instance, we see that there is more to traditional form than first meets the eye. In the making of the vernacular lies imaginative activity and the framing of life itself. In it, we find insight as to how to create a seamless continuity between nature and culture, past and future. We may also come to understand why, for instance, in vernacular buildings, perfection is not an end in itself, and that the expression of the ruin is not without value and beauty.

What does it mean to encounter imperfections, and how does technology come to play a role here? To be imperfect is all too often considered an aberration of the human will, or the human condition in general; but in this paper we propose otherwise. However, the paper will serve less to render a romantic picture of simplicity and village life than to provide a poetic reflection on all that brings meaning to the subject. Poems by notable poets, mostly from the Islamic region of the world will be analyzed to layer the text and give it a philosophical trajectory. Commensurate with the latter spirit, vernacular environments from Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan will be illustrated.

MAKING KUWAIT: TRADITION VS. MODERNITY

Yasser Mahgoub

We have a tendency to consider globalization and localization processes as two separate realities (Remesar, 2000). In addition, we have a tendency to consider these processes as new phenomena. Cultures are always in a process of change and invention (Gilman, 1985). This paper argues that architectural globalization has been active in the countries of the Gulf since the middle of the twentieth century. In their brief history rapid development and change has permitted the coexistence of globalization/localization processes in more evident and magnified ways. Such globalization was most evident in the case of Kuwait during the Second Gulf War, when the country continued to exist in virtual form, with economic and political entities outside its physical borders, thanks to global interest. This paper discusses the impact of globalization on architecture and the tension between the forces of globalization and localization as exemplified in the case of Kuwait. It focuses on their impact on architectural identity and sense of place.

The main hypothesis is that the forces and tensions of globalization and localization are not new, and that their impact is evident in the Gulf countries due to the unique circumstances of the second half of the twentieth century. Specifically, the discovery of oil and the rapid modernization produced by its wealth attracted global trends to the countries of the Gulf. Throughout its short modern

history, Kuwait has been influenced by external forces of global change. Since its first planning phase in 1950, Kuwait has gone through a rapid process of modernization and cultural change.

The main question this paper seeks to address is how responsive the built environment is to culture in Kuwait. In order to illustrate this process, the paper analyzes examples from Kuwaiti architecture during different periods of history. It focuses on “core and peripheral aspects of culture and built environment” (Rapoport, 1987). Several examples of architectural styles used in Kuwait are analyzed and compared in order to discern the hidden intentions and meanings behind their designs. Aspects of culture and built environment are analyzed in terms of their “core/peripheral” and “continuity/change” value. The paper concludes that the clash of styles that exists in the built environment is a product of an uncontrolled globalization process that started in the mid-twentieth century.

A dichotomy between cultural forces is shaping the built environment (i.e., modern-traditional, Islamic-Western, local-international, etc.). While some architects employ a global architectural vocabulary to integrate local architecture into global cultural trends, others use revivalist styles as a means to enforce local identity and heritage. The resulting built environment lacks shared identity and sense of place. Some authors argue that Third World cities are moving toward a “coexistence” model, which takes into account forces of modernization and change, while at the same time responding to the need for the preservation of traditional elements within society (ElSheshtawy, 2000).

This paper argues that the current rate of change is creating “stress” in the resulting urban environment (Silva, 2001). A more responsible approach toward “culturally responsive architecture,” by learning the “core-peripheral aspects of culture and the built environment,” is required (Rapoport, 1987). There is a need for an alternative understanding of what global architecture can be, one that understands the essential need to preserve and respect diversity as well as house seemingly disparate philosophies of space, people, and their interactions with and within the built form (Satler, 1999). This approach should be reflected in building codes and regulations that govern the production of the built environment.

A.4 DIASPORIC RECONFIGURATIONS

ETHNICITY, TRADITION, AND THE DESIGN OF A BRITISH MOSQUE

Anwarul Islam

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MANIFESTATION OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN A MEDIATED DIASPORIC SPACE

Reena Mehta

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

PRIVATE HOME AS A NATIONAL TERRITORY: THE ROLE OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN MAKING BORDER SPACE

Rachel Kallus

Technion, Haifa, Israel

ADAPTATION OF SPACE AS EXPRESSION OF IDENTITY: MUSLIM NEIGHBORHOODS IN BRITAIN

Noha Nasser

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ETHNICITY, TRADITION, AND THE DESIGN OF A BRITISH MOSQUE

Anwarul Islam

Muslims form a significant group of people among those belonging to minority religions in the United Kingdom. Their ethnicity, however, is not monolithic, as most originate from various Asian and African countries, and therefore differ vastly in terms of cultural traditions. However, the mosque provides a common expression of representation for Muslims in the U.K., acting as an important space within the physical environment of communities in which they live.

This paper focuses on mosques in north and northwestern England, where the majority of Muslims have roots in the Indian subcontinent — India, Pakistan or Bangladesh. Since the beginning of Muslim rule in the twelfth century A.D., mosque architecture in these countries developed according to a fusion of classical Islamic style and various regional and traditional styles. But variations in mosque architecture on the subcontinent occurred mainly in terms of aesthetics, as functional aspects remained more or less the same. In Britain, however, the plan of a mosque often shows aspects of hybridity, as additional functions related to religious rituals, such as prayer halls and ablution areas, are likely to complement more basic elements. On the Indian subcontinent, these would be provided by structures other than the mosque.

A large proportion of the members of a local mosque committee in the northern and northwestern part of Britain are likely to be first-generation immigrants. These people usually identify

themselves with regional traditions from the subcontinent and tend to follow norms, practices and customs relating to religious institutions there. Thus, their attitude in the decision-making process regarding the design of a new mosque, or extension of an existing one, is likely to be influenced by these factors.

Mosques in Britain may be broadly classified into three types: terraced or row houses that have been converted internally and renovated to serve small congregations; existing medium-sized buildings (such as disused churches, warehouses, or large Victorian houses) converted into medium/large mosques; or purpose-built structures.

The design of a typical mosque in Britain demands a negotiation between the unique cultural attributes of the host community, the statutory rules and regulations of the local planning authority, and the traditional aspirations of its users. While a mosque of the third type is likely to have visually perceptible elements reflecting the presence of a minority ethnic community, those belonging to the other two groups usually blend with their surroundings without causing visual tension. This paper examines the various types of mosques in north and northwest Britain as products formed at the intersection of ethnicity, tradition and architectural design.

MANIFESTATION OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN A MEDIATED DIASPORIC SPACE

Reena Mehta

The institutionalized regulatory mechanisms (planning officials, regulatory bodies and policies) which govern the physical shape and form of the urban built environment in the United States are presently facing new challenges and procedural understandings. These challenges are emerging in part from the construction of religious built forms by new producers. Traditionally, the actors of the regulatory body (building and planning departments) and the producers of religious cultural products (churches) have emerged in the U.S. from a common religious faith — Christianity. Through a common discourse, the building of churches has thus proceeded on largely uncontested territory. However, since the enactment of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, the face and space of the American urban cultural landscape has witnessed a transformation from a dominant American Christianity to a more multicultural and multireligious reality.

Today mosques and temples representing Islamic, Buddhist and Hindu faiths dot America's urban space in large numbers. The city of Milpitas, viewed as the "first majority-Asian city in the [California] region," is an example of such an urban space. Milpitas represents an environment which embodies and expresses the tensions and negotiations, conflicts and compromises, between regulatory bodies and diasporic communities — among them, Vietnamese, Filipino, Indian and Chinese. Two main questions arise from this spatial transformation. How are regulatory bodies reworking their traditional procedural patterns to accommodate new built forms? And what are strategies have

these new producers developed to incorporate new understandings into the planning discourse?

The aim of the paper is to examine the nature of the dynamics taking place between regulatory bodies and two Hindu diasporic communities, both originating in the state of Gujarat in India, through the building of Hindu temples in Milpitas. The BAPS (Bochansanswami Shree Aksharpurushottam Sanstha) community's presence is "invisibly" manifested in the spatial reworking of space by converting an existing office building into a temple. Meanwhile, the Jain community's presence is "visibly" manifested in a traditionally styled Hindu temple. The invisible and visible dichotomy has led to two scales of dynamics with certain procedural sets of similarities and dissimilarities. By juxtaposing these two case studies in relation to the position of the Building and Planning Department of the City of Milpitas, the paper will analyze some of the enunciative strategies, procedural dynamics, and understandings in the formation of diasporic cultural products outside their homeland.

PRIVATE HOME AS A NATIONAL TERRITORY: THE ROLE OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN MAKING BORDER SPACE

Rachel Kallus

Gilo, the Jewish neighborhood built as part of the Israelization process of Jerusalem following the 1967 war, has been under fire since the beginning of the second wave of the Palestinian Intifada. An initial attempt to shield the neighborhood by the construction of a defensive wall along Anafa Street, facing the Palestinian village of Beit Jalla, was unsuccessful. Consequently, private residences located on the edge of the neighborhood have been fortified. As part of this fortification process, one room in each apartment is being shielded to protect the residents from sniper shots. Thus, private homes, the base of everyday civilian life, have become guardians of national territory by actually serving as the borderline.

The process by which private homes, the core of personal life, are used to construct and defend a national border has actually been in practice over the last fifty years in Israel as an under-cover agenda of official public-housing policy. As a result, public housing has assumed a role far beyond that of providing shelter for powerless populations, who are presumed to be unable to take care of their own housing needs in a free market. A closer look at the practices and routines of public-housing provision in Israel reveals its dual political and social role: first, in shaping the land, through the Zionist proclamation of a new (Jewish) territory; and second, in shaping identity, by determining a new (Israeli) citizen. Indeed, public housing's space has never been private, but has always been perceived as a national asset.

In the context of the particular situation of Gilo the government's underlying intentions have come to the surface. Through an investigation of the processes of official fortification of apartments in Gilo, the paper will reveal the role of public housing in making border space. The paper will attempt to unravel the poli-

cies and practices of the physical environment of public housing as an instrument of territorialization. It will discuss the formal strategies used in the spatial organization of the neighborhood of Gilo and the everyday practices of residents who live in a home realized as a border space.

ADAPTATION OF SPACE AS EXPRESSION OF IDENTITY: MUSLIM NEIGHBORHOODS IN BRITAIN

Noha Nasser

Muslims in the West, particularly in Britain, exist in a constant process of redefinition and renegotiation. The Muslim diaspora has typically experienced cultural displacement or marginality, which has placed them in a “borderland,” living as the “other.” In response, Muslims have typically sought creative cultural expressions and explicit social practices as a form of self-identity. In order to sustain and reproduce distinctive cultural values in a primarily non-Muslim social environment, Muslims from different homelands have created a new identity based on a hybrid forging of Muslim historical traditions, producing important commonalities in their engagement with ritual and sanctioned practice. In this way, Muslim religious identity has become important in creating and defining a new world.

In this paper I explore the meaningful expressions of this diasporic world from the perspective of “cultural space,” defined as that space in which Muslims interact with one another and with their larger community. In this regard, I analyze both the mundane and sacred spaces in which social and religious patterns of everyday life are defined. I then discuss the development of a number of culturally distinct neighborhood landscapes in Britain, their functional and architectural differentiation, as well as their conceptualizations of space. Within this context, I specifically examine spatial adaptations and transformations at both micro- and macro-morphological levels, developed as a result of confrontations between incoming communities and existing built forms in England. It is at this interface that processes of assimilation, articulation and adaptation between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Britain have helped create a new identity that is clearly expressed in both domestic as well as public space.

B.4 CONTESTED BORDERS/CONTESTED SPACES

ERNST MAY'S BORDER SETTLEMENTS, SILESIA, 1919–1925

Susan Henderson

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REGIONS ON THE BORDER OF A NERVOUS BREAKDOWN

Lineu Castello

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

BORDERS, ETHNICITY, AND TRADITIONS: A PASSAGE TO THE NORTHEAST OF INDIA

Indrani Baruah

Berkeley, U.S.A.

CONFLICT AND CHANGE ON THE EDGE: BORDER STORIES OF A RURAL FACTORY IN REFORM CHINA

Duanfang Lu

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

ERNST MAY'S BORDER SETTLEMENTS, SILESIA, 1919–1925

Susan Henderson

Ernst May is known as the architect of the settlement program of Frankfurt am Main (1926–1931), one of the great modernist initiatives of the Weimar decade. Less is known about his tenure as head of rural housing for the border province of Silesia in eastern Germany (1919–1925), a settlement program engaged in the provincial stabilization and “Germanization” effort called “interior colonization.” A region of centuries-old conflict between ethnic Poles and Germans, the situation along the border worsened in 1922 when the partition brokered by the Allies brought chaos in the mining industry, a flood of refugees, and local uprisings.

The stabilization effort confronted a complex mix in Silesia. Dominated by the conservative Catholic Center Party, Silesia was hostile to the center-left coalition that dominated the federal and Prussian governments. Meanwhile, the administration of Silesia was contested among the federal government, the old and powerful Prussian state, and local parties among whom were advocates of a separatist movement for an autonomous region. Ideally, the state hoped to reassure separatists, religious conservatives, and vying ethnicities that they could retain a measure of independence and cohesion within Germany.

May's Silesian work exhibited a contradictory strategy of modernization set within an ideology of the “third way,” a quasi-feudal social order as a path to political accord. His settlements for farm workers and miners celebrated cultural tradition, while he initiated rationalization techniques that were intended to

increase production and reduce costs. May, himself, was part of the moderate, reforming class associated with the new Weimar democracy. In Silesia, however, he was an outsider, an agent of the federal government, and part of the center-left cohort that formed a ruling majority in the regional capital of Breslau but had few allies in the hinterland. At the same time, his sympathy for regional culture and the plight of its premodern traditions was deeply felt. His passion for the local vernacular became a point of commonality with conservative proponents of *Heimatkunde*, as also between the center and peripheral spheres of power. He would couch his Silesian work in terms of a pact of accord and civility among classes.

Examples of this work include his settlements for the new police force. This demilitarized, republican force was intended to allay the Allies' fears, provoked by the heavily armed Prussian police force, while it offered the means of establishing a new civil order. The force's tenuous position was compounded by the ongoing state of civil unrest and political turmoil and accusations of brutality by the Poles. May's two police settlements employed a highly romanticized interpretation of the Silesian vernacular to negotiate a place for police in the community and reinforce their internal cohesion.

May's Silesian settlements are distinguished by their regionalism, and by modernization strategies argued in vernacular terms. This effort to bridge a complex divide comprised of fierce cultural and ideological rifts through settlement design is the poignant story of an architect engaged with his own deeply felt mission in a field fraught with political and professional risk.

REGIONS ON THE BORDER OF A NERVOUS BREAKDOWN

Lineu Castello

Serra Gaucha, a mountainous region in southern Brazil, is strongly marked by traditions anchored in an Italian ethnicity inherited from immigration times. An interesting situation exhibited in two towns of the region calls for further investigation. Here, global and local practices merge in such a way that from their overlap the formation of another phenomenon, a cultural "heterotopia," becomes likely. The Foucauldian concept of heterotopia, understood as resulting from the intensive interaction of different groups of people, is closely associated with the current moment of globalization. It can also be associated with borderlines since it brings out, quite accurately, the "nervous" interface that originates from the friction between traditional and nontraditional daily-life practices. Therefore, regional interfaces can be seen as generators of new urban practices characterized by change.

The major purpose of this paper is to study such regional interfaces. These are represented here by the main streets of two of the region's towns, seen as loci where cultural heterotopias may originate. Here, the strong legacy of cultural identities experiences tension when confronted with the postmodern urbanism being practiced in the towns.

The paper questions the eventual changes in that quality known as urbanity — that is to say, the dynamic texture of exist-

tential experiences offered to people by urban environments. It is hypothesized that a path toward a new kind of urbanity might derive from cultural overlap. Will there be a place for a new kind of urbanity? Is there a need to refocus the concept of urbanity as conceived by urbanists? Arguments like these, though intriguing per se, were greatly strengthened after findings in the towns of Serafina Correa and Antonio Prado. Environmental perception methods were employed in the research. The major features of the region's traditions are represented in the main streets of both towns. They represent symbolically the cleavage that existed between local and global traditions.

Serafina Correa is definitely not Las Vegas, but it displays a somewhat pretentious urban-architectural project in the very center of the town — the Via Genova — ornamented by timeless simulacra of Italian constructions. Urban design schemes started in 1994 include, among other icons, a reproduction of a Palladian villa, replicas of the houses of Romeo and Juliet, and a version of the Coliseum in Rome. Via Genoa is a typical piece of place-marketing, employed in the promotion of an iconic brand for the town. Antonio Prado, on the other hand, has managed to preserve on a single main street an impressive collection of traditional architecture, representative of the building traditions of immigrant Italians. These were constructed out of wood and were ornamented by finely carved lambrequins, which have become elements in the brand promotion of Antonio Prado's place-marketing strategies. Both towns have employed a strategy that is global in its origin, that of "brandism." And both towns are fundamentally dependent on maintaining their local traditions for fostering their urban development policies.

The consequences of these "nervous" borderlines upon the local populations are described in the paper. In general terms, the typical privatopia expected in small communities is confronted with the glittering heterotopias established in the borderline as represented by the two streets, and a "vernacular cosmopolitanism" may be anticipated in the urban behavior of the local population.

BORDERS, ETHNICITY, AND TRADITIONS: A PASSAGE TO THE NORTHEAST OF INDIA

Indrani Baruah

"A region at the border of borders," "a region in transition within the Indian transition," "a region still to know itself": these are some of the references made about the northeast of India. The northeast of India forms part of a geographical belt whose tropical jungles starting at the foothills of the Himalayas and sweep down into East and Southeast Asia. In spite of political boundaries, the entire belt comprises a single geo-cultural entity with connections that are historic, anthropological, linguistic and kinship based. Indigenous building traditions, textiles, lifestyles, music and dance in northeast India therefore, bear more resemblance to their Southeast Asian counterparts than to those on the rest of the subcontinent. India is yet to understand this heritage in its cultural fabric. Historically defined as a single piece of land

called “Asom,” the post-Independence period saw the northeast fragmented into seven states. Yet, inhabited by nearly 200 tribal communities, this border region comprises one of the most ethnically complex regions of the world. This paper explores the indigenous building traditions of some of these communities as expressions of anthropological, cultural and geographical overlap.

Throughout its history, northeast India never came completely under imperial Hindu or, subsequently, Islamic rule. The British, by and large, left the region alone, finally conquering the Ahoms in the mid-nineteenth century. A rugged terrain and geography played a further role in isolating the region and its indigenous communities. Until recent times these communities grew in relative isolation. Pre-Independence was on the whole an insular period in the region’s history. Lack of free trade and exchange with the rest of India created a schism and led to what may be seen as stagnancy. Nonurban, scattered and organic in character, the settlements were manifestations of intrinsic cultural and physical processes devoid of significant extraneous influences, and reflecting a slow-moving, riparian economy.

Ironically, Independence from Britain, and the consequent partition of India in 1947 further alienated this region and severed its links with the rest of India. The cartography of the northeast was remapped. Political borders and frontier lines were created based on administrative concerns. The creation of the frontier state of Assam with a defined border, led to a disruption in the trading patterns of the indigenous communities. Small-scale barter systems and traditional markets that had made these communities sustainable, despite their isolation from the rest of the country, were endangered.

Post-Independence nationalistic movements and modern nation-state ideologies, aimed at assimilating all communities under a single umbrella of Hindu nationalism, have now given way to a vicious cycle of ethnic strife, identity crisis, violence, rebellion and separatism. In an effort to ensure political control, curb terrorism, and establish democratic rule, indigenous communities have been uprooted from their traditional homes and been randomly regrouped into makeshift settlements along highways and roads. Indigenous social structures, building cultures, and identities have hence been jettisoned.

Traditional settlements in northeast India are manifestations of cultural and physical processes rooted in ethnicity and geography. Socio-political organization, clan and family structure, collective identities, local resources, and the environment are determinants in the traditional building process. Against this historical, anthropological, and socio-political backdrop, this paper will examine and analyze some of these indigenous building traditions and their transformations.

CONFLICT AND CHANGE ON THE EDGE: BORDER STORIES OF A RURAL FACTORY IN REFORM CHINA

Duanfang Lu

This paper explores tensions between a Chinese factory and its rural vicinity and the impact of new economic and social conditions on their reconfiguration and that of the border zone in between. Post-Maoist reforms have increasingly wreaked havoc on the systems that once enforced a gap between the standards of living in urban and rural areas of China, and which favored city dwellers. The superior living standard of urban residents was largely due to the work-unit system, a hierarchy of state-owned workplace units (schools, factories, hospitals, government agencies, and the like) whose employees were guaranteed a variety of perquisites that were denied to peasants in the countryside.

Many work units operated like self-sufficient urban villages. Production units and residential structures were contained within walled compounds that were also provided with community services such as public dining halls, nurseries, kindergartens, clinics, and libraries. These self-contained characteristics were particularly striking in the case of work units located in rural areas. Here, the well-equipped spaces of work units often stood in sharp contrast to a countryside conspicuously lacking in the same facilities. As local peasants were given no access to the services run by the unit, contacts between the two communities remained confined to conflict.

This paper examines the effects of the specific spatial condition structured by the work unit upon identity formation and reconfiguration through the case study of one unit located in a rural area of western Fujian province. Established in the mid-1980s when the provision of social facilities within the work unit had become a norm, many community facilities of the Yongding Beer Factory had been planned and constructed along with its production structures. Thus, it operated its own day-care center, dining hall, clinic, and various entertainment facilities. The modern and highly organized factory space was physically separated from poorer surrounding agricultural villages by brick walls. From its inception, a series of conflicts developed, as local peasants who desired to use the services in the factory were denied access. Economic restructuring in late 1990s brought tremendous changes to both communities, and reshaped their relationships.

Using a methodology sensitive to both the rhetoric and narratives of factory members and peasants, the initial part of this paper offers an ethnographic study of the ways in which the particular spatial distribution pattern shaped the development of the contentious relations between the factory and its neighboring peasants. The latter part of the paper concentrates on the ways in which commodification wove together the work, business, and leisure of previously separated peoples. The paper suggests that as the complex conditions brought by momentous socioeconomic reforms created new spatial imaginations and destabilized the two established life worlds, the “texts” of places increasingly occupied a shared spatial “context,” and the border that used to be a “zone between stable places” developed into a site of greater overlap.

C.4 THE LIMINAL SPACE OF EAST/WEST DIALOGUE

THE CHARDAK: AN EAST-WEST DIALOGUE

Judith Bing and Jonathan Brooke Harrington
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A CITY AS A PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CLOSURE OF EXCLUSION AND USURPATION

Triatno Yudo Harjoko
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ON TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND MODERNIZATION IN BETAWI SETTLEMENTS, JAKARTA

Yulia Nurliani
University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES IN THE TURKISH AND GREEK TRADITIONAL HOUSES OF KULA

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tion in the Balkans, from a mix of cultural exchange that cannot easily be unraveled, and the *chardak* is one such puzzle. While urban houses present consistent similarities across the western Ottoman world from Anatolia to Bosnia, the various manifestations of the *chardak* typology offer anomaly and local distinction and are often remote from urban or well-traveled settings. Serbian farmers in the hills south of Belgrade built freestanding *chardaks* as guest houses to celebrate their emerging role in trade at the same time that local overlords in the Danubian principalities of today's Romania constructed fortified tower houses crowned with porches of the same name. And deep in the Taurus Mountains of southern Anatolia, rural people constructed open-air shade structures beside their garden plots and porch extensions to their village houses, also calling them *chardaks*.

In more urban settings, the meaning of the word *chardak* varied. Sometimes it was used to indicate semi-enclosed porches in houses across Bulgaria, and at other times it referred to enclosed rooms of old houses in the mountainside neighborhoods of Sarajevo, in Bosnia. Also, the usage of the word itself was not consistent, for *chardak* was adopted in one place, while nearby another term was used for the same element. Balkan borders are local, geographic as much as cultural or political, and all lands in this region are borderlands.

The *chardak* exemplifies the flux of borderlands — a dynamic and shifting dialogue of influences that defies explanation. This study is based upon research conducted through extensive travel in the Balkans, and upon fifteen years of research on Balkan vernacular architecture. New material draws on recent fieldwork in Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey. Through a survey of historic and existing *chardak* examples supplemented with mapping and drawing analyses, this presentation will contribute to an understanding of borderland cultures.

THE CHARDAK: AN EAST-WEST DIALOGUE

Judith Bing and Jonathan Brooke Harrington

The word *chardak* indicates a building element that has migrated across borders, one that both binds and divides peoples, empires and cultures over many centuries. *Chardaks* are simply fabricated, freestanding structures or porch-like dwelling spaces, found in both rural and urban settings. Their modesty of form belies potent qualities, for *chardaks* have ancient origins and strong cultural meanings. Above all, they are elevated spaces that mediate between building and landscape, earth and sky.

The documented constructions of the *chardak* span an extraordinary history and geographical distance — from Mughal India in the east to the Bosnian/Croatian border in the west, and from Central Asia to Balkan Europe. It is over such vast distances and time that the meanings and uses of this built form have evolved. The mythic *chahar-taq* of pre-Islamic Persia was transformed through trade, migration and empire, becoming one name among several for four-posted pavilions of the East. The *chardak* also found a complex westward course across Anatolia into the Balkans. The evolution of the *chardak* building form through its border-rich passage from east to west is the focus of this paper.

This study began in the Balkans — an environment of borderlands. From the perspective of Balkan linguists, the word *chardak* has Turkish roots, and its entry into South Slavic derives from Ottoman influence. Many architectural forms and expressions emerged during the five hundred years of Ottoman cultural domina-

A CITY AS A PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CLOSURE OF EXCLUSION AND USURPATION

Triatno Yudo Harjoko

Indonesian society is plural and diverse, and the country's pride in its multiculturalism is evident in slogans such as *bhinneka tunggal ika*, or "unity in diversity." In binary terms, however, this diversity is commonly understood as a simplistic set of oppositions — modern vs. traditional or capitalistic vs. communal. Thus, large cities in Indonesia, especially Jakarta, are often referred to in conflicting terms such as *perkampungan besar*, or "the big village." The debate against the binary nature of cities in developing countries, such as Indonesia, continues even as the duality persists.

This paper will identify and evaluate some cultural themes that play a crucial role in the formation of human spaces. These themes are articulated by knowledge, power and space, which are associated with actors engaged in organized social practices, and by extension contribute to the structuring of their society. The *kampung*, or village, and non-*kampung* people in Jakarta are embedded in the reproduction of their social systems, which are constituted by different and competing world views. These have in turn had an essential role in the reproduction of human living space and

localities in the city. Spatially specified social practices are manifested in both exclusionary practices and urban usurpation.

Knowledge or power, as they are embedded in social systems, are manifested spatially through domination or control over authoritative and allocated resources. However, the subjugated knowledge or world view of underprivileged people has also reproduced its own social systems through closure and usurpation. Jakarta is an image of this conflicting social practice as it has been manifested in the spatial formation of the metropolis.

This research is conducted along two lines of inquiry. First, it concerns the physical form or appearance of the built environment. From the physical form of the *kampung* (village), it investigates the patterns, methods and reasons of making or producing cultural objects in a society. Second, it investigates human practices of utilization and consumption, which in turn govern the production and reproduction of living spaces.

ON TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND MODERNIZATION IN BETAWI SETTLEMENTS, JAKARTA

Yulia Nurliani

The Betawi are the indigenous people of Jakarta in Indonesia. It is believed that they are a multiethnic community made up of both local ethnicities such as Sundanese and Javanese, and foreign ethnicities such as Arab and Chinese. These diverse influences have left their trace on Betawi ceremonies and traditional dress, while also contributing to a unique way of life and traditional dwelling types marked by a distinctive ornamentation and organization of space.

The various processes of modernization have led many people to migrate to Jakarta from all over Indonesia. The Betawis too have given up their land to become migrants and move to peripheral spaces within large Indonesian cities. In an attempt to preserve Betawi culture, the government of Indonesia has tried to create a conservation area for Betawis in Condet. Any house that is built within this conservation area must follow certain rules that dictate types of ornamentation and front elevations. Unfortunately, this program has not been successful. While this is partly because many new settlers in the conservation area neglected to follow the rules, it is also because in planning the project the government considered only the physical attributes of the settlement and neglected other aspects such as social relationships and traditional lifestyles.

The paper finds that in the local Betawi mentality, traditional housing forms have largely been abandoned due to their association with what is perceived as discomfort and an outdated lifestyle. Changes in cultural values in the Betawi community have been inscribed into new housing patterns and lifestyles. The processes of modernization have also been seized by several locals who wish to fulfill their desire to consume modern housing and present a modern image of themselves. However, even as the Betawi settlement in Condet has become more modernized, many Betawis are also choosing to move to other parts of Jakarta, such as Srengseng Sawah, in order to live a more traditional lifestyle.

The government of Indonesia has recently moved the Betawi conservation area to Srengseng Sawah. However, the failure of

the Betawi settlement enclave in Condet offers several lessons for the new conservation program. This paper attempts to examine the impact of migration on traditional housing forms and the idea of hybridity in the built environment. It will compare and contrast the Betawi settlement in Srengseng Sawah to that of Condet. The findings of this paper will analyze some important values for rethinking the meaning of tradition in the processes of globalization and explore the potential of creating hybrid places.

SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES IN THE TURKISH AND GREEK TRADITIONAL HOUSES OF KULA

Cigdem Akkurt

Kula, a town in the province of Manisa in Turkey, is 118 km. from the city of Manisa, capital of the province. It is situated 720 m. above sea level in a region dotted with volcanic mountains formed on a fault developed during the third geological period. The region is also well known for its wealth of unearthed temples, gymnasiums, marketplaces, and public baths belonging to different cultures from various time periods. The known history of Kula goes back to medieval times, but the town and its environs have been controlled by rulers from Lydia, Persia, Rome and Byzantium. The region first came under Turkish rule in the 1300s when the Germiyanogullari, a Turkish tribe, settled in the area. Later, around 1420, it became part of the Ottoman Empire. While the area exhibits much archeological evidence of past rulers, it is the Greek-Turkish coexistence that makes the strongest statement in the continuum of its history, because it represents the living history of our time.

On June 28, 1920, Greeks occupied Kula. The town was subsequently retaken by Turkish forces on September 4, 1922. Shortly afterward, the governments of Turkey and Greece agreed to exchange their ethnic groups, thus uprooting both from their homes and neighborhoods. The people of Kula today report that before this migration the two groups had lived in harmony with great understanding and appreciation of each other in spite of the political discord between their governments. Many elderly residents of Kula still lament losing their "dear neighbors" to the exchange. Today, the population of Kula is 20,765 — a number that includes some non-Turkish ethnic groups, but no Greeks. Despite this absence, the built environment (in addition to the local oral history) continues to demonstrate characteristics of both Greek and Turkish craftsmanship in its traditional houses and public buildings. The historical city of "Old Kula" has now become a registered heritage site, and includes more than 800 houses, fifteen mosques, a marketplace, two burned Greek churches, and a seminary.

This paper will present the different applications of building techniques by the two groups of builders and their craftsmen. It will also demonstrate the ease with which Greek and Turkish residents inhabited these environments regardless of the ethnicity of their builders. The analysis will be comparative in nature and will include descriptions of typical facades, plan types, relationships of houses to courtyards and streets, and the colors and materials used in the traditional dwelling forms of Kula.

A.5 PLACES OF NOSTALGIA AND DISNEYSCAPES

AFGHANISTAN REVISITED: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND ECO-TOURISM

William Bechhoefer

University of Maryland, College Park, U.S.A.

REWRITING MEMORY: THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON VERNACULAR SETTLEMENTS IN GREECE

Antonia Noussia and Vaso Trova

University of Plymouth, London, U.K., and University of Thessaly, Volos, Greece

MATERA, ITALY: IDENTITY AND TRADITION SANS FRONTIERS

Anne Toxey

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

GATED COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION: THE CAIRENE EXPERIENCE

Basil Kamel

Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt

MYTH OF DOMINANCE IN THE CULTURAL REPRESENTATION OF THE HOUSE: AN ASSESSMENT OF BUILDING CODES IN BALI

Dewi Jayanti

University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia

AFGHANISTAN REVISITED: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND ECO-TOURISM

William Bechhoefer

Eco-tourism seeks to respect the sense of place, even as the arrival of tourists brings inevitable change. As Afghanistan resumes what had been a slow and steady engagement with the world beyond its borders, architectural design can be one expression of evolving tradition. Theories of critical regionalism, as explained in the writings of Alexander Tzonis, Liane LeFaivre, and Kenneth Frampton, provide a theoretical framework for design approaches that speculate on the role of building as mediator between cultures and incubator of cultural transition.

Before the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Bamiyan Valley, along the ancient Silk Route, was one of the major tourist destinations in the country. The valley itself is of great natural beauty, set in the Hindu Kush mountains at an elevation of over 2,500 meters; but it also served as a base for the exploration of surrounding ancient cities and the famous lakes at Band-i-Amir.

Among the major sights in the area were also two monumental statues of Buddha, 37 meters and 53 meters tall, carved sometime in the third to fifth centuries A.D. out of a cliff face overlooking the valley. Caves in the cliff were also richly decorated to serve as Buddhist monasteries. The style of the Buddha statues was a fusion of Classical and Indian influences as a consequence of invasions by Alexander of Macedon in the fourth century B.C., and by Indian dynasties beginning with the Mauryan emperor Ashoka in the third century B.C. The destruction of the Buddhas in March 2001 by Taliban forces was condemned throughout the world as a loss to Afghanistan and world cultural heritage.

As a response to the destruction, a Swiss consortium led by the Afghanistan Institute and Museum in Bubendorf, near Zurich, is raising money to rebuild the Buddhas. While the primary purpose of this effort would be to restore these major monuments, another result might be the resumption of the tourism that contributed significantly to the country's economy. There have actually been plans to develop a hotel complex at Bamiyan since the 1970s. With the optimistic assumption that tourism will once again become possible, the author, who lived in Afghanistan in the early 1970s, led a graduate architectural design studio (Spring 2002) to propose a facility on the same site as the earlier project.

In a time when the reconstruction of Afghanistan must take place on many fronts, a project of this nature can demonstrate building practices that are sustainable in architectural, economic and cultural terms. To that end, vernacular building practices as a paradigm were studied, and the program was developed based on anticipated needs of the community as well as the needs of tourists. Research into the history and culture of Afghanistan, as well as the architectural traditions of various regions in the country, provided further background.

The paper documents the results of the studio and uses the various positions adopted by students in their proposals to explore through design Afghanistan's reengagement with the contemporary world.

REWRITING MEMORY: THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON VERNACULAR SETTLEMENTS IN GREECE

Antonia Noussia and Vaso Trova

Since the 1980s Greece has experienced major changes in migration patterns, becoming the destination for large numbers of economic migrants, political refugees, and asylum seekers. In particular, since the collapse of the Albanian economy and the increase of poverty and unemployment in that country, Albanians have come to constitute the largest group of migrants in Greece. Through research in settlements on the islands of Samos and Santorini and at Mount Pelion on the mainland, this paper will examine the effects of recent migration on vernacular settlements in Greece.

Throughout history, both in- and out-migration have contributed to the structure of space in these vernacular settlements. As early as the thirteenth century, waves of immigrants from other parts of Greece and Europe played an important role in

shaping their form and structure. The rapid growth of tourism in the early 1980s brought about yet another phase of transformation. The recent history of these settlements is one of transformation of the local communities from a condition of declining agriculture to one of tourism-based prosperity.

Tourism is now generating sufficient revenue to enable locals to overcome years of deprivation, and this has been reflected in their domestic arrangements. Yet, as local families have begun to move out of the old cores of villages, preferring new houses in the outskirts, the organization of the old settlements have become fragmented and uneven. The parts of the old city which are deemed viable for tourism have been redeveloped to provide luxurious accommodation, while the rest of the urban fabric remains abandoned, left to deteriorate over time.

In recent years such areas of spatial and social impoverishment have been occupied by migrants, who fill the gap between high-standard tourist accommodations and derelict buildings. Albanian migrants, in particular — many from rural areas — often find themselves inhabiting buildings of quite low standards. However, their desire to be integrated into the social context has motivated them to invest in their surroundings, and this often brings new life to previously abandoned areas. This paper will suggest that, counter to general perception that migrants operate in a destructive way toward the social and spatial structure of vernacular settlements, in the settlements of Samos, Santorini and Mount Pelion they may, in fact, be contributing to a revitalization of spatial and social forms.

MATERA, ITALY: IDENTITY AND TRADITION SANS FRONTIERES

Anne Toxey

Lying on the eastern edge of the southern Italian region of Basilicata, Matera is a border town by definition. However, because nearby Apulia does not culturally differ from Basilicata in significant ways, Matera does not function geographically as a border town. It does, however, function as a border town in non-geographic ways. Beginning in the late 1940s Matera has served as its region's point of contact with the outside world, via mass communication, and has subsequently become directly affected by extraregional influences. Like most towns and villages in the region, migration and diasporic communities have defined the community and have introduced a degree of hybridity to its culture. Unlike its neighbors, however, Matera has experienced a massive influx of external influences centered on its ancient cave habitations, the *sassi*. The salient moments of this story include the national government's expropriation of the *sassi* in the 1950s–70s and the resettlement of their residents into modern apartment complexes. In 1986 UNESCO nominated the *sassi* as a World Heritage Monument. Between emigration and forced abandonment, Matera's traditions over the past fifty years have become diffused by a generic modern culture.

The tension present in this context is one of tradition versus modernity in its various phases and iterations. What has been enforced by the national government and imported via migration

has been the culture of modernity. While this has largely obliterated the traditional way of life in Matera, new media contact with the world, especially through television and the Internet, catalyzed by UNESCO, has generated a new level of national and international interest in the community.

This new outside interest is specifically targeted toward the largely forgotten traditional community. In order to meet the expectations of growing numbers of cultural tourists, entrepreneurial Materans are actively creating a new old Matera and establishing its identity through the renewal, reinterpretation and commodification of largely lost traditions. Examples of this effort include the preservation of the *sassi* fabric, the redevelopment of artisan crafts, the establishment of peasant museums, and the opening of restaurants specializing in local cuisine. However, these processes of change are far from peaceful. Heated debates continue with regard to options and modes of preservation and the tourist industry. In addition, methodological tensions are ideological tensions, since not all Materans are eager to dredge up and relive the painful past.

Matera's transformation into a tourist magnet is affecting the redefinition of Basilicata, with Matera as its central focus. In anticipation of cultural tourists to Matera, surrounding towns have also developed infrastructure such as history museums, craft shops, and tourist accommodations. However, instead of reasserting the identity of town and region, these commercial efforts have resulted in the development of new traditions and hybrid cultures that are based on global communications.

GATED COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION: THE CAIRENE EXPERIENCE

Basil Kamel

Mike Davis' goal in *City of Quartz* was to "excavate" the future of one specific metropolitan city — Los Angeles. However, several other metropolitan cities scattered around the world are now developing along lines of tension and class struggle similar to those Davis analyzed in this portrayal of Los Angeles. In some cases these tensions stem from the hybridity of new built environments. Cairo is one such city where new "hybrid suburban communities" are growing fast, even as class struggle and tension between rich and poor continue to intensify.

This paper looks closely at such urban trends from three perspectives. First, it argues that these "hybrid suburbia" are mirage-like visions of a distorted Western lifestyle. In Cairo new suburban enclaves only mimic an elite lifestyle commonly portrayed on television. Thus, gated communities and luxury housing developments with names like Dreamland, Royal Hills, Gardenia Park or Beverly Hills intentionally invoke images of amusement parks and country clubs. The outcome is not a hybrid community, but an assemblage of unrelated architectural references, from Roman columns to California-style red roofs and various pastel-like motifs, devoid of communal reflection.

The paper's second line of analysis is to explore the growing envy and hatred between rich and poor that has emerged as an

outcome of these gated communities — a tension that has created a divorce in the traditional dependency between Egypt's social classes. Although Egypt has long been characterized by rigid class divisions, Cairo's rich and poor have in the past lived in spatial proximity — a result of a more symbiotic social and economic relationship. This has provided both an outlet for the poor and access to informal services for the rich.

Finally, the paper outlines — or to use Davis' term, "excavates" — the future of these communities from both an economic and social perspective. With a considerable slowdown of the economy in Egypt, the demand for these new communities has dramatically decreased, leaving many real estate developers with no choice but to lower their asking prices to include middle-class residents. This has added a new level of complexity to the tension between social classes, as neither the rich nor the poor accept this residential mixing. Egypt is now looking into developing long-term mortgages as a possible way out of the economic slowdown. However, with the lack of banks with long-term sources of funds, a new restructuring of housing economics needs to be addressed.

In ending, the paper will attempt to draw attention to the effects of these hybrid cultures and landscapes on tradition in the Cairene environment. It will conclude with a questioning of the processes of formation of space and place within a broader understanding of the social and economic factors that cross borders and cultures.

MYTH OF DOMINANCE IN THE CULTURAL REPRESENTATION OF THE HOUSE: AN ASSESSMENT OF BUILDING CODES IN BALI

Dewi Jayanti

Values of authenticity or identity are advanced in order to reveal the significance of architectural or urban constructions and information of the natural landscape through human intervention. In the end, the concept of social representation of the cultural property is more important than the object itself: the intangible dimension prevails.

— Luxen

The attempt to encourage a feeling of nostalgia has become an essential strategy in both local and international tourism marketing. From the perspective of a government, policymaking efforts to conserve traditional housing values through building-code compliance may effectively achieve a goal of continuing cultural representation. Yet this attempt may also lead to the standardization and commodification of traditional culture and disregard the spirit of tangible conservation upon which traditional building codes are based. The many misinterpretations and disagreements that have occurred between local residents and government officials regarding the architectural design of the Balinese house appears to support the above argument.

This study focuses on one of the most famous tourist centers in Southeast Asia. In particular, it investigates the effective-

ness of local policymaking in efforts to revitalize the traditional Balinese culture of house building. The research assesses building codes with regard to the image of housing and examines the role of tourism in maintaining the traditional architectural identity of Balinese houses. The study analyzes householders' perceptions and interpretations of their houses and relevant codes.

To achieve the research objectives, the method combined a survey of measurements with a more qualitative approach. First, a sequence questionnaire that combined closed- and open-ended questions based on photographic and sketch representations was distributed to elicit extensive responses from a target population. In this way, it was found that there is some confusion between people's expectations of cultural representation and what has been implemented through policymaking and building codes. The study also revealed a conflict between the government's understanding of the traditional values of the house in terms of its resiliency, and the understanding of residents regarding these same issues.

It is also important to consider the magnitude of tourism in Bali and its implication for planning and development. As Stea and Turan have suggested, traditional housing inevitably becomes a tool for exploitation once the political domain takes precedence. In this way, a local people and their material culture may become a commodity with exchange value. The primary assumption made here is that the campaign for the conservation of traditional architecture is out of line with the alleged purpose of conserving intangible values and meanings.

It also appears that meaningful symbols in architecture are significant on Bali. This was evident from survey respondents' level of understanding about traditional principles and their importance — including ritual processions, social orders, the orientation of the house as per cosmological dictates, and the mythology employed in choosing a site. Local residents recognized the parameters of change and continuity from traditional dwellings to nontraditional dwellings, as indicated in such design elements as color, material, modification of forms, meanings, and typical patterns of facade ornamentation.

A further finding that respondents strongly agreed with the preservation of traditional house values, especially with regard to folk myths, traditions and norms (rather than those related to design elements such as gate decoration or ornamental pavilions — which have been promoted through the building codes) indicated that the cultural resiliency of the Balinese houses still tends toward a more meaningful, traditional architecture with its symbols, sacredness and rites.

The paper concludes that the goal of creating a "living museum" on the island of Bali seems to be unsuited to a conservation approach more likely to lead to a "Disneyfication" of traditional architecture, or to an "architectural parade" which will freeze a natural process of evolution in a society where traditional rules and customs are still dominant.

B.5 CONTESTED EDGES/CONTESTED SPACES

DIVIDED CITIES/INVISIBLE WALLS

Paul Simpson

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POSTCOLONIAL ICONIZATION OF BORDERS

Robert Ian Chaplin

Macau Polytechnic Institute, Macau

TRADITIONS IN CONFLICT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTEGRATION: HOUSING IN SARAJEVO, BOSNIA

Marina Pecar

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

LHASA'S BARKHOR: CONTESTED SPACE AND THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF TIBETAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

William Duncanson

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

DIVIDED CITIES/INVISIBLE WALLS

Paul Simpson

Berlin and Jerusalem are cities that have had, or continue to have, very real physical divisions and borders drawn along the lines of political and religious belief. Throughout history cities have always had economic divisions and ghettos, but in the urban areas of rapidly developing countries there are also some new patterns of division. Bogotá, Colombia, is a city with a population of 8 million, nearly half of which lives, or has lived, in illegal settlements. In 1950 Bogotá's population was barely a quarter of a million, but with rapid economic progress attracting the rural poor and refugees fleeing actions and threats from *el violencia*, it has now expanded dramatically with very little control. Today the city is very clearly divided — both physically and economically.

The Andean mountains to the east have dictated the major direction of Bogotá's urban development, along a north-south axis on one side of the Rio Bogotá alluvial plain. While the city's northward growth is partly due to a plan by Louis Sert and Le Corbusier, its southward thrust comes as the result of unplanned development, which has created a largely self-built second city. The twin cities — the planned and unplanned urban areas of Bogotá — have a symbiotic relation with one another. In particular, the south gains employment from the north by providing essential labor for industry and construction and transportation trades. Other informal workers, such as guards, cooks and maids needed to maintain the affluent life in the north, also come from the southern parts of the city.

The first part of this paper establishes the historical background of Bogotá and examines the old city and the early development of borders within the present divided city. The second part examines the tensions that have been created by disparities in wealth and citizenship, and how these are expressed in architecture and the use of public and private space. The paper is based on research being carried out by the author on the construction techniques and new traditions of self-building in cities of developing countries.

POSTCOLONIAL ICONIZATION OF BORDERS

Robert Ian Chaplin

Postcolonial iconization of the space of borders is evident in many historically and politically defined territories in countries and regions which preserve the legacies of traditional settlements established by colonizers and the colonized. In some cases, these settlements remained within the confines of a contested space, creating a culture excluded and differentiated from the mainstream culture beyond their border. Others expanded to encompass and reconfigure whole countries and regions as empires or colonies. The manifestations of the real and imagined traditions of the border in the outposts of empire can still be found occupying contested space watched over by the custodians of a postcolonial legacy. These icons may be in the form of a preserved fortification, a barrier gate or portal within the old wall of a city, a palace or residence of a former governor, or more recently, an embassy or consulate. The significance of their status and function is invariably embodied in impressive architecture that echoes the grandeur of the patrimony of the seat of empire. Many of the traditions and ceremonies extant from a colonial past are revered and practiced within such edifices today, especially those which signify the exclusivity of those chosen as representatives of governments still holding sway over international diplomacy. For some, the most potent symbol of their continuing partisan influence is the national flag flying over a colonnaded mansion in a contested space.

This paper illustrates and discusses two examples of colonial icons preserved in the former Portuguese-governed territory of Macau — now designated a Special Administrative Region of China. The first is the *Portas do Cerco* (Border Gate), with its architecture reminiscent of gates of triumph built to commemorate European imperial conquests. The area around this gate was at one time the site of the first purpose-built residential area for Portuguese military personnel, called the *Tamagnini Barbosa* (and named after a former governor of Macau, Artur Tamagnini Barbosa). Following the Portuguese handover in December 1999, the site has undergone extensive reconstruction and landscaping, with the Border Gate preserved as a distinctive landmark. The other example of restoration is the magnificent former St. Raphael Hospital, the doors of which were reopened on the day following the handover as the Portuguese Consulate.

This controversial intervention is illustrated and discussed in conjunction with another property and site, the mourned passing of the *Bela Vista Hotel* into the custodianship of the Portuguese Consul, who now uses it as his official residence. While the first

example shows how colonial icons can become a resource for the inheritors of the colonial legacy, the second epitomizes the barriers which perpetuate the cultural differences between traditional settlements and spaces occupied by foreign dominions.

The paper concludes with an evaluation of the process of postcolonial iconization, which has generated negative connotations affecting the diplomatic environment in which representatives of former colonial governments continue to establish borders within borders. An argument is put forward for a more prudent use of postcolonial sites and properties, and a proposal is made for more culturally sensitive architectural planning for consulates and embassies in the future.

TRADITIONS IN CONFLICT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTEGRATION: HOUSING IN SARAJEVO, BOSNIA

Marina Pecar

This paper will discuss historic influences, challenges, parameters and opportunities for developing appropriate dwelling forms which may contribute to overcoming the current housing shortage in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

Post-traumatic stress syndrome and homelessness are among the major devastating consequences of the Bosnian war, which ravaged the region during the 1990s. These experiences have strongly affected the lives of many people, including citizens who witnessed the destruction of their homes, war refugees from rural areas who have been gradually moving into Sarajevo and other urban centers, and those who fled the cities during the war and are currently returning to their damaged dwellings and communities.

The paper will address these contemporary social realities of Sarajevo, as well as the historic parameters affecting the current housing needs of the population, including changing psychological, cultural and socioeconomic aspects. In addition, several possible directions for the rehabilitation of housing in Sarajevo will be addressed, while taking into account both its traditional and contemporary architectural context. The specific issues analyzed will include desirable housing standards and affordable rehabilitation processes; temporality and continuity as factors in the design of new and transitional housing; family structure and community support; the potential for self-help housing strategies and co-housing models; potential conditions for mobile dwellings; and open building applications and projections for the future development of sustainable as well as culturally responsive housing forms and settlements.

LHASA'S BARKHOR: CONTESTED SPACE AND THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF TIBETAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

William Duncanson

At the heart of old Lhasa stands the Jokhang, containing the Jowo Rinpoche, the oldest Buddha image in Tibet, dating to the seventh century A.D. The Jokhang and its contents mark the beginning of devotional Buddhism in Tibet and constitute its most

sacred site and object of worship. In addition to traditional offerings, obeisance in Tibetan Buddhism is achieved by prostration and circumambulation; consequently, "movement" is an important aspect of religious practice. The Barkhor Square is the name given to the narrow alleys which surround the Jokhang and facilitate these ritual movements. Over the years this space has come to house not only sacred functions but profane ones, serving as the city's primary market and administrative center. Indeed, the Barkhor has for centuries served as the center of Lhasa's civic life.

In 1959 the Chinese People's Liberation Army occupied Lhasa along with the rest of Tibet and instituted reforms attempting to "return Tibet to the motherland." With the policies of the Cultural Revolution, China attempted a forced assimilation of its ethnic minorities. In Tibet ritual obeisance of Buddha imagery and the circumambulation of the Jokhang were outlawed, and even the secular uses of the Barkhor were closely monitored, if not suppressed. However, in the late 1970s, upon the death of Mao and the recognition of the failure of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party initiated more "liberal" policies of "acculturation," whereby "assimilation" would be achieved by minority groups choosing to "absorb the Chinese way of life." China too was anxious to demonstrate its newfound liberal policies, and slowly opened Tibet up to tourism.

"Liberalization" in Tibet had unanticipated results. In the Barkhor, traditional practices of ritual obeisance proliferated, as did new expressions of resistance to Chinese suzerainty. Both types of cultural practices were eagerly consumed by a sympathetic international community eager to witness the effects of Chinese "oppression" of Tibetan "culture." Indeed, the opening up of Tibet to international tourism, with the intention of appeasing international condemnation of human-rights abuses, had the opposite effect, by facilitating greater international scrutiny of Chinese policy and practice. The traditional movements of circumambulation and prostration were circumscribed with a brooding tension over Chinese policy. Throughout the 1980s the Barkhor was the site of many demonstrations of Tibetan nationalism that resulted in deadly riots. That these events were documented by Western tourists and reported on was no accident. Tibetans had realized early on that their story had a captive audience beyond China's borders.

As religious movements around the Barkhor are increasingly being augmented with political ones, surveillance by the Chinese police is escalating. Video cameras and undercover "Tibetans" are now part of this traditional space of worship and commerce in the hopes of limiting the Barkhor's use to benign religious expression and tourist consumption. Such surveillance is increasingly complemented by the effort of international organizations to uncover accounts of Chinese repression. Both the Chinese and Tibetan occupants of the Barkhor attempt to fabricate their own version of its history, each for their own political purposes.

In this paper I will discuss the dual trajectories of Tibetan and Chinese "imaginings" of the Barkhor Square, how each works to reinforce the "other's" fears of oppression and recalcitrance. Furthermore, I will identify international complicity in this escalating drama — a drama where the maintenance of difference is ensured by the high stakes of cultural identity.

C.5 HYBRID BUILDINGS/HYBRID FORMS

THE DANISH BUNGALOW UNLIMITED

Helen G. Welling
Copenhagen, Denmark

URBAN MARKETS: SUSTAINING GROUP IDENTITY AND BUILDING NEW HYBRIDITIES

Mary Padua
University of Hong Kong, China

REVIVING THE BETAWI TRADITION: THE CASE OF SETU BABAKAN

Gunawan Tjahjono
University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

THE MANNER OF MANORS

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

THE DANISH BUNGALOW UNLIMITED

Helen G. Welling

The paper illuminates the hidden potential of the bungalow in Denmark. Between the World Wars I and II the bungalow became a very common house type in Denmark, as the government tried to solve the acute housing shortage by establishing a State Building Fund. This initiative created a way to finance cheap single-family houses for ordinary people who wanted to realize their dreams of a dwelling with a garden. Under these conditions, the bungalow appeared in numerous and varying forms on the periphery of Denmark's main cities and provincial towns where lots were affordable. To keep the building cost low, the building technique of the Danish bungalow was based on traditional workmanship. Below-grade parts of the house were built of concrete, with cavity walls made of brick and low, pyramid roofs covered with tarpaper.

The Danish bungalow has several typical features in common with other bungalow types across the world. Among these are a half-lowered basement area where working spaces for a family are located; an entrance staircase to an elevated living area with an adjacent terrace overlooking a garden; and a rather square plan, usually containing four rooms, two on either side of a central hall. At the time such structures were being built, complete sets of drawings were available at the local municipality.

The mass production of these relatively humble and unpretentious dwellings has so far attracted little attention from Danish academics. But besides the many typical examples, there are also some exceptional units and ensembles, designed by architects. In fact, there is a wide array of special combinations,

ranging from the single bungalow type to the compressed unification of bungalow-like dwellings in a housing block.

My search into the origin of the Danish bungalow type and its ability to contain changing living rituals through time discusses and reveals a number of boundary conditions. The first question I raise is whether the Danish bungalow represented the importation of a global house type or a simple transplantation of an ordinary apartment from cityscape to countryside. In other words, was the Danish bungalow simply an apartment "wrapped" within the image of a freestanding house with the features and proportions of a bungalow?

A second question concerns whether people have been able to function in this hard shell core of a durable building structure. What has been the quality of living through time? What is the potential of a frame that was created for shelter eighty years ago? Is this frame able to contain and collect shifting life conditions?

A third question reaches back to the original position. Can the "bungalow" become a generic artifact fixed in its boundaries, but with the ability to create space for living independent of time and position?

URBAN MARKETS: SUSTAINING GROUP IDENTITY AND BUILDING NEW HYBRIDITIES

Mary Padua

A central means by which communities form and sustain collective identity is through their attachments to place. While a sense of place is one of the oldest ways identity is formed, it may also be deeply challenged by migration, urbanization and social change. Marketplaces are among the most important collective meeting areas in a community, since it is here that community members interact informally and engage in exchanges that help define their collective identity. Collective identity involves definition of both individual roles and the boundaries of membership, and marketplaces are one such setting where people construct mutual relationships and shared norms of this type.

Urban markets can play a very important role in preserving the identity of communities and in forging new hybrid identities. They are places where people displaced from more traditional communities re-create familiar patterns of social interaction. They are also places where groups and individuals sharply divided by social or geographic boundaries in their places of origin may cross over and interact with one another, forming new hybrid communities.

Urban markets thus become an environment where people both resist hybridity and create it. They help groups from traditional communities assert a common identity and sustain connections with their social heritage. They also create patterns of interaction and expose commonalities among groups divided in other settings.

These conditions make urban markets particularly important to study in the context of diaspora communities. If we expand the notion to include not only diasporic and migrant groups but also groups that have otherwise lost their traditional communities, the urban market takes on an even broader significance. Internal

migrants or elderly people whose communities have been overtaken by urbanization may suffer a displacement that is comparable to that of international migrants. Urban markets can play a similar role for these populations, helping to sustain traditional identities, while building new patterns of social interaction.

This paper explores the roles that several urban markets play both in sustaining group identity and creating new forms of hybrid group identification. Markets in major North American and Asian cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Manila, Hong Kong and Bangkok will be examined. The paper combines interviews and verbal descriptions with photo documentation and visual analysis to explore and contrast the ways in which activities in different market environments help sustain longstanding group identities and create new intergroup hybrid forms of identification.

REVIVING THE BETAWI TRADITION: THE CASE OF SETU BABAKAN

Gunawan Tjahjono

Space has meaning if it is socially constructed and produced. The same process applies to the generation of ethnic identity and tradition. Thus, re-creating ethnic identity through traditional built form on a site of “others” may cause more problems than it produces value. This point may be seen through the example of a Betawi cultural center in a border area of Jakarta.

The Betawi emerged as an ethnic group in Batavia (now Jakarta) during the Dutch administration of Indonesia. They encompassed various ethnic origins such as Javanese, Buginese, Sundanese, Malay, Balinese, Ambonese, Makassarese, Arab, Chinese, Portuguese and others. Over a long period people from these diverse backgrounds successfully mixed and acculturized to form a unique Betawi style of language, dance, music, ceremony, play, and house form. The rich hybridity of this style subduced the individual ethnic components of its member peoples and was handed down as a Betawi tradition. Today the Betawis pride themselves on being a distinct ethnic group. This identity construction to some extent, using Manuel Castells’ term, came out of resistance.

Batavia was renamed Jakarta after Indonesia gained its independence, and since then the city has transformed itself rapidly into a metropolis. Today, the Betawi are the majority ethnic group in Jakarta; however, even though their culture is in many ways representative of the city, they are not politically dominant there. Most Betawis are marginalized as the “other” ethnic group, either living in or at the vicinity of the old *kampung* (urban village) of Jakarta.

Concerned over the Betawis’ decreasing cultural activities and fading identity, the municipality of Jakarta several years ago attempted to create a Betawi cultural center in Setu Babakan at one of the southern border of Jakarta. In the zone, the authority established guidelines based on traditional Betawi house design for all new construction, hoping that this policy would help revive Betawi cultural identity as an attraction for tourism. Such an act appeared workable at the surface since it did not create new

meanings for Betawi culture. But the cultural center has lacked the force that originated the Betawi tradition, and today no new buildings are being built based on traditional Betawi house styles. Neither has the district attracted local or foreign tourists. The Betawi style appears to be the thing of the past, as without pressure to resist a dominant colonizing force, the power of individual ethnicity has again emerged within the Indonesia.

Through the case of the Betawi center in Setu Babakan, I examine the conditions that gave rise to an ethnic group. By historical reconstruction, I focus on how space and identity were negotiated, constructed and produced. I then employ participant observation to understand the corruption of spatial meaning when it is imposed upon, not generated from, the hybrid components of different cultures within a locality. Identity and tradition so constructed are fragile in the face of challenge.

THE MANNER OF MANORS

Keith Loftin and Jacqueline Victor

During the 100 Years War the British captured Brittany and Normandy in northern and northwestern France, and during this time the landscape took on a very “British” look. Among other things, British-looking villages appeared, and the *bocage* system of land use was developed. A new architectural type also appeared, that of the manor house or country mansion. This paper examines the manor house as a physical, spatial, cultural and social hybrid in a liminal landscape. This examination will result in a recognition that conditions of borders and hybridity are the historical norm rather than the exception. This recognition allows us to more easily construct arguments which describe processes, rather than catalogs which enumerate characteristics.

The paper will examine selected examples of manor houses in Brittany and Normandy and identify their specific architectural nuances, such as entry, planning, massing, structure, roof form, eave detail, and window treatment. These characteristics will be described in terms of use, rather than style. It should be noted that these houses have seldom been studied, or even cataloged, because as a building typology they tend to fall between studies of vernacular farmhouses and larger designed chateaux. The physical description of these houses leads inevitably to an appreciation of their unique character.

The paper will explain how these manor houses are physical expressions of hybrid conditions. For example, their physical location is in France, but in a landscape and climate more characteristic of England. They are neither farm, nor chateau, but an amalgam of both. Their existence is a product of a changing social class structure at a specific historical moment. In addition to, and perhaps as a result of, these hybrid contexts, their very construction is hybrid as well, combining both characteristically English and French construction types. In particular, the construction methods of *pan-de-bois* and variegated stone will be examined.

With the manor house now clearly in mind, the paper further explores the larger social and historical issues prevalent at

this time in this border region. For instance, what were the social forces brought about by the war that enabled these impoverished border regions of France to begin building unfortified homes for the aristocracy? Who were these new “aristocrats”? What were the mechanisms of transposition or transculturation which allowed the proliferation of the civil Gothic architecture of houses and public buildings seen on both sides of the Atlantic? The paper concludes with some working definitions of processes of hybridity, indicating that such processes are normative and fundamental to the development of any architectural type.

A.6 TENSIONS OF PRESERVATION

REMAKING OF A HISTORIC, ETHNIC CITY: WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN LIJIANG AS A CONTESTED SPACE

Jeffrey Hou and Chiao-Yen Yang

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ORIGINS OF DIASPORA: STRUGGLES OVER ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY IN A “FAMOUS HOMETOWN OF OVERSEAS CHINESE”

Dan Abramson

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

A SILENT CONTEST FOR THE STEPWELLS OF WESTERN INDIA

Morna Livingston

Philadelphia University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

THE TIME DIMENSION: THE IMPACT OF HERITAGE LISTING ON REGIONAL RECONFIGURATION

Chris Landorf

University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia

AN INQUIRY INTO ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADITION AND MODERNITY

R. Hanna

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REMAKING OF A HISTORIC, ETHNIC CITY: WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN LIJIANG AS A CONTESTED SPACE

Jeffrey Hou and Chiao-Yen Yang

This paper examines the multiple dimensions of recent changes that have occurred in the historic city of Lijiang, China. Since its designation as a World Cultural Heritage Site in 1997, Lijiang — which consists of the towns of Dayeng, Baisa and Xuhe — has emerged as a major destination for foreign and domestic tourists who are attracted to its unique ethnic culture and regional architecture. As a major trading post in Yunnan province in southwestern China, it was the first ethnic minority settlement to be granted World Heritage status. Since this designation, Lijiang has often been recognized as a successful model of historic preservation and economic development.

However, beneath its preserved historic character the city has undergone dramatic spatial and social transformations. In the aftermath of a major earthquake in 1996, funding has been used to support the development of a new town along with the restoration of older damaged buildings, leading to the creation of a dual city. Technical assistance from agencies such as UNESCO and policies implemented by the central government and local adminis-

trations have dictated the shifting approaches toward historic preservation in the city. Drawn by economic opportunities in Lijiang, outside merchants and investors are dramatically changing the local economic patterns and social life within the city. In addition, the growth of tourism has both contributed to and depended upon a remanufacturing of cultural and historic identity.

Using a framework of contested space, this paper examines the competition between development and preservation, residents and outsiders, and authentic and manufactured identities in the process of local change in Lijiang. Based on field observations and in-depth interviews with local residents, merchants, tourists, officials, planners and UNESCO representatives, the paper argues that in all of these processes there are inherent tensions as well as reciprocities between the competing forces. For example, while many residents were displaced from the historic city, some also benefited from the increased economic activities that tourism brought. While many buildings and historic places are protected, many traditional public spaces no longer perform their original functions. The demands of tourism development have both reconfigured and inspired the preservation of local culture. In addition, despite the dramatic spatial restructuring, the resilience of traditional culture is still perceptible in the continued social networks between the new town and the historic city.

The contesting processes and their hybridized outcomes in Lijiang challenge the idealized course of historical and cultural conservation and the understanding of ethnicity in the making of place. The phenomenon raises critical questions concerning social equity and cultural authority and authenticity in local development and preservation. By challenging the traditional borders of ethnicity, development and preservation, the experience of Lijiang provides a rich and complex case for examining the processes of local social and spatial changes under global governance of historic preservation within a development-driven context. In addition, it shows a need for planning and policymaking approaches that can critically negotiate the contesting forces of change.

ORIGINS OF DIASPORA: STRUGGLES OVER ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY IN A "FAMOUS HOMETOWN OF OVERSEAS CHINESE"

Dan Abramson

The focus of this paper is the coastal city of Quanzhou, in Fujian province, China — the historic administrative center of a prefecture that, according to official estimates, is "home" to more than five million overseas Chinese (*huaqiao*). This number almost equals the current population of the prefecture. Quanzhou prides itself on being the home of so many migrants — a "tradition" in its own right that extends back to the Ming dynasty and the original Han settlement of Taiwan. However, its global historic significance dates even further back, to when the city was China's leading port, one of East Asia's earliest "world cities," and a destination for South and West Asian diasporas. Monuments from this era exhibit blended elements of Hindu,

Arabic and Persian iconography and form the core of Quanzhou's official preservation policy. In the meantime, a vernacular similar to that of China's southern and eastern coast has developed. *Huaqiao*-driven modernization has enfolded deference to tradition within progressive tendencies.

Unlike other centers of foreign influence in the century prior to the Communist revolution, Quanzhou was never a treaty port, and therefore did not accommodate an international colonial settlement. Given China's current openness to foreign influence, Quanzhou represents an extreme instance of urban conditions. A local economy and culture that thrived for centuries on trade, yet which found itself a neglected backwater during forty years of Maoist exclusion, the city now finds itself on the frontier of development.

In Quanzhou hybridity is itself a tradition, one adopted by the local population and its network overseas. However, many local and national cultural authorities and preservation officials have not recognized this fact in their policies.

Hybridity presents both profound challenges and heady opportunities for cultural policy in Quanzhou. It challenges a national historic and cultural preservation policy, which tends to define heritage in neat categories and according to a hierarchy of significance, and which favors notions of national unity and of a central government presiding over a diversity of equally valid and mutually tolerant subcultures. It also presents difficulties for local preservationists who define the city's own architectural identity narrowly as the Ming-Qing vernacular, and who disregard the continuous experimentation with styles imported by returning overseas Chinese over the last century.

Hybridity has engendered a kind of homely cosmopolitanism in Quanzhou, one that allows global influence to coexist more comfortably with local tradition than in those cities where such influences that are identified with modernity are alien to the local vernacular. It also creates conditions that may favor a level of community participation in policymaking that is quite unusual in China. This paper weighs these challenges and opportunities, and discusses them in the context of ongoing policy debates, such as the debate surrounding possible application and admittance to UNESCO World Heritage status.

A SILENT CONTEST FOR THE STEPWELLS OF WESTERN INDIA

Morna Livingston

A brahmin invented chess in India in the fifth century to convince his monarch that while a king might be the most important player, no attack or defense of his realm could occur without his subject's support. The chess moves protected the king, his advising minister, his elephants, and his chariots — and thus, his borders. When the West adopted chess, the minister metamorphosed into a queen and the elephants and chariots into castles and bishops, and this shift suggested a different context for control of the checkered board.

Dynamic fifth-century India saw other innovations parallel to chess, but none more important than the invention of the

great medieval stone cisterns with access stairs, the stepwells and stepped ponds of western India. Over centuries the borders of the kingdoms that built them were contested repeatedly. Only after Independence in 1957 did these western Indian lands become the contemporary states of Gujarat and Rajasthan, with the present border being drawn between them in 1960. While embattled during most of their history, the loss of the Hindu and Muslim kingdoms meant that no king remained to build new cisterns for his people, while old ones fell into disuse. On the point of utter ruin, the abandoned buildings eventually came to be adopted both by the government, which borrowed Western preservation models in the hope of tourist income, and by local people, who needed to house their goddesses in a place tradition connected with fertility through its water. While outsiders might view the democratic government and the villagers as two facets of one group, the two came up with diametrically opposed methods of contesting these prizes. And a tentative staking of stepwell territory in the 1980s and 90s by one group or the other led by the late 90s to separate vocabularies of architectural elements that make each group's intentions toward its water buildings clear.

This paper will examine the decisive split that occurred as the two groups claimed one water building after another. It will examine how pun-like double meanings led to hardening these sites with metalwork, attaching to them a history, and attracting people to them. The parallel transformations make more vivid and more clear than has the media the paradoxes of water use and the meaning of history in India today. Water buildings in their new guise appear as two separate entities, even though they were once cut like chess pieces from the same stones. They articulate that mysterious mode Indians call preservation, so hard to define because it is always in flux. Water buildings have become a territory where two distinct entities in India, the villagers and the central government, are struggling to establish their own voices and chart new boundaries.

THE TIME DIMENSION: THE IMPACT OF HERITAGE LISTING ON REGIONAL RECONFIGURATION

Chris Landorf

In November 1972 the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The convention was developed in response to a perceived increase in the threat posed to the world's cultural and natural heritage by both natural forces of decay and changing social and economic conditions. Through the convention, a system of collaborative protection for sites considered to be of outstanding universal value was established, together with the criteria that sites would need to satisfy to be inscribed. The convention also established the requirement for a conservation plan as an integral component of any nomination. The conservation plan is required to establish how a site is to be managed so as to protect its significance. More than 720 sites in 124 countries have been

inscribed in the World Heritage List and have been operating under the convention since 1972 (UNESCO, 2002).

For many sites, inscription has resulted in access to financial support through the World Heritage Fund. This has provided much-needed funding for protection and conservation programs, and has proven particularly important to developing countries. The international recognition achieved through listing has also resulted in increased pressure on culture as a basis for economic development. Cultural tourism is now a significant segment of the global tourism market. With the increase in visitor numbers predicted to continue (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1996; Alzua et al., 1998) there is a corresponding concern for the sustainability of many World Heritage sites as mass tourist destinations. This concern is for the physical fabric of the site itself in addition to the impact that such tourism has on cultural diversity at a local level. With World Heritage listing entering its thirtieth year, it is an opportune time to review the concept of the conservation plan, and more particularly the capacity of a conservation plan to allow sites to evolve with time. The alternative may be the creation of what Boniface and Fowler (1993) have described as "synthetic cultural islands," historically and politically defined regions existing in a cocoon of historical pretence.

This paper will present the results of a longitudinal study of conservation management plans and their implementation at three World Heritage listed industrial sites — Ironbridge Gorge in England (inscribed in 1986), Völklingen Ironworks in Germany (inscribed in 1994), and the Blaenavon Industrial Landscape in Wales (inscribed in 2000). The three sites will first be used to trace the development of the conservation plan as a management tool. The impact of policy implementation on the sites in question will then be considered, with particular emphasis on the relationship between the protection of a site so as to retain its heritage significance and the development of a site as an economic concern. Sites of industrial heritage are used for the case study because of the currency of their history, the relative intactness and scale of their fabric, and the particular management problems associated with their abandoned nature.

AN INQUIRY INTO ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADITION AND MODERNITY

R. Hanna

Many Third World countries are still striving for a balance between modernization and traditional values in the design and/or development of planning principles for new communities. To advocate modernization, it is possible to cite literature on a variety of issues: the change from a physically based to an information based society; the change in the nature of the design process (from trial and error to architect-based and/or computer-aided design); changes in building processes; globalization vs. local culture; and the irrelevance of traditional forms to today's life. Some of these themes have been dealt with by investigators using predominantly "theoretical" and "qualitative" research

models. Case studies dealing with regional architecture or traditional building(s)/settlements have also covered some of the changes. By contrast, survey-type correlational research in design seeks views from a large sample of professionals on the effect of these changes on discontinuing tradition in favor of modernity. Such research could approach the problem from a new angle and provide valuable insights. It is for this reason that the current study has been conceived.

A sample survey of architects that focused on their attitudes toward tradition and modernity was conducted. The sample consisted of postgraduate (mainly Masters and Ph.D.) students from developing countries who were studying in Britain. The research was designed to include both questionnaires and structured interviews as means of data collection. The above themes (related to change/continuity of tradition) were developed further and broken down to single variables, which were then incorporated into the questionnaires. The aim was to gather a sufficient number of responses to enable the measurement and further analysis of each variable.

The variables covered by this study were categorized under the following headings: the shift in the design process from a user-led (trial and error) to a designer-led and computer-assisted process; the influence of information technology (IT) on the building process and the consequent loss of traditional building skills; the impact of IT on the traditional perception of urban "space" and "place," both in terms of real and virtual interaction; and globalization and the new aesthetics of modernity, and the issue of why people want to abandon local culture and identity.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences was used for data mining and analysis and computing correlation coefficients between different variables. The data is in the process of analysis, but early results suggest that changes in the local architectural style cannot be fully explained by a single issue. There is evidence of a perceived mismatch between traditional forms and modern living/aesthetics.

B.6 THE LANDSCAPE OF BORDERS

"BEATING THE BOUNDS": SWITCHING BOUNDARIES OVER FIVE MILLENNIA

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SOUTH AFRICAN PROVINCIAL BORDERLANDS: TERRITORIAL INNOVATIONS AND "TRADITIONS" BEHIND SOCIO-POLITICAL DISPUTES

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MAP OR MOSAIC? CULTURAL BOUNDARIES AS CONVEYED BY LANGUAGE, NOT DRAWN WITH LINES

Rosemary Latter

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ORDER WITHOUT EQUALITY: THE ROLE OF THE BORDER IN THE POLITICS OF SEGREGATION

Kevin Mitchell

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TRANSFORMATION IN THE URBAN FORM OF A TRADITIONAL CITY: THE CASE OF YAZD, IRAN

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"BEATING THE BOUNDS": SWITCHING BOUNDARIES OVER FIVE MILLENNIA

Paul Oliver

One of the oldest customs in Britain is the "Beating the Bounds" of ancient parishes by priests or officers who annually traced them with local youths, who were lightly "switched" to remind them of the boundaries. The custom persists in Dartmoor, Devon, on the southwest peninsula of England, often referred to as "the last great wilderness in southern England." A mass of igneous rock with thin grass cover, its bleak but dramatic "tors" (hills) are crested by immense outcrops of granite. Apparently home only to wild ponies and black-faced sheep, the visible evidence of human definitions of terrain and space has been uniquely preserved. Long stone rows and great stone circles define Neolithic religious sites, and Early Bronze Age settlements encompassed in granite are as numerous as the boundary "reaves" which delineated later Bronze Age territories.

Climatic deterioration meant that Iron Age sites are few, but some Celtic fields survived Roman occupation. Following Saxon penetration in the seventh century, Dartmoor was recolonized, large manors being granted and Danish invaders repulsed with

royal defenses. Open-field and strip systems are still evident, as are ox-ploughed “lynchets,” or hill terraces. After the Norman conquest, Dartmoor was declared a royal hunting “forest” and part of the Duchy of Cornwall; the earlier rights of “commoners” were, and still are, protected. Trees now grow on ancient granite field walls, and monoliths still stand that marked early trackways and boundaries. Archeological remains confirm the eleventh-century origins of a unique and surviving vernacular architecture tradition, the “Dartmoor longhouse,” shared by both farmers and cattle.

Tin was mined and worked commercially, the tanners being granted their own parliament and “stannary towns,” resulting in redefinition of territories and cutting of leats to stream the tin. Subsequent plundering of Dartmoor’s resources, from extraction of copper to the quarrying of granite and the founding of the world’s largest china clay works, has been contentious. Captives from the Napoleonic wars were incarcerated in the purpose-built and still-functioning Dartmoor prison; explosives were made in the moor’s powder mills; and since the Boer War, large areas have been designated for military training. Other factors, including the postwar leasing of lands for forestry and the building of reservoirs, have emphasized the need to protect Dartmoor from further exploitation. These led to the founding of England’s first National Park, but even this provoked problems when a bypass road was recently constructed within its northern boundary.

Covering nearly four hundred square miles, Dartmoor is a palimpsest of human occupation, utilization, ownership, inheritance, rights, beliefs and claims over five millennia. As such, it bears the evidence of multiple switching of land demarcation, division and boundary definition, and reveals the diversity of interests and the complexities of ownership. While we may challenge past boundaries, our redefinition may be as lasting or as transitory as many on the moor. This paper argues that the evidence of Dartmoor affirms that while the land bears the scars on its surface, the bounds will always be beaten.

SOUTH AFRICAN PROVINCIAL BORDERLANDS: TERRITORIAL INNOVATIONS AND “TRADITIONS” BEHIND SOCIO-POLITICAL DISPUTES

Benoit Antheaume and Frederic Giraut

In contemporary South Africa, the internal demarcation between provinces and the external demarcation between nation-states is characterized by either “full” or “empty” borderlands. Two types of heritages from the Apartheid era shaped the South African confining zones. The “full” borderland is a product of the former government policy, known as Homelands, which created displaced urban areas (quite a unique phenomenon at this scale). Meanwhile, the “empty” borderland refers to the implementation of extensions of national “buffer zones” or wide “no-man’s lands” through a vast complex of parks and reserves — the direct result of the isolation of South Africa in the larger context of southern Africa. This paper will discuss the ways in which these two types of areas constitute a periphery in the context of new South African functional space.

The second part of the paper argues that disputes and arrangements in the demarcation process and new local systems of government are contemporary expressions of territorial contestations. This will be demonstrated by an analysis of arguments taken from former town councils, community-based organizations, political parties, and tribal authorities who have been involved in specific disputes in borderlands. At a regional level, these disputes concern complaints which aim to change the provincial boundaries set by local communities. At a local level, they concern the incorporation of displaced urban areas into urban poles by affecting local municipal demarcations, land claims, and relationships between communities and the parks and reserves administration.

The paper also addresses the relationships between local government, tribal authorities, and national development projects such as the Peripheral Corridor Development. The central arguments of the paper revolve around the issues of “traditional” cultural and historical identities, legitimacy vs. the functionality of space, and the local configuration and reconfiguration of borderlands.

MAP OR MOSAIC? CULTURAL BOUNDARIES AS CONVEYED BY LANGUAGE, NOT DRAWN WITH LINES

Rosemary Latter

As can be seen with linguistic mapping techniques, ethnic groupings do not always reflect the political lines drawn on colonial maps. Many of the maps that appear in the *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* illustrate the insignificance of national borders when describing traditional architectural phenomena. The maps relate to cultural regions instead of political boundaries, and many of these traditions overlap with the language communities of the areas. A chart of language distribution superimposed onto a world map can illustrate these contradictions between national boundaries, shown by linear definition, and the occurrence of language communities, shown with broken edges. When linguistic maps of either macro- or micro-scale are compared with those of culture groups, correspondences are to be expected. Such correspondences are also reflected where material and oral traditions are recorded. Geographical definitions, therefore, give way to cultural regions, and in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, they clearly demonstrate how irrelevant longitudinal frontiers are to the nomadic and semi-sedentary tribes whose lands traverse them.

This paper contends that an appreciation of the approach of cultural and linguistic geography is increasingly appropriate if the predominance of global ideology is to be challenged. The material gathered to illustrate the points made includes maps and linguistic graphic techniques. When a map of languages or dialect is contrasted with, or overlaid onto, a geopolitical map, the visual effect is more like that of a mosaic or a Pointilist painting. The cultures become the light that fills the space. One might contrast this with the image created by the geopolitical “paint by numbers” approach, where blocks of color are used and the boundaries are precisely delineated.

The characteristic ways that people define physical space, be they nomadic or sedentary, wealthy or poverty stricken, are relevant to understanding ethnic identity in a world affected by globalization. Terminology used to describe concepts of territory and possession of property in diverse cultures helps to describe the diverse values that are ascribed to these ideas. People's behavior is affected by their identification with the land and the means by which they and their families have belonged to it for centuries. Linguistic mapping techniques are not an end in themselves in this discussion, however. The meanings of the words employed require accurate interpretation and consideration within their cultural context. Comparisons between vocabularies, including the similarities and in some cases omissions in terminologies, can reveal differences of cultural world views. An examination of the meanings inherent in the words reveals perceptions of the land and shows that notions of privacy, ownership and frontier are not commonly held. From the language of building boundaries, such as "threshold," "entrance," "inside" and "home," to the descriptions of "territory," "landscape" and "public space," the significance of meanings to the cultures covered become apparent. Lack of appreciation of these subtle but fundamental issues lies at the heart of many territorial conflicts. To impose one ideology, through ignorance, onto another in the name of development may impose inappropriate limitations on a culture and lead to the degradation of that society.

ORDER WITHOUT EQUALITY: THE ROLE OF THE BORDER IN THE POLITICS OF SEGREGATION

Kevin Mitchell

This paper employs ancient Greek literature to establish a conceptual definition of the boundary or border and to demonstrate how notions of boundaries relate to cultural values and spatial practices. By examining the relationship between value systems and spatial politics, this study contributes to wider debates regarding the role of ethnicity in the process of articulating space.

The Greek term *nomos* derives from *nemein*, which means to distribute, to possess (what has been distributed), and to dwell. Throughout the epic works attributed to Homer, one finds the verb form of *nemó* (to deal out, to dispense) and the words *nemé-sis* (to distribute, to allocate) and *nemesis* (retribution, or the distribution of what is due). *Nemó* also possesses a second meaning with relation to the life of herdsmen: to pasture, to graze the flocks or feed them, to drive them out to pasture. While distribution, or allocation, implies the existence of a limitation, the meaning associated with putting flocks out to pasture implies expansion or extension. Thus, like other ancient words, *nemó* has two opposite meanings: one relating to limitations imposed by acts of appropriation and apportioning, and another relating to expansion. Throughout ancient Greek literature, a number of references are made to the concept of *nemé-sis* (distribution or allocation). These concern the boundary or border protected, or preserved: that which had been subject to distribution or alloca-

tion, whether it was the distribution of household property within the *oikos* (household), or the distribution of public and private property within the village or town. The importance of the protection and preservation of property, and therefore the importance of the boundary, cannot be understated. The private property of the *oikos* (the fields and their produce) not only provided sustenance that ensured self-sufficiency, but (as a result of the constitutional reforms of Solon after 594 B.C.) land holdings also became the basis for citizenship and political participation.

One of the most conspicuous features of the ideal city that Plato developed in the *Republic* is the exclusion of noncitizens. Considered in relation to this injunction, the provision for the immigrant population in the *Laws* is equally striking. Although this reversal is perhaps confounding, the allowance is indicative of the shift in Plato's thinking from conceiving the city as an abstract mental construct to envisioning a city that was practically possible. As Plato observed in his native Athens, the alien population, or the *metics*, were necessary for the economic welfare of the city as a result of their involvement in craft and commercial activities. However, in contrast to Athens where the *metics* freely populated various parts of the city, in the fabled city of Magnesia outlined in the *Laws* Plato devised an urban plan with strict borders that led to the spatial segregation of the *metics*. This paper discusses how Plato proposed to separate the *metics* from the citizen population and their status in the *Laws*. It contends that this apportioning can be understood in relation to the values regarding craft and commerce expressed in Athenian literature.

TRANSFORMATION IN THE URBAN FORM OF A TRADITIONAL CITY: THE CASE OF YAZD, IRAN

M.R.N. Mohammadi

This paper examines the basic physical and spatial aspects of the main elements of the city of Yazd, an outstanding example of both a modern as well as a traditional Iranian city. It starts with a brief description of the region in which the city is located, followed by a general discussion of the morphological formation and transformation of its urban fabric. The description of the city and its history will emphasize a morphological approach and identify important events. The main morphological elements of Yazd can be organized into three distinct categories and related historical periods: the traditional or historical division (the inner area), the old division (the middle area), and newly developed areas (the outskirts).

The historical part of Yazd is defined as that area built before the end of the fourteenth century. This was defined by a defensive wall constructed in the thirteenth century, parts of which still remain. This morphological layer demonstrates a high degree of correspondence between culture and built form. The area has obvious cultural value and is often referred to as "traditional." In fact, this traditional walled city of Yazd grew very slowly. Its historical elements were mostly public buildings, which were located among dwelling units and open spaces along the major alleys.

Later, new streets, that were comparatively much wider, were introduced. This traditional walled city, which was formed at a pedestrian scale, has today undergone a rapid transformation in order to accommodate vehicular traffic.

The second morphological layer of Yazd refers to the part of the city formed between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. Compared to the historical part of the city, this underwent rapid urbanization and modernization. Especially dramatic changes occurred from the early twentieth century onward, mainly due to the implementation of new concepts of city planning and the accommodation of new lifestyles common in most Iranian cities. In particular, wide streets have been cut through the dense residential quarters here, and as a result, this area of the city has been divided into distinct parts. The new streets here are lined with shops, which compete with the traditional bazaar for customers. Muddy alleys have been replaced with asphalt streets, and a water system has been introduced, along with many other modern facilities.

In the 1960s two new satellite towns were established to the south and southwest of Yazd. These towns are now a major part of the present spatial structure of the city.

The pattern of growth and development in Yazd until 1973 was basically toward the south, southwest and the west. During its three main stages of development, the city underwent a number of spatial transformations, resulting in the development of a comparatively large and thriving urban environment. The physical boundaries of the city have expanded considerably since the 1920s, and even more dramatically since the 1970s. Many new elements have been added to the old city, and new planning concepts have been introduced not only to the newly developed areas but to the older and more historic parts of the city as well.

C.6 HYBRID NATIONS/HYBRID PLACES/HYBRID URBANISM

THE NEW TERRITORIES MARKET TOWNS: INTERSECTION OF LAND AND SEA

Patrick Hase

Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong, China

LATIN AMERICAN HYBRID SPACES AND TRANSCULTURAL ARCHITECTURES

Felipe Hernandez

University of Nottingham, U.K.

INSIDE/OUTSIDE: SHIFTING BOUNDARIES AND HYBRID PLACES

Susan Rogers

University of North Carolina, Charlotte, U.S.A.

MAPPING HONG KONG'S CULTURAL LANDSCAPES: AVOIDING AN IDENTITY CRISIS

Ken Nicolson

Hong Kong, China

CYPRIOT BOUNDARIES

Nadia Charalambous and Nico Peristianis

Intercollege, Nicosia, Cyprus

THE NEW TERRITORIES MARKET TOWNS: INTERSECTION OF LAND AND SEA

Patrick Hase

At the time the British took over the area in 1898, the New Territories of Hong Kong were home to some 700 villages, served by approximately a dozen market towns. In addition, there were another thirty villages serviced by four market towns on Hong Kong Island and Kowloon — which had been taken over by the British in 1841 and 1860, respectively. A few of these market towns, such as Ha Tsuen and Yuen Long, serviced purely agricultural areas. However, most were either predominantly maritime in society and economy, such as Tai O, Cheung Chau, Aberdeen and Stanley, or of a mixed maritime and land-based character, as in the case of Tai Kung, Sham Shui Po, and Kowloon City.

In southern China communities with close connections to land were radically distinct from those that were more maritime in nature. The former communities looked down on the latter, as these suffered significant legal disabilities and were often financially dependent on their land-based counterparts. And yet the people of land-based communities needed salt fish, a resource that could only be provided by maritime communities. It was at

the seashore market towns that the two groups met and interacted, and this interaction substantially affected the positioning of the market towns, their layout, and their development. Here the two communities had to negotiate their shared and individual spaces in order to assist in the creation and development of a town that was, in fact, essential to the survival of both.

Market towns were often built at sites that were marginal to land-based communities, such as sandbanks or areas where land had been reclaimed from the sea. But they were always close to a spot where boats could be safely anchored. As market towns developed, additional streets and houses would often be built on new areas of reclaimed land. This paper will study the developmental history of several of these seashore market towns, including Tai O, Cheung Chau, Ma Wan, Sham Shui Po and Sai Kung, in order to illustrate how two distinct communities met and regulated their interaction.

LATIN AMERICAN HYBRID SPACES AND TRANSCULTURAL ARCHITECTURES

Felipe Hernandez

The notions of hybridity and hybridization have been applied to so many contexts, and in such diverse senses, that their definitions have become unclear. They have become associated with the inevitable process of cultural merging that results from the simultaneity of global culture. They are also associated with the current debates on migration, diaspora, global economy, and information technology. Although hybridization is not the only term that has been used to describe and analyze transcultural processes, it is an appropriate term with which to examine the nature and dynamics of the contemporary situation of architectural practice in Latin America.

In this paper I will demonstrate that the notion of hybridization may serve as more than a descriptive tool, useful only in analyzing finished architectural products such as cities or buildings. Such a narrow understanding only reduces the notion's theoretical and political capacity and increases the isolationist trend that traditional architectural theory and practice are leaning toward. For this reason, I maintain that the notion of hybridization has been thoroughly mistaken within recent architectural debates in Latin American and other contexts.

The paper will show that within architectural circles, the notion of hybridization can also be used as a tool to carry out creative exploration, and possibly even produce new architectures which respond to the dynamic realities of the Latin American people.

INSIDE/OUTSIDE: SHIFTING BOUNDARIES AND HYBRID PLACES

Susan Rogers

What is happening here eats out the heart of the city from the inside: the infrastructure is for the most part being added to rather than torn down, but the life within it is being drained away, a siphoning off of diversity, cultural life, memory, complexity. What remains will look like the city that was — or like a brighter, shinier, tidier version of it — but what it contained will be gone. It will be a hollow city.

—Rebecca Solnit and Susan Schwartzberg, *Hollow City*

Globalization, demographic shifts, and the second age of migration have created the greatest diversity in American cities since the turn of the last century. In conjunction, two parallel restructurings of the city are occurring simultaneously and in contradiction to one another. The urban, as defined by the geographic core of cities, is increasingly being homogenized, gentrified and suburbanized. The suburban periphery, in contrast, is becoming progressively more diverse, dynamic, poor and urban. The boundaries which once differentiated urban from suburban space are shifting and blurring. The American city is being turned inside out.

In Houston, the landscape for this investigation, the shifting boundaries have radically affected the spaces and places of the city. Inside the city, the built environment is changing rapidly as lofts and townhomes are growing like weeds through cracks in the recently paved sidewalks. The fabric and history of displaced communities is being erased — replaced with a facade, a new image of urbanity based on suburban values. Thus, urban space is being deactivated, as the middle class exercises its preference for the treadmill over the street, the boardroom over the corner, and graffiti in the gallery rather than on the buildings.

Meanwhile, outside the city, marginalization has become real, as populations displaced from the urban core are pushed to the periphery. The suburban landscape — originally designed based on the principles of conformity — is being adapted and transformed. Hybrid spaces and places are replacing the monotony of the franchise, as 1970s apartment complexes are transformed into “ethnic enclaves,” parking lots into plazas, houses into cultural artifacts, streets into meeting places, and a myriad other adaptations are taking place. The violence of dislocation for marginalized communities is being countered by the liberating potentials present in the places of hybridity.

This paper seeks to illustrate the contrasts between two parallel yet contradictory phenomena — urban homogeneity and suburban diversity. It will address lessons to be learned from the transformation and adaptation of the suburban periphery, a landscape that can be extraordinarily hostile. And it will expose the spatial, social and political framework that has driven and supported the current restructuring of the American city.

Is a new suburban definition of space blanketing the American big city? Or is a new form of hybrid space being generated in the suburbs? The shifting realities of space, either suburban or urban, are transitory, but the factors underpinning these realities are enduring. Equity and justice have been suffocated by the perceived logic of the market. The “hot” new product in the American marketplace is urbanism.

MAPPING HONG KONG'S CULTURAL LANDSCAPES: AVOIDING AN IDENTITY CRISIS

Ken Nicolson

Population migrations in and out of Hong Kong have been the essence of the city's dynamic growth and rich cultural diversity. Today more than ever we need to understand what makes Hong Kong different from other Asian cities, and how it should manage globalization while also retaining its unique identity. Traditional methods of mapping and zoning Hong Kong for future development rarely reflect the full subtlety of historic relationships between man and nature, or the diverse cultures that have shaped the city. This paper will suggest alternative ways of mapping with reference to Hong Kong using the concept of cultural landscapes.

The three definitions of cultural landscape, as established in the Operational Guidelines to the World Heritage Convention of 1972, will be described and elaborated upon using various sites in Hong Kong. "A clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man" will be shown by the examples of Tiger Balm Gardens and the colonial cemetery gardens. "An organically evolved landscape" may be divided into two subtypes: "relic landscapes," such as village settlements in the New Territories; and "continuing landscapes," such as the stilted fishing village of Tai O. Finally, "associative cultural landscapes" will be shown through the examples of *fung shui* landforms that can be found throughout Hong Kong.

Unfortunately, the term cultural landscape is not defined in clear terms in Hong Kong's current legislation, and hence it is often misunderstood or inconsistently applied. As a result, cultural heritage sites are sometimes studied in isolation from their broader surroundings, with only key features being retained at the expense of the contextual ensemble. This paper will discuss how overlooking the importance of the larger context of cultural landscapes has contributed to a significant loss of cultural heritage in Hong Kong.

Finally, the paper will discuss one particular cultural landscape, that of Hong Kong's historic colonial cemetery gardens. Cemeteries offer a valuable insight to Hong Kong's social and cultural history. The city has an enviable diversity of cultures and religions which coexist peacefully in one of the most densely populated places on the planet. One reason for this is that each successive immigrant group was able to call Hong Kong their "home" by being allowed to maintain their own identity, and by being able to create familiar, comforting cultural landscapes such as places of worship and cemeteries. The inevitable hybridizing of icons within each cultural landscape over time has only added to the uniqueness of the city.

This paper will draw conclusions regarding the need to adopt the international definitions and vocabulary of cultural landscapes as a way to meaningfully describe and map Hong Kong's cultural heritage and the relationship between man and nature; give a clearer sense of identity to the diverse and often overlapping communities within the city; and help guide Hong Kong in managing change successfully.

CYPRIOI BOUNDARIES

Nadia Charalambous and Nico Peristianis

This paper investigates ethnic-group spatial and social relations in the capital of Cyprus, Nicosia. Space analysis is utilized to study aspects of ethnic-group relations within the walled city of Nicosia during the period before the division of the island (1878–1974) and the period after the division (1974–today).

Ethnic relations in Cyprus have been growing ever more tense through time; there has been a progressive hardening of the social boundaries marking ethnic differences, accompanied by the creation of a territorial division, culminating in the creation of the so-called "Green Line" (a demarcation boundary) that slashes the country from end to end, separating Greek from Turkish Cypriots. The Green Line could perhaps be better described as a "cultural fault line," to use Samuel Huntington's expression, separating "clashing civilizations" from one another. On one side of the divide is Christianity/the West/the Occident/the First World/modernity and development; on the other is Islam/the Orient/the Third World/tradition and underdevelopment (Peristianis, 1999).

It would not be difficult to discern a mutually reinforcing process in the formation of the social and territorial boundaries on the island. The gradual hardening of the social boundaries between the two major ethnic communities led to the gradual buildup of the territorial boundary. The entrenchment of the territorial boundary has, in turn, contributed to the further hardening of the social boundary between the communities. Presently, an additional boundary has been formed between the walled city of Nicosia, mainly inhabited by minority ethnic groups, and the city beyond the walls, mainly inhabited by Greek Cypriots.

Spatial analysis has seen tremendous development during the past years, especially with the work of the "space syntax" group and the syntactic theories and methods which have been applied to a number of different areas, such as traditional houses, courts, factories, hospitals, and even whole urban systems. A conspicuous absence, however, relates to the lack of research on the ethnic uses of space. Yet it is widely agreed that in the late twentieth century, and especially since the downfall of Communist regimes in 1989, there has been a worldwide resurgence of ethnic identification and ethnic conflict. This paper takes a first step in the direction of utilizing space analysis in the investigation of ethnic-group relations by considering aspects of Greek, Turkish Cypriot, and Eastern European spatial and social relations on the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean.

Spatial analysis reveals that behind many apparent similarities in spatial and social ingredients characterizing the two ethnic communities in Cyprus lurk strong differences in ethnic identity. Furthermore, there seem to be substantial spatial differences at a deeper level which have to do with the different social relations between the ethnic groups (characterized by the uneven distribution of power and resources) throughout Cyprus' modern history. Finally, a comparison is attempted between the polyethnic arrangement of space before 1974 and the more multicultural space arrangements that have been the emerging trend since 1974.

A.7 HISTORY AND PEDAGOGY

CONNECTIONS AND INTERACTIONS: RECONFIGURING THE ARCHITECTURE SURVEY COURSE

Paula Lupkin

Washington University, St. Louis, U.S.A.

TOWARD A GLOBAL HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

Vikram Prakash

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

ARCHITECTURAL BORDERS: A CASE STUDY IN NORTHERN IRAN

Frank Brown and G.H. Memarian

University of Manchester, U.K., and University of Science and Technology, Tehran, Iran

POSTCARDS FROM THE EDGE OF ATLANTA'S I-20 EAST

Michael Gamble

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

CONNECTIONS AND INTERACTIONS: RECONFIGURING THE ARCHITECTURE SURVEY COURSE

Paula Lupkin

The scholarly study of architecture, shaped by the discipline of art history, has long been grounded in neatly bounded regions. Nowhere are these boundaries more established, or more rigid, than in the traditional Western history of architecture survey course taught at academic institutions across the United States and in Europe. The unwieldy canon of monuments presented to students, spanning centuries and continents, is divided into long-established stylistic, political and geographical categories such as “Greek,” “Renaissance” or “American.” Such parochial categorizations are increasingly difficult to sustain as pressure grows to present a more global perspective of the built environment. In particular, since the old categories lack elasticity, they require equal representation for non-Western areas, resulting in the kind of unwieldy encyclopedic and comparative approach first employed by Bannister Fletcher in 1897.

As the postcolonial critiques of this venerable but anachronistic text suggest, this attempt to comprehensively cover the globe is full of pitfalls. Simply adding new material to the existing Western structure results in unmanageable length and awkward dichotomies between “the West and the rest,” as well as between “high” architecture and vernacular traditions. A truly global consideration requires new categories, new ways of conceptualizing our architectural legacy. In this paper I will propose, through discussion of a course I recently developed for Washington University in St. Louis, a new structure that emphasizes connections and interactions, rather than bounded regions.

Influenced by the sociology of art and the new field of world history, the course casts a wide net in an attempt to understand major historical changes in the built environment, tracing the transmission of architectural skills, ideas and materials across and within cultural borders through trade, religion, migration and conflict. Traditional boundaries are either dismantled entirely or rendered permeable, replaced by zones of interaction. Instead of focusing individually upon the history of Indian architecture and Chinese architecture in the Middle Period (ninth to fourteenth centuries), for example, I explore the spread of Buddhism from India to China along the Silk Road in Central Asia, tracing the diffusion of monasteries, stupas, and cave temples by merchants and missionaries in this important region. The course also addresses interactions between traditional and monumental elements of the built environment, including the impact of climate and local building techniques as well as imported Islamic typologies on the development of West African mosques and cities. The new regions and categories of study are defined by their role as crossroads and points of contact.

This intentionally selective method, the antithesis of Fletcher’s comprehensive approach, means that coverage is limited, but I argue that what students need most from the history survey is less a knowledge of particular products of architectural culture and more an awareness of the *processes* by which people of all cultures have made the decisions that shape our world. By taking the emphasis off the product and placing it on the process, the dichotomy between “historical context” and “artistic creativity” is de-emphasized, as are the distinctions between East and West, and high and low. This reconfiguration sheds light on our contemporary interests in the phenomenon of globalization, and suggests its historical continuity from antiquity to the present day. Using selected examples, this paper illustrates the method as applied to the premodern period and explores its applicability to the modern era.

TOWARD A GLOBAL HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

Vikram Prakash

In the post-September 11, 2001, world, the fact of globalization is now being countered by the necessity of global citizenship. While our differences are being rapidly sewed into a single economic system, its counterpoint, a system of graspable identity constructions — both resistant and conforming — are harder to define and describe. Part of that work concerns rewriting a history that can generate, and verify, contemporary identity claims.

This paper will explicate the theoretical premises of a new architectural history textbook being prepared by the author (and two co-authors) which proposes a new paradigm for a survey of the canonical history of the architecture of the world. Unlike our dominant paradigms, which are firmly derived from the nation-state politics of the nineteenth century, this new textbook attempts to engage with globalizing culture by making synchronicity and the migration of ideas the generator of historical narratives, rather than individual regions or subcultures. In

other words, instead of writing about Egypt, Greece and Rome in that order, we ask, for example, what was happening globally around the year 1000 A.D. We then engage in a discussion of the connections, exchanges and contrasts in the architectures and cultures of that time across the globe.

ARCHITECTURAL BORDERS: A CASE STUDY IN NORTHERN IRAN

Frank Brown and G.H. Memarian

This paper presents the results of an architectural project taught last year at Shiraz Azad-i Isalami University in central Iran. The project, which formed part of a course on Iranian vernacular architecture, had the title “Architectural Borders: Cases and Causes.” The students came with little knowledge of traditional architecture. None had thought about the issue of borders. The aim was to compare their views on the subjects before and after the project.

To bring the issue of architectural borders into focus, the region of Ghilan in the far north of Iran was taken as a case study. This vast region, close to the Caspian Sea, has a humid, rainy climate and is densely forested. It is thus very different from other parts of Iran, especially the central Fars region, an area of deserts and mountains, with few forests. Students who were accustomed to living in the city of Shiraz at the heart of this region were presented with a sharp contrast in climate and topography. The architecture was also quite different: instead of inward-looking houses built around a central courtyard, in Ghilan they found compact dwellings that faced outwards. And instead of adobe they found timber to be the chief building material.

The principal questions raised during the course were the following: why is Ghilani architecture so different from that in other parts of Iran? What determines the architectural borders between Ghilan and the neighboring regions? And why do different architectural typologies coexist within the same region? At the outset students were invited to comment on the question of borders. Most denied the existence of borders altogether. They believed that in an age of communication, especially with the Internet, there were no borders among nations. Some said that new building technology eliminates borders, allowing architects to realize their ideas irrespective of space or place. Others said that architecture was above all an art, and that art occurred in the mind and heart of the artist.

On completion of the course, different views were expressed. Among these were that architecture without borders means no identity; that many factors combine to define architectural borders, and change in any one of them can lead to a change in the borders themselves; and that architecture is for living, and each lifestyle has its own borders.

POSTCARDS FROM THE EDGE OF ATLANTA'S I-20 EAST

Michael Gamble

In the concrete reality of today's world, places and spaces, place and non-places intertwine and tangle together.

—Marc Auge, from *Non-Places, Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*

In spite of its early promise, its frequent bravery, urbanism has been unable to invent and implement at the scale demanded by its apocalyptic demographics. . . . Pervasive urbanization has modified the urban condition itself beyond recognition. “The” city no longer exists. As the concept of city is distorted and stretched beyond precedent, each insistence on its primordial condition — in terms of images, rules, fabrication — irrevocably leads via nostalgia to irrelevance.

—Rem Koolhaas, *S,M,L,XL*

Previous research by graduate students under my guidance has been concerned with the assessment of residual urban sites in relation to suburban expansion. The tremendous influx of displaced commuters and capital into the redevelopment of Midtown and Downtown Atlanta was the impetus for this research. We constructed projects around such spaces as parking lots, brownfields, newly inscribed “special-public-interest” and “community-development” zones, and dysfunctional gaps in the city (i.e., Interstate highway viaducts and tunnels).

The most recent research, completed in the spring of 2002, shifts away from investigations concerned with Atlanta’s numerous urban centers, and moves out toward Atlanta’s eastern suburban periphery. Over the next ten years it is anticipated that the I-20 corridor from Atlanta east to Madison, Georgia, will become the fastest-growing area of the Atlanta metropolitan region. At the same time, the state of Georgia is finally becoming involved in initiatives which seriously assess the environmental, transportation, civic and institutional issues related to sprawl and quality of life.

In the last year, for all the prosperous professionals who have moved into the city core of Atlanta to escape traffic, the growth of the suburbs was still 100 times greater. The city, in fact, has grown little over the years, while the region around it has swelled. With 427,500 people, Atlanta today accounts for only 13.3 percent of the metropolitan area’s 3.2 million residents; by contrast, it made up 22.4 percent in 1980.

As Atlanta expands, small towns on the edge of the metropolis must act to develop intelligent, comprehensive plans for future development, or risk being consumed by this pervasive growth. The focus of the current research is an assessment of existing policies and the implementation of new planning strategies and architectural proposals that address the intertwining of traditional settlement patterns and contemporary modes of being.

Central to our argument is the construction of new programmatic narratives which seek to outline contemporary modes of existence. Attempts to conceptualize the contemporary city and all of its detritus with orders based solely on historic models limit

more inventive readings of current situations. Conceiving of sites as a compilation of urban narratives, both literal and fictive, might propose, as J.B. Jackson suggests, “stranger paths through the city.” The platform of the studio addresses a variety of general issues (e.g., environmental, social, economic, political, etc.), with focused, project-specific research pursued by each student.

This presentation will include a discussion of Atlanta’s “sprawl” and current discussions regarding it; the relationship between the different parties involved in the (re)development of Covington; and examples of student and instructor work on the subject.

B.7 TEMPORAL BORDERS

SEEKING A NEW GRAND DESIGN FOR A RECLAIMED REGION: THE CASE STUDY OF NISHINASUNO TOWN, JAPAN

Nobuyoshi Fujimoto and Nobuo Mitsuhashi
Utsunomiya University, Japan

FORMING, FADING, AND REFORMING: RECONFIGURING A TRADITIONAL PLACE IN TAINAN CITY, TAIWAN

Min-Fu Hsu and Ping-Sheng Wu
National Cheng-Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan

IT’S ABOUT TIME! AN INVESTIGATION OF THE UNMAKING OF THE NICOSIA GREEN LINE

Jamal H. Abed
American University of Beirut, Lebanon

BEYOND REGIONAL CONFINES: TRADITIONS ACROSS BORDERS

Amer Moustafa and Nadia Alhasani
American University of Sharjah, U.A.E.

SEEKING A NEW GRAND DESIGN FOR A RECLAIMED REGION: THE CASE STUDY OF NISHINASUNO TOWN, JAPAN

Nobuyoshi Fujimoto and Nobuo Mitsuhashi

When an unproductive region surrounded by already-cultivated settlements is assimilated as part of a reclamation process, two strikingly contrasting forces seem to act. These, in a word, become conflicting vectors of centripetal and centrifugal force. While reclaimed land is used to claim social solidarity, external forces often dilute these efforts at establishing identity. The reclaimed region is designed and configured under the tensions of these internal and external forces. It could be said that this mechanism is anticipated in the context of social and economical development.

We will verify this mechanism by tracing the development of Nishinasuno town in Tochigi prefecture, Japan, over a hundred-year period. The development process will be classified into several phases. The town is located in the midst of Nasunogahara, a geographical area of approximately forty thousand hectares formed by the combination of several alluvial fans. With support from the Meiji government, leading politicians in the 1880s initiated the first phase of reclamation. The government provided infrastructural support for the development of private farms in the area through the direct management of irrigation projects. Tenant farmers then formed rural settlements and converted what had been wastelands into cultivated fields. The region was then gradually assimilated and incorporated into the national economy through improved transportation. It also saw increases in popula-

tion, especially following government land reforms after the World War II, which transferred tenant lands to private ownership.

National and prefectural policies in the 1960s brought on a second phase of accelerated economic growth. This phase was characterized by drastic urbanization and industrialization. Scattered industrial estates and numerous small-scale housing projects were developed, in addition to larger infrastructure projects, such as the Northeastern Shinkansen Line and the Northeastern Expressway, which passed through the region. The arrival of great numbers of new migrants further resulted in a mix of rural-urban elements in the social and physical landscape — “rurbanization,” in another word.

A third phase of development was initiated in the late 1970s, when residents and local governments transitioned to lower rates of economic growth, recovering identities in the process. Community groups, organized around reclamation farms and primary school units, have played active roles in this process of community development.

The region is now in the fourth phase of reconfiguration under the aegis of national structural reforms. Nishinasuno town is part of several plans which include municipal affiliation, relocation of the National Diet, community planning in accordance with the City Planning Act, and the development of a reclamation eco-museum. It could be said that grand designs for the region have been dominated by centripetal and centrifugal forces. These forces, in turn, have been dependent on cooperative efforts between community groups and the local government.

FORMING, FADING, AND REFORMING: RECONFIGURING A TRADITIONAL PLACE IN TAINAN CITY, TAIWAN

Min-Fu Hsu and Ping-Sheng Wu

Spatial form reflects the outward appearance of social classification and is representative of social relations. In particular, defining a space by “visible” or “invisible” borders not only separates “inside” from “outside” but implies differences between “self” and “others.” It simultaneously forms a tradition in itself. This paper aims to identify and explain the abundant meanings of a place called Wu Tiao Gang, a five-river area west of Tainan city in southern Taiwan, through changes in its “borders.”

After the era of the Ching dynasty many people immigrated to Taiwan from Fukien and Canton provinces in China. As a result, Tainan city played a major role in the spatial development of Taiwan, and Wu Tiao Gang became one of the most important transshipment ports in Taiwan. Multiple factors have contributed to these geographical and political changes. In terms of “reconfiguring regions,” we conclude that Wu Tiao Gang has been transformed through three distinct periods.

First was the formative period before 1895. Wu Tiao Gang’s geographic five-river features were formed when Tai Jiang, an inland sea to the west of Tainan city, dumped substantial deposits in 1823. Thanks to global trade, the businesses of *san jiao*, the three major guilds in Tainan, flourished. During this period Wu

Tiao Gang had the characteristics of a traditional “place,” including well-defined geographical, social, religious and political borders.

The second period was one of recession between 1895 and 1945. During this time of Japanese occupation, traditional borders, such as city walls and *jing* (religious boundaries), were replaced by a grid system used by a colonial power to cartographically demarcate territory. In addition, with universal acceptance of Greenwich Mean Time, the rhythms of everyday life were synchronized with other places in Taiwan, and even with those in Japan. Thus, a well-defined, traditional “place” was transformed into a mere “part” of a colonial cartography.

The third period has been one of reform since 1945. Though the KMT government has attempted to erase the influences of Japanese governance, it has continued to follow the spatial demarcations of the former colonial cartography. However, since the 1990s, when the value of local identity was again recognized, people have begun to rethink their memories of this area. Through recollection, they are now reconfiguring a new “region,” forming new traditions, and causing a new “place” to gradually be defined.

IT’S ABOUT TIME! AN INVESTIGATION OF THE UNMAKING OF THE NICOSIA GREEN LINE

Jamal H. Abed

Whether conceived through Kant’s precept of an a priori mental concept or Durkheim’s social construct, space and time are necessary components of an understanding of social practices. The study of social practices is most critical when researching urban change or forms of transition. Here, the evidence of time, both physically and socially, may provide the basis for unraveling particularities of context separate from abstract, overarching spatial descriptions. The value of such attention to time is paramount in urban research, where drastic and sudden changes spurred by political decisions may be coupled with a need for aggressive intervention. This situation is illustrated in the spatial condition of the Green Line in Nicosia. In particular, the political climate today (with Cyprus bidding for entry into the European Union and the presence of aging leaders on either side of the divide) has spurred the search for settlement that might finally herald the end of the “world’s last divided capital.”

The paper will present the theoretical framework of an urban design studio that addressed the Green Line in Nicosia. It will also reflect on the resultant physical interventions. Wary of the proliferation of abstract drawings and maps that urban design studios often produce uncritically (and that are influenced by spaces of representation produced by public authorities through their formulation of a “master plan”), the paper will raise a number of questions. What is the connection between spatial and social practices around the Green Line? What are the shifts in such practices and how do we describe them? How do different communities forge their identities through space and time? To what extent do different social groups associate themselves with this master plan? What is the new Cypriot identity that this master

plan fosters? Finally, how do we maintain an ambiguity of this Green Line to enable an active construction of the identity of different communities when reacting to this built environment?

The paper is premised on an approach to understanding the border and its [un]making through application of the notion of thick time as a “form of knowledge.” Built on a conception of time framed by Jeremy Till, the paper thus forges an understanding of the (trans)formation of the border zone based not on the construction of a series of successive slices of instants, but on the notion of time as an expanded present. Within this framework, the focus will be on everyday social practice. Perpetuated through repetition, social actions will be riddled with efforts to deal with random occurrences that forge very particular shifts in practices and the production of space, and that leave traces of time for us to study and interpret.

BEYOND REGIONAL CONFINES: TRADITIONS ACROSS BORDERS

Amer Moustafa and Nadia Alhasani

Is the study of the traditional urban environment universal in nature? Can the understanding of the makeup, development and characteristics of the traditional built environment in one context be useful to deal with a different one? Can lessons learned in one traditional context be applicable to another? If so, are there any difficulties or limitations in so doing?

This paper will address these, among other questions, as it reports on the experience of a joint project undertaken by two architecture programs, from two different countries — in fact, from two different continents. Faculty and students from the Department of Architecture at the American University of Sharjah (AUS), U.A.E., collaborated with their counterparts at the Department of Architecture at Misr International University in Cairo, Egypt, on a joint design studio. Its focus was a section of Old Cairo along El-Muizz Street. Under close faculty supervision, students from AUS visited Cairo and worked closely with Egyptian students. Field trips were conducted to the site, and after a process of “site analysis,” a joint charrette was held.

For the majority of the AUS students, their first encounter with Cairo was tantamount to a cultural shock. The group was diverse in terms of ethnicity, religion, language background and nationality. Yet despite this diversity, the students were initially astounded by the city, its people, and especially its old neighborhoods. In particular, they were baffled by what they perceived as a dense, crowded, dirty urban chaos. However, with subsequent site visits and encounters, and after anecdotes of people and places began to circulate among the group, this perception changed. By the time they left Cairo, the students were much more appreciative of the old parts of the city.

More significantly, students began to relate what they sensed and experienced in Cairo to their own ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their new experiences appeared to become legible as they were contrasted with familiar places and experiences. It seems that in connecting with other traditions, the students invoked their own.

This exercise suggests ways in which one can register the primal and elemental characteristics of the culture of the Other. Further, it hints at ways to provoke analysis, interpretation, and reaction to fundamental representations of material culture — namely, the urban and architectural fabric of a particular society. As borders between cultures become more permeable and societies diversify, the notion of a uniform culture and its representation deserves careful scrutiny. Moreover, the ever-increasing globalized state of architecture compels a rereading of the culture of the Other, whether close or far.

The paper will report on this ongoing experiment, as AUS students, back in Sharjah, begin to develop their design work and proposals for the selected site in Cairo. It remains to be seen whether students of different cultural, religious and national backgrounds will be able to successfully contribute to appreciating, understanding and nurturing other peoples and traditions.

C.7 NEGOTIATED EDGES / NEGOTIATED HYBRIDITY

ARCHITECTURE AND INDUSTRY: TRESPASSING OF BORDERS AND NEW ARCHITECTURAL MODELS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHILE

Marcela Pizzi and Maria Paz Valenzuela
Universidade de Chile, Santiago, Chile

PACIFIC REGIONALISM: LINES ON THE SEA

Mike Austin
Unitec, Auckland, New Zealand

PRIVILEGE AT THE EDGE

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

MATERIAL SCARCITY AND THE VERNACULAR IN MICRONESIA

Jaymes Cloninger
Seoul, South Korea

ARCHITECTURE AND INDUSTRY: TRESPASSING OF BORDERS AND NEW ARCHITECTURAL MODELS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHILE

Marcela Pizzi and Maria Paz Valenzuela

The Industrial Revolution generated new architectural forms based on function. This new architecture introduced new proportioning systems and an architectural language based on new materials, industrial processes, and, most importantly, the machine. The expansion of European commercial markets and their search for raw materials led them to trespass borders and traditional frontiers. This in turn led to the transplantation of new architectural models to the Americas. These models were largely functional and had strong ties to industrial processes, but they had little to contribute in the way of local connections.

These historical issues are typified by Chilean industrial architecture of the Republican period, which immediately followed independence from Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At the time, Chile's ports were free to trade with world markets. This attracted foreign capital and encouraged the development of an emergent industrial sector. A mixture of interests collaborated in this goal, since the need for symbolic liberation from the Spain combined with the "good will" of investors from countries who were Spain's rivals.

Industrial development meant that Chile's economy changed from being largely based on agriculture, with few urban centers, to a mixed economy that allowed the introduction of new technologies from Europe and the United States. But this process was more

reliant on adopting foreign models than on adaptation and evolution of local economic traditions. Thus, port cities connected with maritime Pacific trade flourished, along with the mining centers in the northern desert and the sheep-raising centers in the deep south.

This paper relates previous research by the authors on the architecture of Chile's port cities, sheep stations, and industrial architecture. Our presentation concentrates on the latter. Among other things, we will explore the various materials and building technologies — mainly wood, brick and steel — used in these typologies, and compare them with their original models. Chile's nineteenth-century industrial architecture is a clear example of frontier and boundary reconfiguration.

PACIFIC REGIONALISM: LINES ON THE SEA

Mike Austin

Islands generally have distinct and definitive borders and are inhabited by named populations. In the Pacific, each group of islands is also generally associated with a particular culture. However, oftentimes culture also transgresses the physical limits of islands, while at other times political boundaries divide islands and island groups into smaller geographies. Numerous pre-European divisions and distinctions also persist among the Pacific islands. In contrast to the intricate geography of islands, the oceans that separate islands present a more undifferentiated and homogenous landscape. This seems to produce the desire to draw lines on the smooth space of the sea so that in addition to the grids of latitude and longitude, there are boundaries of regional clusters and classifications.

The most established regional categories in the Pacific are those of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. Micronesia was so named because of its tiny islands separated by vast areas of ocean, and because it is home to a variety of unique and independent cultures with complex alliances. The distinction between Melanesia (the "black islands") and Polynesia ("many islands") was based on racial characteristics, which later became cultural distinctions. These attributes worked in combination with geography to construct the Polynesian triangle which, in spite of its huge area, was seen as being culturally uniform. This neat picture is confounded by several islands which happen to be located outside the triangle, although they possess Polynesian characteristics, and also by the islands of Fiji which lie on the boundary but are classified as Melanesian. Meanwhile, Melanesia itself is characterized by a wide range and variety of islands and cultures and suffers in the European imagination from a prejudice that has always favored Polynesia. Detailed comparative studies of archaeology, language and watercraft have produced maps and diagrams that both support and cut across these established patterns. In spite of the lack of any political manifestation of the "nesias," the classifications continue to be used as the basis for discussing most aspects of the islands in the Pacific.

This paper discusses the ways in which the architecture of these islands supports and contradicts these boundaries.

Immediately the question arises as to how to address this architecture. Are we to talk about form? What is form in architecture? Is it the plan layout or organization of space? Should this analysis take into account settlement patterns, construction practices, structural systems, and the use of materials? This leads to problems of typology and issues of regionalism, and inevitably also to the constitution, determination and construction of the “traditional.” What is ultimately challenged is the issue of classification and categorization as against the singularity and uniqueness of interesting architectural examples.

PRIVILEGE AT THE EDGE

Vimalin Rujivacharakul

The paper aims to reassess the discussion of educational traditions in architectural school in developing countries, by looking specifically at architects who were educated abroad and their brokerage of knowledge and culture. To provide vivid case studies, the first half of the paper focuses on the four fathers of modern Chinese architecture (Liang Si Cheng, Liu Dun Zhen, Yang Ting Bao, and Tong Jun) and their architecture, including the myth of the arrival of modern architecture in China in the early decades of the twentieth century. The myth that becoming a modern architect necessarily requires a particular educational background will be explicated in the second half of the paper through a discussion of the “exchange program” between top-name architectural schools in mainland China and American universities.

The paper is part of my dissertation field research on the topic of cultural brokerage. Unlike the core of my research, however, the content of this paper is not situated within a single historical period, that of the early twentieth century. Instead, I weave together different influences resulting from the popularized modern architectural history of China, and present them along with the contemporary educational tradition of modern Chinese architects. Clearly, the paper stemmed from a personal curiosity, grew into research pertaining to modern architectural education in China, and extended to other developing countries.

The purpose of the paper is twofold — one being a consequence of the other. First, the paper reexamines the fabrication of the image of modern China’s heroes, i.e., that of the four fathers of modern Chinese architecture. This fabrication not only raises a discussion of modern tastes and Chinese nationalism, but is also crucial to the architectural profession. It also forged a belief that gradually turned into an educational tradition: that the most desirable educational background for those seeking to follow the steps of their heroes was *chu guo*.

The concept of *chu guo*, “going abroad,” requires reassessment, for it has differed from the typical understanding of Chinese emigrants since its context is neither migration nor immigration. Rather, *chu guo* should be considered as a condition congealing the edge of culture: it provides cultural brokers the eligibility to remain at the edge and the right to obtain the privilege to broker knowledge between cultures. Under the network of cultural knowledge

transmission, in which the “in” and “out” spaces are not fixable, the presence of the edge between cultures becomes the definitive space which allows for the process of cultural brokerage.

The paper concludes with the findings of archival research with regard to early modern Chinese architecture and a critical reading of educational programs in top-name Chinese architectural schools since the 1920s. This is followed by a reexamination of cultural aspects embedded in exchange programs between Chinese and American universities. Modern Chinese architectural designs and theories related to the above-mentioned subjects provide major sources for discussion in this paper.

MATERIAL SCARCITY AND THE VERNACULAR IN MICRONESIA

Jaymes Cloninger

In this age of globalization there are still unique cultures and peoples living in close proximity to one another but separated by obvious physical borders. The region of the Pacific Ocean called Micronesia is known for its numerous small, low-lying islands and coral atolls. In many places individual atolls or islands represent distinct cultural identities. On each island, home-places carry both the name of those who live there as well as the name of that part of the island. In this way, one’s identity is intrinsically place based, linked to one’s locality of residence.

In Micronesia, borders are clear on all scales. Home-places are delimited by markings carved into the palm trees and stone patterns on the ground. Islands and their residents are bounded by the water at their shores. And cultural groups are often defined as all the peoples of an atoll who are bound by the unbroken horizon in all directions. Speech patterns identify “others” as all those coming from beyond the boundary of the horizon. The traditional building cultures of atolls or islands were once also unique to their region.

Thus, Micronesia once offered a startling diversity of type, craft, usage and form in traditional building culture. Yet from such cultural, climatic and functional variety in the region has emerged a curiously uniform hybrid — a type of modern vernacular building which can now be found throughout Micronesia. There are numerous ways to account for this assimilation, including standardized policies, established in the last century by colonial administrations, increased opportunity for regional comparison, and economic similarities.

Another influence that has not often been considered is the scarcity of building materials in the region. While most naturally available building materials are quite consistent across the length and breadth of Micronesia, inexpensive imported building materials throughout the whole region come from a few very limited sources. In fact, some adapted building forms can be seen as a result of their proximity and relationship to shipping routes. The islands served by Australian- and New Zealand-based shipping routes show similarities in their built forms, as do those served by American or Japanese routes. Lastly, on the outer islands, where access to any foreign materials is at a premium, great similarity can

be seen in the use of found materials such as flotsam, errant timber from forestry efforts on larger volcanic islands, and remnant materials from World War II. Concurrent with the nuclear diasporas in the Marshall Islands and greater opportunity for regional migration and travel, the availability of a large supply of affordable materials such as plywood, nails and concrete has changed the nature of neighborhoods and home-places across Micronesia.

Today traditions, social customs, and even children's games that once depended on permeable thatched walls have been adapted in semi-urban situations to accommodate solid walls. The proximity of dwellings to one another has decreased, thus fostering a newfound need for privacy. Ownership and work patterns have changed too, but building types are influenced only slightly by access to cash. The main influence on building culture across the region remains the limited access to materials. This paper suggests that the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean, which has for centuries acted as a physical border between cultures and people, can now also be seen as a meeting ground of cultural overlap.

A.8 IMAGINING SPACE, PLACE, AND REGION

NATIONAL MEMORY AND THE AESTHETIC CONSTRUCTION OF CITIZENSHIP: SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID MUSEUM

C. Greig Crysler

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

RECONFIGURING A METROPOLITAN REGION: CORPORATE ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGIES IN PORTLAND, OREGON

Clara Irazabal

University of Southern California, U.S.A.

ON THE (RE)AUTHENTICATION OF ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE AGAINST THE PALESTINIAN BORDER

Alona Nitzan-Shifan

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

SPACE OF LIMINALITY IN THE LATIN AMERICAN NOVEL

Maite Villoria

Nottingham University, Nottingham, U.K.

WHAT IS THIS THING CALLED PLACE?

Kazi Ashraf

University of Hawaii, Manoa, U.S.A.

NATIONAL MEMORY AND THE AESTHETIC CONSTRUCTION OF CITIZENSHIP: SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID MUSEUM

C. Greig Crysler

This paper will examine the aesthetic construction of citizenship at the recently completed Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa, and consider its relationship to other contemporary museums with similar agendas. The Apartheid Museum emerged out of the contradictory social and political circumstances associated with the so-called "post-Apartheid" period. The National Liberation government granted the wealthy Krok family permission to create the Gold Reef City Casino Theme Park in exchange for public amenities. The Kroks, who reportedly made their fortune selling toxic skin-lightening cream to household maids during the height of influx and segregation controls, initiated the plans for the museum on land adjacent to the theme park. The complex was designed by South African architect Jo Noero, who is well known for his low-cost housing and religious buildings in the townships. The intention of the museum is to preserve the history of Apartheid in order to prevent its return. Arriving visitors are randomly assigned either a black or white identity, and then guided through a racially segregated history of Apartheid. As visitors depart, they receive a copy of the post-Apartheid constitution of

South Africa, underscoring the intended link between historical memory and the changing terms of national citizenship.

The design of the Apartheid Museum was influenced by the Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Washington, D.C., and shares important similarities with it. Just as the Holocaust Memorial Museum narrates the history of Nazism in order to reinforce the ideals of U.S. citizenship, so does the Apartheid Museum represent segregated histories of the past to underscore the values of the post-Apartheid present. In both cases, the historical experiences of groups oppressed by authoritarian nation-states (as represented by the organized genocide of Jews in Nazi Germany, or the systemic racism of the Apartheid regime) are paradoxically employed to define models of “tolerant” citizenship in increasingly multicultural contexts in the present. An array of architectural, cinematic, photographic and audio-visual effects are mobilized to solicit the visitor’s identification with a collective body that is traumatized and then “reborn” as an emancipated subject of national history.

I will argue that the pedagogies of national identity presented by the Apartheid Museum and other “citizenship museums” are grounded in contradictory processes of inclusion and exclusion, and hence do not entirely escape the power relations they seek to criticize and transcend. The selective classification of Apartheid as a “past” condition, for example, may well obscure its continued persistence into the present. The paper will suggest that the Apartheid Museum’s attempt to reconstruct the basis of collective national memory necessarily involves redefining the boundaries between past and present, subject and object, museum and society, citizen and nation-state, and nation-state and world. I will present a guided (de)tour through these material and conceptual borderlands. In doing so, I hope to show how an apparently benign, even “therapeutic” institution operates through aesthetic practices to shape the contested formation of identity in the multicultural nation-state.

RECONFIGURING A METROPOLITAN REGION: CORPORATE ARCHITECTURAL TYPOLOGIES IN PORTLAND, OREGON

Clara Irazabal

This presentation focuses on the tensions between different architectural traditions in Portland, a metropolitan region contained within an urban boundary. I examine two types in the production of recent residential and corporate architecture. Through the study of specific examples, I explore the intersection between urban planning premises and architectural physicality in the context of Portland’s planning culture. I investigate how these two architectural types have originated as products of, or reactions to, several of the main planning discourses in the city. The result is a spatial environment where conflicting planning views are reflected in contrasting architectural typologies, resulting in reconfigurations of both the region and its building traditions, and where the political and/or theoretical disputes over planning concepts are localized, i.e., are assigned specific, often contrasting, spatial meanings and forms.

In the first section, “Residential Architecture and the Debates about Growth Management,” I discuss two contrasting residential typologies in Portland, as represented by the Street of Dreams and the Cascadian Tower. I analyze the discursive ideas from which they are derived, and I examine their impact on official plans for the city regarding the need to accommodate growth within shrinking limits and the need to secure housing affordability for all sectors of society. These residential typologies are the direct result of different takes on the debates about growth-management strategies in the city.

In the second section, “Corporate Architecture,” I explore the tensions between a triad of planning premises — suburban vs. urban settings, nature vs. community, and top-down vs. bottom-up design — as extreme values of main conceptual planning continua in Portland, and how they are expressed through two examples of global corporate architecture: the Nike and Adidas headquarters. I claim that the architecture of Nike World Headquarters is supported on more environmentally related, conservative planning goals. Although they continue to be strong pillars of Portland’s planning agenda, these goals originated and are best related to the first phases of planning in the metropolis, during the 1960s and 1970s.

In contrast, the planning goals that form the basis of Adidas Village’s design are more socially progressive and best correspond to the recent move toward a more urban, socially oriented planning mode in the metropolis, with emphasis on social inclusion and promotion. Beyond the differences in the selective usage of Portland’s planning premises in support of their headquarters’ architecture, I also demonstrate that the distinct socio-spatial stances of the Nike and Adidas corporations are expressed by their respective promotional and global labor practices.

ON THE (RE)AUTHENTICATION OF ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE AGAINST THE PALESTINIAN BORDER

Alona Nitzan-Shifan

The paper explores the formative effect of the shifting border between Israeli and Palestinian territories on the imagination and production of “authentic” Israeli architecture. Since the time of the British Mandate, the act of locating this border has continually defined the contested “symbolic resources” that both Israelis and Palestinians deem necessary for bounding their people with land and history. It has therefore been the site where Israeli “invented traditions” have collided with those of its formative “other,” a process that constantly disturbs laborious attempts to stabilize an Israeli built tradition.

Indeed, Zionist architectural production in Mandate Palestine and Israel underwent great and rapid changes, which problematized persistent inquiries into “what is Israeli architecture?” Against the habitual explanations that these shifts mimic architectural fashions or are subject to government rulings, I argue that the cultural efficacy of these shifts emanates from a politicized discipline of architecture. The latter, like every cultur-

al field in Israel, has been constantly defined from without by the geographies of conflict. I therefore investigate how (re)locating the border produces pervasive cultural codes that condition the center — the pursuit and dissemination of architectural knowledge, rendering “professional” disciplinary operations (stylistic, historiographic and bureaucratic) politically contingent.

Three historical moments are suggestive for this analysis. One followed the 1929 clashes between Arabs and Jews, after which the predominant 1920s effort to Orientalize Zionist buildings gave way to an overwhelming championship of modern “new architecture.” In a political culture that negated the Jewish diaspora, the bourgeoisie, and eventually the Orient, modern architecture offered the progressive “culture of the new” as a national tradition.

A second moment postdated the 1967 war, when the passion for progress was eclipsed by the allure of the past. This war removed the frontier from the state’s modernized core to the “uncontaminated Orient” of the occupied territories. This gave impetus to regionalist tendencies to decipher the “genetic code” of the place (the essence of the biblical, Middle Eastern locale in which Israeli identity, it was then believed, must be rooted). The architectural precedents for such “connected” locality were found in Arab villages and towns, which were politically charged by the time of the Palestinian Intifadas (1987–1993, and 2000–present.)

In this current moment the Israeli architectural imagination has retreated from the “authentic” sites of historical locality in favor of the state’s “uncontaminated” modernist architectural heritage. Historiography has become an operative tool for this purpose. During the first Intifada the 1930s “white architecture” of labor Zionism was recovered, culminating in the 1994 state-authorized “Bauhaus celebrations” in Tel Aviv which transformed the hitherto disliked modern architecture into an official national heritage. By contrast, the current moment of the second Intifada sees a return to the gray exposed concrete of the nation-building years as the ultimate expression of “Israeliness,” the genuine historical “pattern for the landscape of homeland.”

The new recovery of the hated gray invokes the white/gray architectural debate by offering “honest” rather than utopian architectural heritage as well as global appeal. For a younger generation who “know that the 1950s are now in style,” and whose “memory works in megabytes,” it offers escape. According to an October 27, 2000, article in *Haaretz*: “plain and simple — they are sick of fabricating ‘local’ architecture and getting bogged down in the provincial swamp.”

SPACE OF LIMINALITY IN THE LATIN AMERICAN NOVEL

Maite Villoria

In this paper I will analyze the ways in which the contemporary Colombian novel recreates the imaginary of contemporary cities. In Latin America, these cities have been flooded by an exacerbated rural exodus, giving rise to marginality, anomia and violence. Novels such as *Ganzúa*, *Sangre Ajena*, and *Rosario Tijeras o La Virgen de los Sicarios* introduce us to the city of

Medellín, which has suffered an accelerated process of deurbanization in which its urban space — both physical and symbolic — has ceased to be a locus of social interaction, becoming instead a *mise-en-scène* of antagonisms. Medellín has elaborated its own urban imaginary, and is now widely known as one of the world’s most violent cities. It is a city in which social difference has been regarded as a cause of disintegration and mistrust.

For immigrants, this situation results in great difficulties, and their attempts to insert themselves into the social fabric imposed by the dominant urban culture leaves them with little option but to demarcate their mental and physical spaces violently. The marginal peoples of Medellín thus establish a territory with an inherent yet specific expansionist logic that attempts to “tame” neighboring territories. This territorial “recovery,” or expansion, functions as a type of alternative organization — a reaction against a generalized social disorganization. In this way, stripped of their own referents, immigrants create their own relationship with the city and adopt new value systems that help them establish and orient themselves therein. Professions such as assassin or drug trafficker, which allow rapid personal monetary gains and social mobility, provide one way of both surviving and acquiring prestige in such a society.

It is in this way that Medellín becomes a city of crime, and the radical instability of territorial borders demands the rewriting of the narrative of the city as apocalyptic, catastrophic, and a place where life itself becomes subsumed by an omnipresent black marketplace. Therefore, violence and fear structure urban society in such a way that death seems to have become the common denominator, and this uncertainty and insecurity increases in the case of marginalized social groups in the city.

The Colombian novel of *sicariato* analyzes these conflicting relationships and urban languages, as it shows the nexus between space and inhabitants. My aim will be to show how the authors of these novels have reinvented their own cities, and how their characters have reterritorialized the city. The paper will explore the relationship between the literary subject and the object that conflates space and people. It will also portray how the novel has integrated specific problematics and urban events, feeding the urban imaginary which is constructed and reconstructed through ways of conceiving, expressing and recognizing the city from its own margins.

WHAT IS THIS THING CALLED PLACE?

Kazi Ashraf

“Place” is something durable and yet flimsy. As Aldo Rossi once remarked, as you approach place, it recedes. Much earlier, Plato noted in his distinction of *topos* and *chora* that the latter, “place,” is hard to grasp. It is apprehensible only by what he called “bastard reasoning.”

The notion of “place,” in its English usage, remains particularly suspect. Invoking “place” in the twenty-first century often has a retrogressive intonation, especially with an implication of a romanticism about landscape, regional chauvinism, or something stable and perennial at a time when the opposite — placelessness

— is being apotheosized. Placelessness is now being reified in the context of a new globalized and euphoric digitization, the “new” hyperspace Frederic Jameson sees in hotels and airports.

This paper involves a reassessment of the notion of “place,” claiming that the understanding of it is not exhausted, and perhaps has only just begun. An important corollary to this claim is that place is a fundamental condition for architecture. In this argument, I will use architecture broadly to mean the entire built environment, and I will address a number of themes.

First, the notion of “place” seems flimsy because it is hard to take its measure — as perhaps one can with greater assurance with regard to other notions such as region, nation, etc. A new approach is required that engages hermeneutical, existential, and phenomenological methods, something I term the “anthropological” approach. Applying these methods, I claim there are certain “actualities” or “realities” about place that need to be seriously considered. These affect the life and form of architecture both openly and surreptitiously, and constitute the nature of its situatedness. They include (1) a telluric reality which indicates that the earth is the ultimate ground-basis for architecture (via Husserl), where architecture can be seen as another topographical manipulation of the earth’s surface; (2) a climatic reality that is the most direct evidence of architecture’s chiasmic relation with the elements; and (3) a geologic reality that stresses that architecture is a phenomenon of gravity.

The second theme I will address is that place, culture and nation are distinct concepts, even when they are used interchangeably. In fact, place is now poised against culture, so that one can pose the phrase “place versus culture.” The immediate distinction is that place is the one that is least portable, when culture (and perhaps, nation) is now perfectly transportable and immensely commodifiable.

My third point is that man is an “emplaced” being, and, analogically speaking, so is architecture — despite the evangelical persuasion of “global span” (Saskia Sassen), the often chimerical nature of “there” (Gertrude Stein), and the existential anguish of not knowing a priori how we may dwell in this world (Jean-Paul Sartre). This has a profound implication for the inevitable situatedness of the built thing, be it a settlement or an architectural piece.

Last, I would like to ask what being “emplaced” means. To answer this question, I will engage the work of two thinkers with immense significance for reassessing the relationship of place and built objects. The first is the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and particularly his idea of “chiasma,” or the intertwining of the lived body and the environment. The second is the Japanese thinker Tetsuro Watsuji, and his notion of “*fudo*,” whereby we find ourselves, always, in a concrete climatic and geographic envelope. In particular, I will amplify two ideas: that “our body is not in space like things; it inhabits or haunts space” (Merleau-Ponty); and that “we discover ourselves in climate” (Watsuji). I will try to weave an argument for a reassessment of the notion of place; but more importantly, I would like to offer a fresh conceptualization of the possible correspondence of architecture to lived body, and thus to the inevitability of situatedness.

B.8 CONTOURS OF THE NATION-STATE

CIRCUITS OF POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

Sally Gaule

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DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL RISK IN RURAL CHINA: A STUDY OF TWO VILLAGE ENTERPRISE COMMUNITIES

Bryan Tilt

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

POST-APARTHEID METRO BOUNDARIES: CONFLICTS, CONTENTIONS, AND COMPROMISES IN DURBAN

Brij Maharaj

University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

(DIS)LOCATING THE MERLION IN THE ARTIFICIAL LANDSCAPE OF LAND RECLAMATION AND SHIFTING BOUNDARIES

Jiat Hwee Chang

National University of Singapore, Singapore

ELEVATOR STORIES: COMING HOME TO SINGAPORE

Li-Lian Chee

National University of Singapore, Singapore

CIRCUITS OF POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

Sally Gaule

This paper examines a small site in Newtown, Johannesburg, where three buildings flank an open space. One building is the new South African Reserve Bank; the others are the Turbine Hall and Boiler House, which were previously used to generate electricity for the city. The latter two stand derelict and, until recently, were occupied by squatters. The Reserve Bank, however, built in 1996, represents one of the first public works of the new democratic South Africa.

This paper discusses how the histories of this site mirror some of the social, political, economic and architectural developments of twentieth-century Johannesburg. Initially the site housed multiracial slums called Brickfields, which were destroyed in 1904 by a fire set by city authorities attempting to eradicate bubonic plague. Before setting the fire, Indian residents of the area, who had been moved there by city officials in 1899, were relocated to Klipspruit some thirteen miles away. However, within months city authorities rezoned the area and renamed it Newtown, thus erasing its former life from maps and memory. This was to become a key motif of South African urban history over the next three decades.

By 1929 the Turbine Hall and Boiler House were completed, forming part of the complex of buildings known as Jeppe power station. As the first industrial buildings in Johannesburg, they

represented a “spirit of progress” and modernity and became imposing landmarks on the landscape of early Johannesburg. Prime symbols of global modernity, they generated electricity for Johannesburg’s industries and its middle-class white citizenry until 1961. The site also housed a migrant worker’s hostel at one edge of the complex, which ironically, was not equipped with electricity. From the 1960s to the 1990s the buildings were used as an emergency power source for the city. But during the last year of the twentieth century, after the eviction of squatters, their entrances and windows were bricked up, rendering them uninhabitable. The erection, in 1996, of the new South African Reserve Bank adjacent to the Turbine Hall, was an equally symbolic statement of commitment to the global financial community. Newtown has thus become a living representation of South Africa’s social and economic contradictions.

The way in which these three buildings stand in relation to each other is significant because they represent different visions of Johannesburg, symbolizing contradictory functions and aesthetics, and reflecting changing global trends. Through their material and spatial structure, and their relation to each other, they express the conflicting social and economic values of Johannesburg, and each embodies a part of its history.

During the years 2000 and 2001 the author documented the site in Newtown extensively with photographs and interviewed residents concerning the city and global transformation in the urban sphere. The work formed a photographic installation which addressed multiple themes of this contested space: memory and forgetting, forced removal, and the circulatory migration that once gave a sense of historical rootedness to inner-city living in Johannesburg. This paper will trace the ways in which histories of this site reflect the metamorphoses and hybridity of personal, political and architectural themes in Johannesburg in the twentieth century.

DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL RISK IN RURAL CHINA: A STUDY OF TWO VILLAGE ENTERPRISE COMMUNITIES

Bryan Tilt

Recent research conducted on the social and environmental consequences of rapid industrial development in China has attempted to analyze the rise of environmental consciousness and the formation of environmentalist social movements. One of the most important sites of research has been the township and village enterprise sector, or TVE. These are rural, nonagricultural industries that account for a growing percentage of China’s GDP as well as an inordinate proportion of the nation’s air and water pollution problem.

The goal of this paper is to analyze the collective action that frames the sets of beliefs and meanings used by individuals to guide the social action of TVE community members, in order to understand how people conceptualize the complex issues of development and environmental degradation. The data presented here were gathered during ethnographic interviews in August and September 2001 in two TVE communities — one outside Harbin in Heilongjiang province, the other in southern Sichuan province.

I argue that even as individuals in these communities are created as subjects through development discourses and policies disseminated by the national and local governments, these discourses have also been internalized, interpreted and negotiated at the level of the community and the individual. Community members, particularly at the Sichuan site, where Han and Yi ethnicities are intermixed, are keenly aware of their developmental status and use narratives of cultural quality, or *wenhua sushi*, and ethnicity to situate themselves along the national continuum of economic development.

In terms of conceptualizing environmental degradation and risk, community members have repeatedly emphasized that economic development must take precedence over environmental concerns. Most individuals frame the pollution problem in one of two ways: either by referring to their personal health as an indicator of environmental quality; or by using narratives that evoke the aesthetics of the local landscape.

In addition to providing a community-level analysis, this paper explores the possible implications for the formulation of environmental consciousness and the organization of environmentalist social movements within China’s TVE sector as a whole.

POST-APARTHEID METRO BOUNDARIES: CONFLICTS, CONTESTATIONS, AND COMPROMISES IN DURBAN

Brij Maharaj

Countries seeking to restructure their societies have placed a strong emphasis on the development of a viable and effective system of local government. The restructuring of local government is especially significant in the context of South Africa’s emerging democracy, since this transformation has taken place in a way that is probably unique from an international perspective. A key component of this process has been boundary delimitation, which has involved a process of spatial organization and reorganization. In South Africa the deracialization of local government represents a major challenge. Many affluent white local authorities have been reluctant to give up the power and privileges of the old order and merge with previously black local authorities. The socio-spatial distortions of the Apartheid era also need to be addressed through a more equitable distribution of resources and the redrawing of geographical boundaries.

Attempts at municipal restructuring in South Africa have been fraught with problems and conflicts. The conflicts engendered, and the negotiations, compromises and coalitions generated, constitute important areas of research. Examining and elucidating the manner in which these forces have manifested themselves in the major metropolitan centers of the country is the central theme of this paper — especially in relation to boundary delimitation in the Durban metropolitan area.

(DIS)LOCATING THE MERLION IN THE ARTIFICIAL LANDSCAPE OF LAND RECLAMATION AND SHIFTING BOUNDARIES

Jiat Hwee Chang

In this paper I examine the boundaries created by the relentless land reclamation projects of modern Singapore. There are two broad categories of boundaries: one is that of the shifting coastline; the other is that between the newly “reclaimed” land and the older waterfront. The coastline is a “frontier” condition, which urban spaces and architecture are specially designed to address. But this has meant that each shift of coastline brought about by reclamation has led to the demise of a previous generation of waterfront buildings, trapped in the obsolescence of an inland condition.

Land reclamation takes place in phases, creating a juxtaposition of urban and architectural spaces conceived in different social, cultural and political contexts. Thus, the streets, shop-houses, and neoclassical buildings of the colonial town, the roads and the modern office towers of the developmental city, and the elevated highways and fragmented spaces of postmodern city come to exist side by side. In this paper I examine the extensive land-reclamation projects that have radically altered the landscape of Singapore, resulting in a 25 percent increase in total land area, from 581 sq.km. in 1959, to 730 sq.km. I argue that these reclamations are more than simply pragmatic strategies adopted by the state to address the issue of land shortage. They also represent urban interventions with specific ideologies and socio-cultural and political implications that shape the national imagination.

I will illustrate the reconfiguration of “regions” through an examination of the creation, relocation and dislocation of the Merlion statue, a “national symbol” created by the Singapore Tourism Promotion Board in 1972. I will illustrate the ways in which the creation of the mythical creature of the Merlion seeks to bypass Singapore’s colonial history to make a “tenuous semi-connection” to a more distant historical instance, that of the naming of Singapura by Prince Nila Utrama.

The siting of the Merlion at the mouth of the Singapore River supplanted symbolic spaces along the waterfront. This action distracted attention from the Padang, thereby negating what Nezar AlSayyad refers to as “forms of dominance” established to systematize and maintain colonial rule. This could be viewed as part of the economic instrumentality of the planning ideology in the nation-building days of newly independent Singapore, which also involved construction of modern office towers on strips of reclaimed land in front of the colonial waterfront.

However, in the last decade the Merlion statue has been isolated from this former context by new development, including the Esplanade Bridge, essentially an eight-lane elevated highway, built to ease the problem of traffic in the central business district. The bridge bypassed the front of Merlion, isolating it from the sea. But massive land reclamation was also undertaken on the neighboring waterfront to create a new downtown, which has shifted the centrality of urban spaces to the void of the artificial Marina Bay. In this way, the original introvert colonial symbolic space has been reversed to form an extroverted symbolic space.

Two symbolic moves have been made in response to this crisis. A larger, more “kitshified” replica of the Merlion, built using the latest construction technology, has been built on the theme-park island of Sentosa. However, unlike the original, sited at the mouth of the river, the replicate, which emits colorful laser beams from its eyes at nighttime, is sited inland at the end of a “grand” vista. Second, a new Merlion park is being proposed, with the original Merlion relocated further out into the bay, unobstructed by the Esplanade Bridge.

Meanwhile, the public spaces of the original Merlion Park viewing deck have evolved into a plaza in the new scheme. The Merlion has now been set against the skylines of the old downtown, as the construction of the new downtown has permanently deprived it of the sea as background. The change from a deck to the civic space of a plaza is part of a master plan by the state agency for urban redevelopment to redesign the waterfront spaces. It reflects a change in state ideology from pragmatism to communitarianism.

ELEVATOR STORIES: COMING HOME TO SINGAPORE

Li-Lian Chee

We meet each other everyday, he from the flat across the corridor and I from another identical rabbit-hatch in the sky, on the eighth floor of a 12-storey block. We meet in the elevator at the same time each evening. I walk the dog, he holds a briefcase with the day's headlines under his arm. We nod but make no conversation. Occasionally, someone groans when urine is found in the elevator.

This paper looks at Singapore’s highly successful public-housing block as a fascinating border region where collective and individual definitions of home and territory are being actively constructed. On the outside, the public housing flats (built by Singapore’s Housing Development Board — HDB) provide a sterile, efficient, almost militaristic, form of mass housing. Yet, on the inside they are inhabited by a complex amalgam of families from various socioeconomic backgrounds. The HDB’s achievement has become the apotheosis of modernization, and although subject to fierce criticism, it represents Singapore’s most exportable architectural commodity to date.

What can home mean when you share identical copies of it with 300 strangers on the same plot, and a staggering 3 million people island-wide? How do the territories marked by various individuals relate to the spatial divisions determined by built measurement? Can everyday spatial practices transgress the strict boundaries of homogeneity and efficiency produced for communal living? What kinds of spatial practices and traditions survive in a configuration where there are strangers not across the street but in the corridors, on the stairs, or in the room adjacent to yours; where refuse disappears into a chute in the wall; and where other people’s private sights and sounds are integral parts of your daily routine? How are these tense encounters negotiated? How can such borders of difference be formed?

Rem Koolhaas, in a biting critique of this development, has written: “The mystery of how — on an island almost antipodal to its geographical origins, for a people completely removed from its implied scenarios — the strategy of modern housing which failed in much more plausible conditions could suddenly ‘work’ is left suspended between the assumption of greater authoritarianism and the inscrutable nature of the Asian mentality.” This paper takes Koolhaas’ “mystery” to task. It hopes to illuminate the “inscrutable nature of Asian mentality” as that which has allowed normalcy of life to prevail under (an architecturally) “greater authoritarianism.”

To understand the spatial practices that transgress the order of the grid and that create myriad home territories within a formation of sameness, this essay proposes to use the observations of two nonarchitectural creative spatial works that document life in these blocks. One is a film by local filmmaker Eric Khoo, the other a series of landscape photographs taken by photographer Lucas Jodogne. The first is raucously populated by people, and the second is silent and devoid of them, yet both reproduce a series of architectural spaces that illustrate the conditions of living with 300 strangers just beside, above and below you.

Through this method, I wish to consider how the subjectivities of nonarchitectural spatial practices working on home/Singaporean spatial identity challenge the formal mode of creating and defining home boundaries rehearsed by traditional architectural practice. Using methods drawn from architectural history and theory, I then propose to study specific spaces in the HDB blocks mapped by these works as critical sites of identity/home. I have two purposes in this effort. The first is to explore what Singaporeans living in mass housing (some 86 percent of the population) consider as home territory, and how this is created. The second is to examine whether there are distinct differences between how these territories are marked by users and by architectural practice. The HDB flat is a space of multiple borders and a region with, I believe, many more imagined boundaries than real ones.

C.8 RELIGION, IDENTITY, AND THE NATION-STATE

RECONFIGURING THE CARIBBEAN: FROM FIXED IDENTITY TO FLUID HYBRIDITY

Robert Mugerauer and Monika Kaup
University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.

CHURCH, LARGO AND STREET IN MACAO

Heng Chye Kiang and Chen Yu
National University of Singapore, Singapore

THE FLIP SIDE OF THE SHRINE

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

FROM HAUS TAMBARAN TO CHURCH: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY PAPUA NEW GUINEAN DESIGN

George Jell and Sabine Jell-Bahlsen
University of Texas, San Antonio, U.S.A.

“THE LORD WILL PROVIDE”: THE ROLE OF EPISCOPALIAN CHRISTIANITY IN NETS’AII GWICH’IN IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Steven Dinero
Philadelphia University, U.S.A.

RECONFIGURING THE CARIBBEAN: FROM FIXED IDENTITY TO FLUID HYBRIDITY

Robert Mugerauer and Monika Kaup

The paper will argue a double thesis. First, it will show that although the Caribbean has traditionally been understood as having a stable, even if contested, identity, the region is now being rearticulated by way of fluid processes and hybrid characteristics. Second, it will demonstrate that these alternative configurations need not be exclusionary and confrontational; rather, from the new perspective, the Caribbean’s “marine spaces” provide a site of pluralism and exchange.

Traditional approaches to “sense of place” usually analyze human-environment relationships in terms of essential features. Place, identity, and even major historical shifts are seen as relatively stable. In this way, “authentic” places are contrasted with the placelessness of the modern world — as, for example, in studies of the pueblos of the American southwest by Saile, Mediterranean coastal villages by Violich, or Rome and Khartoum by Norberg-Schulz. In this vein, the Caribbean’s regional identity has been constituted as a tropical paradise. A tourist attraction since the Americas were discovered five hundred years ago, the Caribbean

consistently has been seen through the optics of the “aesthetics of the tropical.” Thus, the region’s wonderful water, fragile coral reefs, colorful marine life, barrier islands, and tropical forests have been assembled into the fantastic image of “paradise.”

Of course, there have also been disagreements about the regional identity of the Caribbean, such as those represented by the movements of Negritude, Fanonism, or the Creolists from Francophone Martinique who radically oppose the dominant views and power systems, asserting the closure of Creole identity by exclusion. Yet, though these counter-interpretations disagree about what the identity is (or should be), they do not question the assumption that there is a fixed identity. In contrast, congruent with the poststructuralism of Delueze, Guattari and Irigaray, some Caribbean theorists and writers such as Glissant, Chamoiseau and Benitez-Rojo are now reconfiguring the Caribbean Sea as an eccentric space of encounter. According to the poetics of cross-cultural relations, the Caribbean’s local places have eluded the imperial passage of those who would interrupt the Caribbean on voyages of discovery, conquest or tourism.

In addition, whereas the foundational interpretations emphasize the hostile confrontations of alternative regional identities, the theories of fluidity delineate more subtle forms of coexistence and resistance. Thus, Glissant and Chamoiseau conceptualize the indirect “dissolutions” that occur in Caribbean space and Creole language. While Glissant argues for pluralistic, hybrid “creolizations” rather than “creolity” and for “relation-identity” as distinct from “root-identity,” Chamoiseau’s novel *Texaco* is far less dogmatic than his creolist theoretical writings.

Creole “relations” work like the marine currents of the Caribbean Sea, connecting diverse places and people in multiple directions. These emergent theories of hybridity delineate a border zone of mutual and multidimensional exchanges, borderlands between binary opposites, such as colonizer and colonized. By halting the challenges and counter-challenges of stable identity, the counter-poetics of liquid, decentered difference opens a logic of acceptance and inclusion, rather than rejection. By dissolving the solid ground of fixed identities through the marine trope of fluid alterity and hybridity, this reconfiguration of the Caribbean manages to accommodate, yet resist, the stable images and structures that play across its surfaces.

CHURCH, LARGO AND STREET IN MACAO

Heng Chye Kiang and Chen Yu

Christianity has had a profound influence on Macao since the Portuguese first arrived there in 1557. The influence is seen not only in the number of Chinese who have converted to Christianity but also in the emergence of a Christian city, unique in the context of Chinese cities. Since 1574 a defensive wall has divided the Macao peninsula into two parts, with the Chinese city in the north and the Christian city in the south. Generated by different concerns and ambitions, the two settlements developed simultaneously, yet separately. Being called “City of the Name of

God of Amacao in China,” Macao was an important bastion of Catholicism in the Orient, and famous for its splendid churches.

After the Diocese of Macao was founded in 1576, churches became the spiritual centers of the Christian city and structured Macao’s cityscape. Located on the high grounds of the peninsula, the churches were visually prominent and became centers in a very physical sense. In front of the church, a *largo* (a small square) provided a venue for public activities and distinguished Macao from other Chinese cities. Connected by an extensive irregular network of radial streets, these centers were anchors in the city, but also ordered the daily lives of its inhabitants. In this “Eastern Vatican,” the division of parishes, the location of churches, *largos*, the street network, and even street names, all supported the Catholic ambition of converting the “uncivilized” Chinese — and to a larger extent, the Far East.

This paper will introduce the development of the Christian city and analyze its urban structure, paying special attention to the relationships between the churches, *largos*, streets and urban fabric in three parishes of Macao. It will also discuss the power of religious influence on these spatial relationships and their effect on Macao society. Finally, it will examine ways in which the ambitions of a foreign religion were materialized and expressed physically in terms of urban form in a unique border region.

THE FLIP SIDE OF THE SHRINE

Madhuri Desai

The crystallization of social and religious categories formulated as a result of British political ascendancy on the Indian subcontinent continue to inform the discourse on its cities. As Bernard Cohn has demonstrated, colonial and Orientalist scholarship conceptualized India through the creation of simplified and metonymic categories, setting up dichotomous oppositions between religious and social groups. Consequently, the built environment was also understood in terms of exclusive religious categories such as “Hindu” or “Islamic.”

The city of Banaras was one such site, originally categorized as an exclusively “Hindu” city despite its complex and hybrid history. Banaras is usually described as a “Hindu pilgrimage city” of riverfront *ghats* and temples. Such an exclusive image has implications for contemporary Indian politics, where neotraditionalist and revivalist groups have sought to re-create religious sites derived from an “uncorrupted” imaginary. Further, a neotraditionalist academic discourse lends credence to such religious intervention, where religious purists seek to disentangle pure categories from a hybrid past.

However, recent historical studies have brought attention to another Banaras — one that has been described as a “*qasba*-style city,” dominated by a Mughal mosque, thereby implying some Islamic genealogy. In the early eighteenth century Banaras had been a “Mughalizing city,” owing much to the cultural patterns established by the Mughal court. The urban environment of Banaras certainly reflects this Mughalization — in its Muslim

buildings, the establishment of *muhallas* (neighborhoods), and the presence of Muslim religious buildings.

The principal urban spatial entity around which much of the Orientalist discourse on Banaras has centered has been the riverfront, known as the *ghats*. As it exists today, the complex of structures comprising the *ghats* was built largely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Hindu Marathas as part of a larger project of reclaiming Hindu places of pilgrimage from Muslim domination. This revivalist dream was to be realized through the act of temple building as an instrument of “de-Islamization.”

Besides rebuilding the riverfront, the Marathas concentrated on refurbishing the political and religious institutions of the city. This involved the establishment of a local Hindu ruler, as well as populating the city with immigrant brahmins to run the Sanskrit *vidyalayas* (educational institutions) of the city. These urban institutions and spatial entities were further patronized and promoted by a rising mercantile class, whose activities were centered in and around the city. Banaras by the eighteenth century was a self-consciously Hindu city.

This research will investigate these colonial and neotraditional discourses of purity and their implications for the spatiality of cities such as Banaras. The paper is concerned with the built form and architecture of the city that emerged — one informed by earlier realities or imaginaries. Banaras was produced through a political process of interaction between groups who played out their identities in the urban arena. Its hybridity was a result of an interaction between religious groups with variable positions and modalities of power, who nonetheless lived in, and therefore produced, a shared urban space. The research will examine the “hybrid” nature of Banaras as a product of the multiple and contested dimensions of place and identity. It will also investigate colonial and neotraditional discourses of purity and their implications for cities such as Banaras.

FROM HAUS TAMBARAN TO CHURCH: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY PAPUA NEW GUINEAN DESIGN *George Jell and Sabine Jell-Bahlsen*

This paper examines contemporary Papua New Guinean architecture designed in the oscillation between indigenous cultures and Western impacts. Examples of this type of architecture include the National Parliament building in Port Moresby, the council chamber at Pagwi, and Anda church at Ambunti/East Sepik province. While these buildings were designed to serve modern Western political, social, religious and psychological functions, they also generously borrowed from and incorporated many aspects of the country’s traditional architectural heritage.

All three examples mentioned above share common aesthetic elements and decorative design aspects, as well such structuring components as layout, site design, and environmental considerations. As part of the presentation, we focus on a church in Ambunti, and compare and contrast its functions, aesthetics, and design solutions to the area’s local equivalent, the *haus tambaran*.

As part of this effort, we examine in detail which elements have been borrowed, left aside, changed or altered in the process of adaptation and incorporation into a modern Western structure.

The various issues discussed here will include historic precedent, aesthetics, ownership, gender and other social issues. This analysis of design and construction in contemporary Papua New Guinea will also take into consideration the crucial issues of environment and sustainability.

“THE LORD WILL PROVIDE”: THE ROLE OF EPISCOPALIAN CHRISTIANITY IN NETS’AII GWICH’IN IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Steven Dinero

This paper addresses the history and development of Episcopalian Christianity in the Nets’aai Gwich’in community of Arctic Village, or Vashra’ii K’oo, which is located in Alaska. Located 250 miles from the nearest highway and 100 miles north of the Arctic Circle, the village is presently home to a community of 152 residents who were formerly nomadic hunters and gatherers. While, economically, the hunting tradition continues to dominate village culture, socially, it is the Episcopalian Church that is at the heart of community activity. No celebration, feast or meeting takes place without church involvement. Indeed, the church provides the community with a sense of hope, wholeness and peace, particularly during the present period, when radical social and economic transitions have been brought on by the forces of globalization.

Using postcolonial theory, I will discuss how Christian forms of worship and religious practices, though apparent in the village since at least the 1910s, remain unique to Alaska Native bush culture. Shamanistic practices and beliefs still persist in the village, contributing to the development of a blended form of Alaska Native Christianity. The role of this faith system in Gwich’in in terms of self-expression, particularly in the community’s efforts to oppose exploratory oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, will also be addressed.

The structure, form and function of the 85-year-old Bishop Rowe Mission church will also be discussed within this context. Currently, the subject of a historical preservation initiative, this log-built church may be seen as the physical manifestation of Episcopalian Christianity in Arctic Village today. As the oldest standing structure in the village, it also represents the permanent colonization of the Gwich’in by white Europeans. And yet, the structure is not seen in this light by the Gwich’in themselves, but rather as a signifier of their emancipation from colonial domination.

The paper will conclude with a discussion of the role of the Episcopalian Church — both the building and the institution — in the community in the twenty-first century. It will be argued that, despite a nascent movement which is now forming in the village and seeks to recapture lost connections to traditional spirituality, the Christian church will likely continue to play a key role in the future of the Gwich’in community’s social development.

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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.¹

An eminent architectural historian once wrote, "The roof form in general is the most indicative feature of the housing styles of North Africa."² Clearly, however, the matter of how these forms have evolved is a complex subject. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.³

In my research I discovered that local people have differing notions about the origins of the roof forms on the dwellings they inhabit.⁴

The reference notes, collected at the end of the text (not at the bottom of each page), would read as follows:

1. E. Regis, *Egyptian Dwellings* (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirrs Old Debate," *Smithsonian* 11 (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.

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