TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

Contents

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Children are an important audience for the new image of citizenship presented through architectural models at Istanbul's Miniaturk heritage park. Source: *Miniaturk: Turkey's Showcase,* promotional brochure (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003).

Editor's Note

The study of tradition has always been the challenging enterprise of most members of IASTE. This issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* deals with different aspects of tradition in different contexts, in different lands, and at different scales.

The first article, Peter Marcuse's "Tradition in a Global City," was developed from his keynote address to the IASTE conference in Sharjah in December 2004. Marcuse argues that in today's global cities in particular, tradition fundamentally involves relations of power. He examines this position with reference to the history of the World Trade Center site in New York and the reconstruction of Berlin, but also argues that different forms of tradition may be seen as practices of resistance.

An earlier version of Greig Crysler's "Violence and Empathy: National Museums and the Spectacle of Society" was also a 2004 keynote. It describes the use of historical narrative in the design of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., and the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa. Crysler argues that the way these museums reinvent pedagogies of citizenship and consumption can ultimately be traced to a tradition of public exhibitions that began in the nineteenth century. To suit the present times, however, both museums employ narratives of violence and rebirth to objectify painful historical truths while exploiting the affective power of memorialized events to advance new visions of national identity.

Sylvia Shorto's "Building for the Business of Bermuda" next discusses the preservation of vernacular building forms. Originally, codes mandating local historical forms were enacted to safeguard the tourist industry on these isolated Atlantic islands. More recently, however, such forms have been used voluntarily to camouflage the increasing dominance of international insurance firms over the local economy, just as these powerhouses of global capital are bringing major changes in social relations on the islands.

The fourth of our feature articles, İpek Turelli's "Modeling Citizenship in Turkey's Miniature Park," discusses the political significance of a recently completed nonprofit cultural heritage site in Istanbul. Turelli shows how the "Miniaturk" theme park has used models of traditional architectural sites to reinvent and rework the relationship between citizens and the Turkish state. Its success, however, is largely based on its ability to reshape history and cultural context to obscure present socio-political differences.

In the Field Report section, Deborah Whelan's "Changing Zuluness" argues that a particular type of beehive-shaped grass dwelling is often presented to tourists as typically Zulu and exotic. However, history shows this is not true. Furthermore, the decorative programs of present-day Zulu dwellings may more likely be explained as the result of a form of postglobal Africanization.

Finally, I would like to remind *TDSR* readers of the IASTE 2006 Conference December 14–18, to be hosted by Thammasat University in Bangkok, Thailand, on the theme of "Hypertraditions." From an initial pool of almost 300 abstracts we have accepted 120 papers for presentation. We hope to see you all there.

Nezar AlSayyad

Tradition in a Global City?

PETER MARCUSE

The article examines the nature of tradition in the urban environment, and argues that in global cities tradition fundamentally involves relations of power. It opens by defining a vocabulary reflecting conceptual distinctions, such as between popular traditions and traditions of power, continuing traditions and recalled traditions, and negative traditions. It then examines how these distinctions relate to the exercise of power in New York, with reference to the tradition of tall buildings, and the World Trade Center site in particular; and in Berlin, with reference to the rebuilding of symbolic sites in the wake of German reunification. It concludes with a brief look at tradition as a form of resistance.

Are there any traditional environments in a global city like New York or Berlin? Is globalism not the very antithesis of tradition, consciously its negative? Is "global tradition" itself not an oxymoron?

Going even further, is tradition not inconsistent with cities as such? Norma Evenson, for instance, has argued that "cities embody a way of life that has become international, and those seeking tradition will not likely find it in the city."[1]

On the other hand, are the issues around tradition not quintessentially issues of the city? IASTE's definition of tradition as "not the static legacy of the past but rather . . . the dynamic reinterpretation of the present" would seem to support such a claim.[2]

Finally, are global cities (the term is itself contentious[3]) really different in their relationship to tradition than older cities? Are they better seen as a new form of city? Or are they simply the extreme form of older, existing patterns?

However these questions are answered, this article argues that while traditions do appear in cities in a variety of ways, they are always related centrally to the distribution of power. Tradition in the context of globalization, then, needs to be broadly defined with the issue of power well in mind.

In global cities, the highly differentiated forms that tradition takes need to be clearly identified and delineated. Fundamentally, however, the uses to which the various forms of tradition are put have to do with the exercise of power: demonstrating it, legitimating it, overcoming opposition to it, concealing it, resisting it, and carving out exceptions to it.

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TRADITION IN THE GLOBAL CITY — A CONCEPTUAL VOCABULARY

The "tradition" in traditional environments is usually taken to have a very specific meaning. A classic definition considers it as having two necessary components: "the result of a process of transmission, and . . . cultural origins involving common people."[4] However, I would like here to call such traditions, more narrowly, *popular traditions*. By this I mean not traditions that are well-liked, but ones that stem from common people (not a term that is itself without problems, but one whose vernacular usage will suffice). And I want to distinguish such traditions from others which I will call *traditions of power*, traditions that both reflect and enforce the power of their users.

Global cities such as New York, London, or Tokyo make traditional building, in the sense of a popular tradition, very difficult, although not impossible. On the other hand, one could, of course, argue that the majority of residents of cities generally around the world today live in traditional housing **(FIG.1)**. What, after all, are the traditions of the estimated billion people living in informal settlements and self-built squatter housing? Popular tradition is not limited to rural settlements; it is often a major feature of contemporary cities, sometimes even in the heart of such cities.[5]

But in a global city, at least in an industrially developed country, traditional housing is much rarer, if not almost by definition impossible. If one looked hard, one might find, for instance, a few *casitas* (traditional Puerto Rican summer homes) self-built on vacant lots in the Bronx; but they would be few and far between. (Log cabins perhaps also still existed a century ago — but rarely in cities.) Instead, a permanent urban residence, a legal housing unit, must today meet the requirements of an inches-thick set of building-code requirements that "common people" are unlikely to have mastered.

FIGURE I. *Traditional housing, south of Cape Town, South Africa.*

If we relax the definition a little, and substitute Amos Rapoport's casually referenced "preliterate and vernacular" formulation for the word "traditional," and if we allow in forms transmitted more formally through written plans and skilled tradespeople, at least some urban housing in nonglobal cities can be considered traditional.[6] For example, the typical "three-decker" in older New England industrial cities like Waterbury, Connecticut (often built by immigrant craftsmen from standard plans, or simply from prior experience), is in this sense vernacular — although the plans on which such buildings were based were hardly preliterate.[7] But even such buildings are unlikely to be found to any extent in a global city like New York — or at least in its "global" parts (since even the top "global cities" are only in part global[8]). And it would strain the legal system of building regulation in today's global cities to keep, in a sense artificially and with modern means, anything like a "traditional environment" of such buildings: usually, it is possible to keep at best the facades on a block front or so.

Yet there is another way in which we may view the concept of tradition.

If we ask not, "Is there any traditional building to be found in a global city?" (to which the answer must be substantially "no"), but instead, "What is the relevance of tradition to building and built form in the global city?" (using the term more loosely to describe building that references socially embedded historical patterns of form or construction), then we find great relevance indeed. "Socially embedded" in this formulation is a way of distinguishing tradition from purely individual actions. The dividing lines may be blurred at the edges, but have to do both with prevalence and duration. A possible definition of traditional building as here used might then involve, "the evocation of the past and the claim/reality of its continuation in the present."

Bearing these distinctions in mind, we may further subdivide traditions (both popular traditions and traditions of power) into *continuing traditions* and *recalled traditions*. In a global city like New York, the Empire State Building and the World Trade Center might thus be seen as evidence of a continuing tradition of power, reflected most clearly in an aspiration for dominant height. Meanwhile, the Woolworth Building might be seen to combine this tradition of power/height with a use of Gothic ornamentation — that is, a recalled tradition not alive in the city at the time of its construction.

I would argue that traditions of power, continuing and recalled, are the dominant ways in which traditions in the more advanced societies of the last three millennia are reflected in their built environment. At the same time, popular traditions (historically, generally continuing — today, however, often recalled) have often stood in opposition to these traditions of power, forming in a sense a tradition of resistance to power. This, too, may play itself out in the built environment, such as in the older and least commercially valorized buildings of globalizing cities.

One might also point to a difference between recalled traditions of power and recalled popular traditions. Recall in traditions of power is often artificial, consciously selected from the past — in a sense arbitrarily and artificially recalled; while the recall in popular traditions is more "authentic." But that issue deserves more discussion than is possible here.

There is one final concept within this discourse on tradition that is of particular relevance to global cities. This is the development of a tradition that deliberately devalues existing traditions of all kinds, in effect creating a tradition, but a negative one, of destruction. There are elements of this in many aspects of modernity, as well as in the postmodern. For modernity, the classic formulation was that of Karl Marx, that "all that is solid melts in air." The expression embodies a value judgment in internal tension — that progress is desirable, but its attendant destruction is not: the solid is desirable, but so is its continuous replacement. For Marx, such dialectical tension could only be resolved in a new, presumptively socialist society.

Within postmodernity, however, traditions have only ornamental value. Separated from their own histories and meanings, they may be used indiscriminately and arbitrarily, according to an individual architect's or builder's aesthetics. As they are thus juggled for alien purposes, destruction need not be physical, but may simply involve an "emptying out."

If we take traditions to be in general valuable, then the present manifestation of this tradition of change, destruction, and new construction — whether through physical destruction or through empting out — may appropriately be called a *negative tradition*. It may thus be understood in opposition to really existing or recalled, or authentic, traditions — although the negative label is clearly a value judgment (as is the definition of "authentic," which is beyond our scope here[9]), and will vary from one person and situation to another.

So we may distinguish the following types:

- traditions of power
  - continuing traditions
  - recalled traditions

- popular traditions
  - continuing traditions
  - recalled traditions

- negative traditions

TRADITION IN THE EXERCISE OF POWER

For each of these types of tradition, a critical question can be asked: *Who is using tradition, and for whose benefit? And, more specifically: Is tradition being used by those in positions of power to strengthen that power? Or is it used by those not in power in their own defense or for their own use?*

The approach is hardly a new one. As the editors of a Getty Institute volume on heritage conservation pointed out:

. . . heritage [read: tradition] is a social construction: which is to say that it results from social processes specific to time and place. . . . Artifacts are not static embodiments of culture but are, rather, a medium through which identity, power, and society are produced and reproduced.[10]

What is examined in this article is how this view is carried out under conditions of globalization, in more or less globalizing cities. But it may well be that tradition and power are inherently connected, in every society and place and at all times. For example, a reviewer of this article noted, reformulating the argument in this section:

. . . tradition amounts to the way a dominant group embeds social power, which by nature involves shaping the built environment. This definition seems valid since it would also encompass patriarchal authority structures in "traditional" societies, master-apprentice structures in guild or trade-based building cultures, and present-day formations of real estate investment in global cities. All of these would seem to be cases where the haves use the notion of tradition to maintain their interests against those of the have-nots. Tradition thus fundamentally involves maintaining structures of power against the forces of change. What is tradition other than the power to proclaim it so?[11]

This formulation expresses well the nature of traditions of power, although it does not address what is here separated out as popular traditions. Furthermore, the suggestion that traditions of power are to be found historically in many societies is important, but is not pursued here.

Tradition, then, in the multiple and complex senses I described in the last section is related to the global city, and to globalization, in the following ways.

- Traditions of power can be built to demonstrate power by the extravagance of scale, bulk, design and cost. Such a tradition goes far back in history, from the Pyramids to Versailles. But in a global age, the scale of megaprojects demands financing on a global scale, and the skyscraper is perhaps its best icon.

- Traditions of power can be used to legitimate power and make its physical representations acceptable to those not benefiting from it — often those excluded from the globalized economy, but living in its presence. Such legitimation may be of the times or it may refer back to established and accepted traditions of power — as when Baroque traditions of power are accepted in a global setting when skyscrapers would be rejected as overly aggressive.

- Traditions of power can be built to legitimate power by purveying the illusion of a common "city" interest in manifesting strength and power, providing competitiveness and anchors to place. In a global era,

this use of tradition may provide greater acceptability for power by purporting to aid in local resistance to homogenization and identity loss, and by helping forge a common identity and pride.

■ Negative traditions are manifest in the destruction of older remaining traditions, the process being sold as evidence of progress. This may be linked to global-ization since the traditions being destroyed may be preglobal or internationalist, and their replacement may be linked to the necessities of progress and competition in a global era.

■ In these cases the rejection of tradition can be itself a deliberate symbol of power, legitimated through the creativity of its destruction. This negative tradition certainly dates back to the beginnings of capitalist industrialization.

■ Selective traditions can be manipulated to conceal history as well as to reveal or build on it. This may involve the destruction of popular traditions and their replacement by actions referring back to traditions of power, as will be seen in the discussion of the World Trade Center below.

■ Simulated references to tradition can be used to destroy traditions, to preempt any hindrance that real traditions might offer to their replacement by purely commodified relationships. Colonial Williamsburg, for instance, may be read as such a commodification that makes the destruction of continuing traditional buildings palatable.12

■ Popular traditions can be recalled and used as resis-tance to the exercise of power and globalization. In fact, they may be presented as its antithesis, and therefore valued as its opposite.

It is hard to escape in these formulations the implicit identi-fication of globalization with the exercise of power. Such an identification, in fact, reflects reality. Two characteristics are found as part of almost any definition of globalization, of what I have elsewhere called "really existing globalization."13 One is the rapid development of technology, particularly in transportation and communication and also in production and construction, which inevitably raises questions of the preservation of tradition-al forms. The other aspect of globalization is the concentration of control — of power in both economic and political (and cul-tural) spheres — which also involves dealing with tradition.

But the two components of globalization, of what I call really existing globalization, have different inherent impacts on tradition. Technological advances may build on, incorporate, or be consistent with traditional forms, or may deliberately and respectfully contrast with it. Only when technological advances are coupled with the concentration of control are they in inevitable tension with tradition; and only then do they develop traditions of power.

PHASES OF GLOBALIZATION

Before progressing further with these arguments, it is important to define the concept of globalization in historic terms. As the call for papers for the 2004 IASTE conference pointed out, it is possible to distinguish three phases of "globalization" that distinguish globalizing cities from cities in earlier periods, without denying in them the continuation of earlier patterns.

The first phase was one of internationalism. This has variously also been called "early global" or "global" — as in the call for papers:

*The idea of a global world was predicated on the promises of a widespread prosperity, of economic globalization, and the further belief that this prosperity went hand in hand with delivering the fruits of liberal democracy. The betray-al of these promises, however, is evident in growing inequalities and increased poverty. It may now be argued that the globalization paradigm is no longer operative because its libratory potential was never "realized."*4

As this passage indicates, the failure of the internation-alist vision opened the door to really existing globalization. However, since September 11, 2001, a third phase is possibly underway, variously described using such catchwords as "empire" or "imperialist." Again, according to the IASTE conference call for papers:

*Some see the events of 9/11 as a symbol of the failure of globalization and the triumph of the local frustrations that it engendered. Indeed, the euphoric ideal of global freedom has been replaced by the very real threats posed by globally unbounded and unrestrained "others." It is important to recognize that the post-9/11 era witnesses the rise of a new paradigm, one that we call "Post Global" not because we abandon globalization, but because we need to move beyond its discursive limitations. It is post global because it supercedes the development era of multiculturalism and multilateralism, and replaces it with the concept of a uni-lateral dominant culture, which shatters the information-happy notion of a singular global village. So, post global is not an end to globalization but the emergence of a differ-ent kind of engagement that is sharply at odds with the visions of liberal, multicultural globalization. Here, both religious fundamentalism and imperial hegemony begin to emerge as the new forms of global engagement.*5

To highlight the depth of these historic forces, the early internationalist phase was already described in the nine-teenth century.16 Here the disappearance of borders and the relaxation of nationalistic conflicts was the hope, and interna-tionalism was seen as libratory worldwide.

The phase of more recent really existing globalization is generally dated to the early 1970s — in any event, the late

twentieth century. At that time, globalization came to embody the dominance of internationally active business firms, and it produced both an increased concentration of wealth and a deepening of poverty and inequality throughout the world — with all nation states to diverse degrees serving the interests of an increasingly global dominant class.

By contrast, today's new phase is marked by the policies and apparent goals of dominant forces in the one remaining superpower, with military rather than economic strength being used to establish a global regime. In all of these phases, however, the link between globalization and power is tight — and traditions of power serve the process of globalization as well.

It should be noted that the issues involving the relation of power to tradition are hardly new. As I have already mentioned, some may even think of the period we today consider as really existing globalization to have begun several centuries ago. David Harvey has described in persuasive detail a classic example: the role that Haussman's boulevards played in the destruction of popular traditions and the creation of a new tradition of power. To make his point, Harvey developed a stunning exegesis of a prose poem of Baudelaire's, in which the eyes of a beggar looking in through the windows of a splendid new café on one of the new boulevards symbolize the change.[17]

Another symbolic use of tradition may be found in Dubai, site of the 2004 IASTE conference. There, construction is underway for a true megaproject, the Burj Dubai Center, the tallest building in the world (FIG.2). According to publicity for the building, "[Its] triple-lobed footprint . . . is based on an abstracted desert flower native to the region." It also explains that "a subtle reference to the onion domes of Islamic architecture can be found in the building's silhouette when looking up at the lobes from near the base."[18]

Of course, the reality of its triple-lobed footprint can only be perceived from the air. But the reference is nevertheless intended to link the construction, executed in the tradition of global power, with a local recalled tradition. The shape of a fig leaf, however, might be more appropriate for a building that will stand in such stark contrast to the popular traditions that still survive in its surroundings.

Similarly, the manipulation of tradition to expand power is today evident in two major construction projects in New York City and Berlin — the former city acknowledged as being global, the latter stridently claiming to be so. In both we find a tradition of power that in construction and planning seeks consciously to deny tradition, but that ultimately cannot escape reliance on a dialogue with tradition, resulting in compromise with a limited version of popular tradition.

THE CASE OF NEW YORK CITY

Lower Manhattan, including the area on which the World Trade Center stood (but not limited to that site — in planning terms, the definition of a "site" is itself a controver-

FIGURE 2. *Burj Dubai. Courtesy of Emaar Properties.*

sial and important aspect of analysis and proposal[19]), provides a striking history of the uses and abuses of tradition in the heart of a presumptively global city.

The history of Lower Manhattan, in fact, starts with a manifestation of internationalism, in the preglobal sense, when working-class immigrants migrated across oceans and borders to set up shop, get jobs, and do business in a desired new country. The traditions they brought with them and used were not traditions of built form, but of culture, social relations, and economic activity. The built form that came to reflect these social traditions in the new country was the old-law tenement, so-called because it was built under New York's "old law" of 1867, before the 1901 Tenement House

FIGURE 3. *Old-Law Tenement, New York City.*

Act prescribed higher and more expensive standards for multifamily building (**FIG.3**).

Old-law tenements typically were five- or six-story walkup apartment buildings, described as follows in the Tenement Museum dedicated to explicating their memory:

> . . . *20 three-room apartments, typical of their kind, were arranged four to a floor, two in front and two in the rear. They were reached by an unlighted, ventilated wooden staircase that ran through the center of the building. The largest room (11' x 12'6") was referred to in plans as the living room or parlor, but residents called it the "front room." Behind it came the kitchen and one tiny bedroom. The entire flat, which often contained households of seven or more people, totaled about 325 square feet.*
>
> *Only one room per apartment — the "front room" — received direct light and ventilation, limited by the tenements that would soon hem it in. The standard bedroom, 8'6" square, would have been completely shut off from both fresh air and natural light, but . . . the bedroom had casement windows, opening onto the hall, that appear to be part of the original construction.*
>
> *There was, of course, no toilet, no shower, no bath; nor is there any indication that water was available within the apartments, although water from the Croton aqueduct had begun to flow into the City by the early 1840's. The building's privies, located in the rear yard, might or might not have been connected to the sewer pipes running beneath [the street].*[20]

These buildings were not built by their occupants, but by speculators interested in maximizing rental revenue from the small (25-foot-wide) lots on which they typically stood.[21] Thus, if their occupancy was traditional, the built form and

environment were not. Their form reflected a tradition of power, not a people's tradition. They were the dominant form of structure on the eastern side of Lower Manhattan through the middle of the twentieth century.

This history was also reflected in the fact that the western side of Lower Manhattan was the site of a thriving, partly Near Eastern, community at the time it was cleared for construction of the World Trade Center in the 1960s.[22] The World Trade Center displaced this community in favor of an ensemble deliberately intended to represent global activity and the city's dominance therein. All traces of what had existed there, the older tradition of immigration and commerce, were wiped out — not without protest, yet very effectively.

No popular tradition legitimated the World Trade Center, only the wealth and power of its builders. In keeping with then-current policies of slum clearance and urban redevelopment, the tradition called on was rather that of the ruthless destruction of popular cultures, social relations, and ways of life in the name of a progress — all of which served to extend the power of the dominant classes. This was the tradition encapsulated by Marx's phrase "all that's solid melts into air" (**FIG.4**).[23]

FIGURE 4. *World Trade Center, New York City.*

FIGURE 5. *Skyscrapers of New York. Courtesy of Skyscraper Museum, New York.*

Of course, the World Trade Center was only the latest and tallest (at that time) representation of the dominant tradition of building in globalizing cities.[24] We are all familiar with it. One can see it develop and march along in any of the innumerable comparisons of building height, in which the steady reaching for the label of "tallest building in the world" was the prize sought (**FIG.5**).

Today that tradition remains alive and well in New York. Even relatively progressive good-government organizations like the Regional Plan Association cannot escape it. Their alternate plan for the second largest development site in New York City, the mid-West Side rail yards, is subservient to it, and proposes a series of mega-highrise office towers.

And, of course, following 9/11, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation's first illustration of the possibilities at the World Trade Center site were so extreme in their service of this tradition of power that they were almost unanimously rejected. Resistance to such proposals is a popular tradition which New Yorkers also like to claim; and eventually, some 4,500 people from New York and the tri-state area gathered on July 20 and July 22, 2002, at the Jacob Javits Convention Center to play a role in rebuilding Lower Manhattan. Over the course of the day-long forums, participants in "Listening to the City" deliberated options for redeveloping the World Trade Center site and considered a range of other issues needed to help people rebuild their lives and memorialize those lost.[25]

Clearly, the exercise of power by the dominant interests in cities like New York has to take into account such popular feelings. Economic desires cannot, after all, find fulfillment without relying on state action, and this is subject to political as well as economic influence.

But one may also find reference to older traditions used in defense of the dominant pattern in a variety of ways. The oldest and simplest is probably through decoration. One case already mentioned is the Gothic embellishment applied to the oversized structure of the Woolworth Building, in its time the tallest building extant. But decoration can also be used to conceal buildings, as with the huge billboards placed in front of office towers adjacent to Times Square, arranged so as to distract attention from their otherwise overpowering bulk.

One might speak in these cases of the *commodification of tradition*, continuing or recalled: tradition embraced, ornamented and modified — or concealed — all as the financial interests of their developers and owners might dictate. Such a toolkit follows economic interests, however, rather than leading them.

In city planning terms, the preservation of the New York street grid in Lower Manhattan today reflects similar issues. The grid itself is an interesting example of the metamorphosis of a tradition of power into a popular tradition. Imposed on the anarchic development of Manhattan in 1811 by a state Board of Commissioners to facilitate the purchase and sale of real estate, it has now become a hindrance to the construction of megaprojects like the Trade Center; yet, it is popular because it makes easier finding locations in a large and complex part of the city.

Megaprojects, increasingly enabled by the globalization of investment and concentrations of control in cities high in the global hierarchy, are demonstrations of power, of the ability of (often globally based) dominant interests to impose their will on the preexisting structure of a city. In resistance to that display of power, insistence on maintaining the grid in New York today may be read as an effort to maintain a more popular tradition.

In reality, even this type of resistance can be manipulated and made meaningless. For instance, the executed plan for Battery Park City extends the grid street pattern of Lower Manhattan, but only after separating Battery Park City from it by a wide, heavily traveled street that is best crossed by means of elevated walkways linking the buildings on either side. As a result, one can neither experience, nor even see, the grid as continuous.

Ironically, recognizing this incongruity, most planning proposals after 9/11 called for sinking West Street so that the grid could in fact be meaningful. But all these proposals were shot down as too expensive. Thus, the internal power and functioning of Battery Park City will remain the same. It hardly matters whether one sees it as a megaproject (which it is), or as "following" the traditional grid pattern of the city — a connection that is more easily observed from the sky than on the ground.

Tradition can also be manipulated in more subtle ways. One of the most aesthetically daring examples involved Daniel Libeskind's proposal for his celebrated Freedom Tower. The building combined the traditional pursuit of height and power (victory, for the time being, in a global competition) with a veneer of legitimating historic references. Among these were both the building's proposed height — 1,776 feet (a purely public-relations gesture having nothing to do with aesthetics or efficiency of built form) — and a twist in shape intended to evoke the memory of the Statue of Liberty **(FIG.6)**.

Such a contradiction between power-driven business goals and populist overlay was never really viable, however. And this is now being demonstrated by the fact that what will actually be built will keep neither of these original public-relations characteristics. Instead, the Freedom Tower will look like any other in the series of gigantic office towers, with a bow to greening in its upper stories and a surrender to security in its lower.

Ultimately, Libeskind's desire to couple the demonstration of power with an argument for its legitimacy was doomed to failure. However, this approach is but one example of what has become a new pattern, one pressed to become a new tradition by those seeking both to compete in the global game of power and influence and find support from local, place-based forces that might otherwise be expected to resist the impact of their projects.

The problem is a simple one, to which Manuel Castells, among others, has called attention.[26] Globalization, with its homogenization of almost all aspects of Habermas's life world, evokes popular resistance. And this resistance to the loss of identities and cultures and traditions often relies on the preservation of the past in opposition to the new. Amos Rapoport has referred to "a declining place specificity of traditional vernaculars (as opposed to the time specificity of high-style and popular design)."[27] Resistance to globalization takes place where it can.

The power of the resistance is such that even high style today may be an attempt to create place specificity. Examples are many, not only involving elements of the movement for historic preservation, but also the drive within many cities to establish height limits, contextual zoning, and architectural review. The obviously and grandly displayed new, often with height as its emblem of power, is exactly what the local and tradition-recalling protest resists.

Resists . . . unless. Certainly, Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is ostentatiously new, expensive, globally produced, and globally in competition. Yet it is accepted, indeed welcomed, solicited, sought after. Why? Because, ironically enough, its rupture with tradition establishes a new pattern that

uses that very rupture to establish a traditionally local identity, one specifically linked to the city in which it is located.

In this regard, John Urry speaks of the tourist gaze as resulting "from the basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary."[28] The growing number of Gehry-type manufactured icons are this type of "extraordinary" phenomena; in effect, they convert all viewers into tourists, who recognize their identities in what they see, but are separated and see them only from the outside. Even when such buildings give popular pleasure, it is pleasure derived from what "they" did, not from what "we" did.

Likewise, Gehry's design logic for the museum in Bilbao was also said to embody references to the harbor activities and forms near which it sits. But these were as shallow and public-relations oriented as were Libeskind's references to the Statue of Liberty. If the Gehry in Bilbao references waves in its forms, that is hardly something specific to the locale, for it is found in almost all of Gehry's buildings, regardless of how far they are from the water. What gives the Bilbao Gehry its appeal is not its connection to the local, but precisely the opposite — its connection to the global. But this is the technological component of the global, not the centralized, homogenized, economically driven extension of power which conventional globalization represents for so many.

The pattern is becoming so widespread as to be almost a new tradition in itself. New York had no "Gehry" a year ago; within the next few years it hopes to have five. It will even have one at the World Trade Center site, to house one of the cultural institutions to be located there, without Gehry ever having produced even a sketch of what it might be. It is enough that his name promises novelty, something different, something high-tech. A "Gehry" is now a commodity.

Lower Manhattan's Santiago Calatrava-designed transit station is in the same pattern (**FIG.7**). Its ostentatious display of technology creates an unmistakable and easily identifiable form, perhaps subliminally holding out the same promise that technology held in the early days of internationalist globalization. In this sense, and in the playfulness of form that such efforts manifest, one may even see a bow in the direction of the liberation that early globalization seemed to promise. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that this building serves the center of global economic power. And it is functional to, legitimating, and indeed glorifying of that power.

This involves the same tension between freedom and power, tradition and rupture with tradition, power and the popular, that one might read into developments such as Chandigarh, Brasilia, or the Israeli Parliament building. Even Disneyland shares some of this tension.

THE CASE OF BERLIN

The treatment of history in the latest wave of construction in Berlin is another example of the manipulation of tradition in

FIGURE 7. *Calatrava Transit Station, Lower Manhattan, New York City.*

the service of power. Here the redevelopment of Potsdammer Platz provides a striking example of the demonstration of power through the erasure of old popular traditions. As the technological prowess and wealth of the new occupy center stage, the creators of the new image have made the merest of bows to historic preservation to demonstrate their awareness of the old: one building housing an older "historic" restaurant has been incorporated in the new megaproject.

Berlin is the story of the World Trade Center towers all over again. But the case of Berlin, billed as the largest construction site in Europe, is more historically complicated. Here the purpose of new construction and renovation is, paradoxically, both to conceal history and to recall it in distorted fashion.

History in Berlin runs deep, and historical honesty might involve reference to Bismarkian nationalism, Prussian militarism, German anti-Semitism, an abortive revolution, fascism and the Holocaust, military defeat, the Cold War, the divided city, and state socialism. There are thus two contradictory layers of history when it comes to dealing with tradition: one based on actual history, and one based on the repression of undesired parts of that history to legitimate new paradigms of rule.

One can see these attitudes with regard to what remains of the old East Berlin. After World War II, the East German government initially opted for traditional forms in its portion of the city. But the traditional scenography of the StalinAllee was soon abandoned for massive prefabricated housing construction, held out to be beyond tradition, something of a new world. The rhetoric, of course, was of the old internationalism; but the reality was the need to oppose really existing globalization in the West.

Today, in the newly united Berlin, all traces of that episode in history are being consciously eliminated. Emblematic is the destruction of the former Palace of the Republic. Debate still rages as to what to replace it with. Reconstruct the old palace of the Kaisers? Emulate the highrise symbols of really existing globalization in Potsdammer Platz? Or try for a presumptively post-traditional new style as in the buildings of the Government quarter and the rebuilt Reichstag?

If a reconstruction of a palace of the Kaisers is selected, it will represent a blotting out of all that has happened in German history essentially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to create a lineage that goes directly from the Baroque to the postmodern. The dishonesty of the effort has produced an outcry against the proposal, and the result is not yet quite clear.

The reconstruction of the Reichstag provides an even more complex mixture of recall and repression. The building has an important, but conflicted place in German history. Originally built in 1884 under William II, it was intended to be physically imposing — an impression somewhat out of concord with its function as the seat of a largely powerless parliament (**FIG.8**). Nevertheless, the story of its construction reveals how traditional forms may be interpreted differently. As it is recounted:

> *Paul Wallot won [the competition for the design], and designed the building to reflect Italian renaissance, Gothic, and baroque styles. But he also wanted to make it uniquely German. Unfortunately, there was no Germanic style of architecture so he incorporated regional touches to distin-*

> *guish it from the other great building of Europe from which it is drawn. But the controversy didn't end there. Wallot faced continued pressure and opposition to his design. When it was finished, it was a masterpiece with four towers 46 meters high symbolizing the four German Kingdoms united and a central cupola 75 meters tall to honor the head of state, then Kaiser Wilhelm II. Of course, opposition followed — this time from the very person the building was meant to honor. Wilhelm II hated the cupola. He saw it as a symbol of parliament, rather than a reflection of himself. Wilhelm believed in a military government, and the parliament was of little use to him. To drive this point home, the opening ceremonies on 5 December, 1894 were reminiscent of a military parade with even some members of parliament wearing Prussian uniforms. By 1892 the Kaiser has started referring to the place as the Government Ape House.[29]*

In reality, then, for many years the building could be read as a mere facade of power, concealing both the absence of power there and the fact that real power was held by the Kaiser's inner circle. However, the building's fortunes changed with the end of World War I. The German Republic was proclaimed from it in 1918, and for a brief interlude until 1933 it served as a center of German democracy. However, the memory most associated with it is its burning on February 27, 1933, an event used as the pretext for the political crackdown that began the Nazi party's seizure of absolute power.

Today, even the shell that could have recalled that event has been obliterated. Nor is there a trace of its occupation by Soviet troops at the fall of Berlin in 1945. Indeed, only one stone with Russian graffiti was preserved, and that only after some dispute. Rather, the Reichstag was completely rebuilt in 1995, with a new cupola designed by Sir Norman Foster.

While there had been a cupola on the original, Foster's new dome made no reference back to it. Rather the point was to be ostentatiously new, ostentatiously high-tech, ostentatiously political. Parliament would be represented as sitting underneath it, working in all transparency. In reality,

A.

B.

FIGURE 8. *A) The Reichstag then. B) the Reichstag today.*

however, visitors can see almost nothing of the proceedings within it from the public vantage point afforded by the dome, and are thoroughly insulated from the proceedings there.

Here then is a building in the tradition of power, that first served as a facade concealing its absence, and which now provides a pretense of transparency while concealing institutional insulation. The new and glamorous bubble makes it seem as if a building housing a major seat of power is a tourist attraction open to all. The false suggestion is that it was added to an old and venerable building as a continuation of a tradition of democracy, when in fact democracy has had a most troubled past in this country.

Thus again, playing with tradition, both using it and negating it, serves the interests of power — both in expressing the existence of power and at the same time concealing its exercise.

TRADITION IN RESISTANCE TO POWER

Popular traditions, of course, also reflect relations of power, and in many cases they are themselves the result of the exercise of power. Traditional societies obviously had their own internal structures, generally patriarchal, often based on religion, with ordered relations more proximately relying on force than in later times. But in global cities popular traditions also often stand in opposition to traditions of power. This may happen in several ways.

First, popular traditions may support the existence of communities exercising independence from dominant structures of power. Ethnic enclaves in New York City, for instance, may develop their own economies, within limits, including their own trading customs, institutions for the resolution of disputes, and building types. There are, of course, severe limits to how far such independence can go. Building codes may or may not support alternative forms of construction. And zoning laws may or may not allow alternative forms of family or business usage — for example, industrial work at home or a mixing of commercial and residential activities. Traditions will play a role in cementing such alternative forms, but they will as often be defensive as creative of new forms. Identity politics is a reflection of different continuing and recalled traditions in the political arena, and may interplay with traditional built environments in a mutually reinforcing manner.

Opposition to power may also make use of negative traditions: burning an oppressive flag, tearing down the built monuments of power, attacking and physically wrenching a building apart (one thinks of the Bastille in the French Revolution, the palaces of the royalty or the czars, or even the attacks on public buildings in the recent uprisings in the suburbs of Paris, or in Detroit or Los Angeles). In a less extreme form, opposition to various plans for redevelopment, "slum clearance," or megaprojects often relies on historic traditions, sometimes continuing, sometimes recalled for the occasion.

In a globalizing era, the entire juxtaposition of the local with the global may be seen as an issue of interpretation and uses of tradition, with the local being linked to popular traditions and the global reflecting traditions of power. At an individual level, the tension between the two may be reflected in patterns such as resistance to imposed "foreign" eating habits. Thus, on the one hand, the yellow arches of McDonalds have become the symbol of progress, of the benefits of the market, the advantages of globalization — of the replacement of tradition by the global economic market. But on the other, they have also become the symbols of an enemy, around which some of the forces of resistance have rallied, relying on local culinary traditions and housekeeping habits for their legitimation.

Beyond more personal traditions, the local/global difference in traditions is one of scale. But scale reflects the exercise of power and the opposition to it as well.[30] The defense of traditional environments is, whether thus intended or not, necessarily a defense of the local against the global, in support of popular traditions against traditions of power. Thus it becomes entwined with struggles around globalization, the power of international institutions, the growth of world economic and social forums, issues of free trade and human rights, and so on.

Power is, after all, a matter of politics. And the consideration of tradition in the global city must be coupled with a realization that the search for a constructive solution to the tensions involved is in the end also a political quest.

It remains to be seen what measures may in the end provide protection for the traditional environments and the local identities and independence that the forces of globalization threaten. But the recognition of the relationship between power and tradition, in new forms in the globalizing cities of the world, is a matter that might be of high priority to those concerned with the human impacts of the built environment.

REFERENCE NOTES

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Violence and Empathy: National Museums and the Spectacle of Society

C. GREIG CRYSLER

This article compares the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., with the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa. While dealing with different historical contexts, both institutions seek to embody models of tolerant national citizenship in their visitors by immersing them in narratives of collective violence, death and ultimately, national rebirth. I examine these museums in relation to the emergence of similar institutions around the world, and argue that they reinvent pedagogies of citizenship and consumption that can be traced to spaces of public exhibition and display in the nineteenth century. I suggest that the practices of empathetic identification employed by both institutions can be located within contemporary practices of consumer spectacle and prosthetic self-fashioning, and are intertwined with the rise of affective labor and global economies of desire. In crafting idealized models of citizenship based on the simulated experience of national violence, both museums attempt to contain politically charged histories in a museological past, where they can be curated, commemorated and instrumentally separated from the violence of nation-state in the global present.

It is now widely accepted that national institutions such as museums, capitol complexes, government buildings, stadiums, airports, and even highway systems are important spaces for the invention of national histories, identities and traditions.[1] The national museum (whether of science, art or history) has typically been conceived as both a container of important objects and as a didactic object in itself, one that works to inscribe and reproduce national history through its very form. The museums of the nineteenth century were typically organized around a model of progressive history. The agents of history (bourgeois white males) were shown engaging in heroic struggles as the development of the nation-state unfolded through a linear construction of historical time.

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Museums narratives represented the present as the utopian conclusion of national development, thereby positioning the viewer at the apex of history.

This article examines examples of an institutional genre that departs from these conventions of national representation. The museums I will discuss do not tell the story of the enduring genius of a collective national imagination; nor do they climax in a display of heroic achievements carried out in the name of the nation-state. They are dominated by reconstructions of state-orchestrated violence and brutality, and attempt to produce memories of collective pain and suffering among visitors who often have no direct experience of the events depicted.

Generally speaking, such museums can be placed in two broad categories. The first are located at the physical sites where collective violence took place. These include concentration camps, forced-labor camps, mass graves where victims of genocide are buried, and prisons where political detainees have been held and tortured. Some of the most prominent of these have formed an international coalition of "sites of conscience" to develop "transferable practices" and encourage "dialogues for democracy."[2] The second group consists of museums that re-create historical sites of violence within their walls, and are often removed from the locations where the events they describe originally took place. Often costly and based in large cities or national capitals, they routinely attract hundreds of thousands of visitors per annum.

Though it is clearly intertwined with the larger history of the public museum, the experiential museum of national trauma is a relatively recent development. Many of the key examples have entered the planning stage or have been constructed over the last two decades. Two prominent examples include the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles (1993) and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. (1994). Both employ elaborate restagings of the Holocaust to teach the values of appropriate citizenship.[3] The programs of both institutions have been integrated into the criminal justice system. Perpetrators of hate crimes, as well as police officers, judges, and others involved in law enforcement, attend the museums to learn the virtues of tolerant behavior by consuming a spectacle of its reverse.[4]

Other examples include the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, opened in 2004 in Cincinnati and dedicated to the history of the underground railroad, the name given to the clandestine routes to freedom created by abolitionists for slaves fleeing the southern U.S. before Emancipation. It contains a simulated journey that includes an actual slave pen (moved into the museum from its original location in Kentucky) and culminates in a "Hall of Everyday Heroes."[5] A growing number of similar institutions have opened in other countries, including the Museum of Memory in Argentina, the DMZ Museum between North and South Korea, The Jewish Museum in Berlin, and various proposals for Apartheid museums in South Africa, including a building in Johannesburg that I will discuss in greater detail here.[6]

These experiential environments are aesthetic phantasmagoria: they fuse architecture, film, textual narratives, artifacts, and re-creations of buildings and landscapes into elaborate technologies of citizenship. However, their most distinctive feature is often the intimate linkage they forge between memory and affect by displaying the emotional experiences of others.[7] They construct a sensuous engagement with the past, one that, in its appeals to embodied experience and emotion, attempts to supplement (and in some cases even supercede) forms of rational cognition that have historically structured the national museum.[8] A museological prosthesis solicits the visitor's identification with a collective subject of history that undergoes escalating experiences of pain and suffering, and is ultimately reborn as a model citizen. These "fatal attractions" are organized around the therapeutic administration of simulated trauma.[9] The museum constitutes diverse visitors as a collective subject of traumatic history, and then provides a way to overcome, confront, or "work through" the conditions of their subjection through ritualized acts of empathy and commemoration.

How can we explain the emergence and proliferation of these emotional theaters of collective memory? Why have they emerged with such force at this point in time, and where do they fit in the history of the national museum? Inasmuch as museums of national trauma involve critical reflection on the historical project of the nation-state, they are consistent with one of the central characteristics of what has been described as "dark tourism": a tendency to produce anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity by revealing the failure of its inner workings.[10] The national museums I will discuss here unsettle assumptions about the capacity of the nation-state to guarantee progress, only to reinstate such assumptions on different terms.

In this discussion I concentrate on how contemporary models of national citizenship are defined and implemented from the standpoint of curatorial approaches, visual and textual exhibition narratives, and architectural design. I will not deal with ethnographic analysis of how visitors respond to, and even transform the intended meanings of the museums. While the latter analysis is important, it by no means replaces the need to understand how museums conceptualize and institute discourses of national identity. The mapping of "technologies of citizenship" constitutes an important first step in a larger study that would include ethnographic analysis along with other analytical strategies.[11]

MUSEUMS AND CITIZENSHIP

The relationship between museums and citizenship has been studied at length in recent scholarship.[12] One of the most seminal accounts is by the historian and cultural critic Tony Bennett, as presented in his book *The Birth of the Museum*.[13] This by now well-known account is relevant for

my purposes here because it argues that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century museums played a pivotal role in defining the terms and conditions of an emergent civil society. Overall, the institutions of display Bennett discusses — which range from museums and libraries to department stores, fairs, and world expositions — came to comprise an "exhibitionary complex."[14]

A key means of creating this new culture of exhibition was to transfer objects once held in enclosed and private domains to public arenas, where they could inscribe and broadcast messages of power. Bennett argues that the exhibitionary complex was not only concerned with tranferring knowledge which had previously been the exclusive property of the sovereign into an expanding public domain. The spaces in which these artifacts were shown also displayed the public to itself, making the museum-goer both a subject and an object of the exhibition. The terms of this visibility granted a new importance to the panorama as an optical system that allowed the individual to perceive him- or herself in relation to an orderly crowd. The exhibitionary spaces Bennett describes permitted the spectator to see, and be seen, in relation to others.[15]

The constitution of a citizenry took place in an era of nation-building, and so the process of forming an orderly, self-regulating public was also a process of forming a collective national body. As Bennett noted, detailed studies of nineteenth-century expositions consistently foreground the ideological economy of their organizing principles, transforming displays of materials and industrial processes into art objects and material signifiers of progress, where progress was considered a collective national achievement, with "capital as the great co-ordinator."[16] In this way, power is "subjected by flattery" and placed on the side of the people by affording them a place within its workings.[17] The exhibitionary complex thus defined what might be termed a pedagogy of consumption. At the world's fairs, workers were transformed into consumers; products were displayed in ways that mystified how they were manufactured and stressed their intended meanings as commodities and the unique powers attributed to them.[18]

Initially it would seem that experiential exhibitions such as the Holocaust Memorial Museum do not fit easily into the history of the universal museum described by Bennett: their narratives are organized around national failures and tragedies; and they construct a path that leads toward the dystopian terminus of the nation-state, rather than an elevated plane of utopian achievements and success. Nor are they primarily concerned with displaying the collective genius of the nation-state through the progressive development of an enlightened rationality. Instead, they spectacularize the failures of that rationality. Yet the differences between these models are not quite so stark. While taking the nation-state down to a point of near annihilation, the apocalyptic moment creates an opening through which progressive history can begin again. In doing so, these museums ultimately reclaim

the nation-state as a vehicle for the realization of collective identity on terms that represent important continuities and differences with the nineteenth-century model.

These buildings form a global network of institutions. As such, they articulate what Frederick Buell has called "nationalist postnationalism" — not only in relation to the idealized identities they seek to constitute, but in the processes they employ to do so. Buell has argued that a new breed of cultural nationalism has emerged, to meet the demands of "postnational circumstances."[19] Both museums embody this paradox. On the one hand, they seek to teach the lessons of national history through the selective reenactment of often horrifying national events. On the other, they are designed, constructed and operated through a range of processes that exceed the scale of the nation-state: they are bound together by financial and professional networks, flows of visitors, geopolitical events, and — as I will suggest below — a shared system of narrative representation that employs the Holocaust as its structuring metaphor.[20] Both museums draw upon, and help define a global space of national imagining.

My discussion begins with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C., which has, by virtue of its size, prominence and wealth, become a global collection point, research center, and tourist destination for everything that is associated with the Holocaust. As its name suggests, USHMM brings the function of the museum and memorial together in a mutually constitutive relationship, one that is necessitated by the precipitous decline in Holocaust survivors. Most estimates suggest that less than a quarter of the original population of 100,000 camp survivors remain alive.[21] The USHMM is distinctive because it seeks to keep memories of the Holocaust active through an array of institutional practices that mimetically re(pro)duce an event in order to transfer the memory of it to visitors, who are then encouraged to memorialize what they have experienced. The USHMM is a particularly apt example for this discussion because of the disjunction between memory and location it defines: it seeks to instill memories of an event that did not take place on U.S. soil, in order to construct an idealized model of U.S. citizenship.[22] The Holocaust is thus employed as an instrumental narrative, a teaching tool and a therapeutic exemplar — something that is outside the direct experience of most visitors, but nevertheless assumed to be of fundamental relevance to the project of constructing appropriate models of national citizenship.[23]

It is important to note that while the vast majority of visitors to the USHMM have not had direct experience of the Holocaust (either as operators, survivors or liberators of the camps), given the ubiquity of Holocaust representations and the varied use of the term itself, it is likely that most will have encountered Holocaust representations prior to visiting the museum. These mediated memories not only help to shape how visitors understand what is presented to them in the museum; they also shape the texture of what is presented

as objective testimony. As has been demonstrated in the Holocaust literature, testimony by survivors varies over time as different signifying systems influence how events are recalled, as the temporal distance between the witness and the event increases, and as the context of retelling shifts.[24] Such changes underscore the status of memories as relational and intrinsically unstable. They are shaped by the situations in which they are remembered.

The second museum I discuss is the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa, whose implicit goal is to celebrate the death and rebirth of the South African nation-state. The Holocaust is not mentioned explicitly in the museum narrative itself, though the design of both the building and the exhibition was inspired in part by the USHMM.[25] The Apartheid Museum shares with the USHMM an investment in popular media. In this case, the museum narrative is constructed in large measure out of international news reportage, documentary photography, and film footage, much of which had previously been banned in South Africa. For this reason, many visitors from within South Africa may be far less familiar with the images and testimony presented than those who visit the USHMM.[26]

The instability of memory poses one of the principal challenges faced by both institutions examined here. Each seeks to stabilize both sides of the exhibitionary transaction, by surrounding testimony with the aura of authenticity (and hence objectivity) through the use of film, photographs, and oral history, and by immersing the viewer in sensory-rich environments that encourage the process of self-abstraction to take place. The powerful mechanisms devised to solicit the visitor's identification with presented narratives are therefore at least partly defined in relation to the diversity of backgrounds and experiences of their audiences. Both museums impart knowledge through the simulated experience of the suffering of others. The idea is that the museum experience "feels" real enough to be remembered as such; this is how the museum narrative hopes to align diverse constituencies of visitors with a singular Jewish or nonwhite subject of history, whose pain they are intended to feel, and whose suffering they are meant to share. These intentions transform the exhibition interior into a continuously modulating sensory experience that passes through archetypal stages of decline, death and rebirth.

The attempt to symbolically appropriate, traumatize and reassemble populations through identification with violent narratives of death and transcendent rebirth can be understood in relation to the contradictory position occupied by the national museum in an increasingly interdependent, if conflict-ridden world. At a time when diverse, sometimes opposed populations define the nation-state, the problems of managing difference from within in order to maintain the coherence of the national community (and allegiance to national values) have become paramount. Spectacular representations of the agony of specific groups become a means to overcome the historical

basis of difference — or at the very least, to reformulate it on starkly different terms. Once cultural difference is identified with pain and suffering, it is placed in the past, where it can be memorialized, remembered, and operated upon as something separate from the present.

Both of these museums contain a vast number of images and artifacts, but I will only deal here with the two significant (and similar) moments in each narrative. The first occurs after a long downward spiral through history, when state-orchestrated violence reaches its peak. The second occurs at the end of the exhibition, when both narratives culminate on a plateau of memory, framed by the nation-state of the present. These two moments are significant in the aesthetic program of the museum because they are the points of transition; they reveal the process of empathetic identification at its point of greatest exertion, and in doing so, show its limits most fully.

HOLOCAUST MEMORIES AND THE SUBJECT OF HISTORY

The design of the USHMM and its permanent exhibition has been discussed at length elsewhere, including an article I co-authored with Abidin Kusno after the building opened.[27] Here, I would like to build upon these earlier arguments, stressing the way the permanent exhibition and its enframing architecture operate together to define an idealized model of national citizenship.

The idea of a locating a Holocaust institution adjacent to the Washington Mall emerged during the Carter administration, following its controversial decision to sell a fleet of F-15 fighter jets to Saudi Arabia in 1978.[28] Strong reaction to the sale by domestic Jewish groups ultimately led President Carter to establish a Commission on the Holocaust, with Eli Weisel as its chair. The commission prepared a report that called for a permanent museum dedicated to the Holocaust in Washington. The USHMM was built on one of the last available pieces of Federal land adjacent to the Mall, and was constructed with private funds. Like all the other buildings in the Capitol district, this one was subject to a series of regulations governing the height, massing and materials of new buildings. The architect, James Ingo Freed, of Pei Cobb Freed and Partners, turned these requirements to an advantage by investing the main facade with brooding references that evoke the stripped-down classicism of Fascist Germany.[29]

The permanent exhibition is located on the upper floors of the museum, and is entered through the Hall of Witness, a large entry area that attempts to evoke Nazi landscapes of deportation and terror using twisted architectural geometries and prison-like windows and steel gates. The path of visitors through the museum is determined in advance; they must travel by elevator to the fourth floor, then descend sequentially to the third and second floors. Each floor encompasses a specific historical phase: the fourth floor examines the rise of

Nazism; the third focuses on the Holocaust itself; and the second examines its aftermath.

On the first floor all arriving visitors are given a mock passport of a Holocaust victim. They are then ushered into large, stainless-steel elevators reminiscent of railway boxcars. The passport is intended to foster identification with the narrative and personalize its rendering of history.[30] Once inside, a film made by troops approaching a concentration camp appears on a video monitor. The voice of a soldier recalls the scene, and asks in disbelief how the horror of the camps could have happened. As the video concludes, the doors open at the fourth floor to reveal a large backlit image of an open pit filled with dead bodies, with soldiers standing on the other side if it. A panel to the left of the photograph explains that it was taken by a U.S. soldier (FIG.1).

The entry sequence is designed to allow visitors to occupy the position behind the soldier's camera. In doing so, the strategy attempts to construct an equivalence between the contemporary visitor, who may have no direct understanding of the Holocaust, and a typical soldier who may have approached the camps at the end of World War II without foreknowledge of their existence. This strategy has also become an important means of gaining access to the public imagination elsewhere in the museum. References to soldiers and the military have recently been extended well beyond the permanent exhibition. For example, banners of the military units that liberated the camps now line the building's main corridors, and it is possible to purchase the crests of these battalions from a mobile gift cart on the second floor (FIG.2). The Education Center also features an exhibition called "Witness to History: Documenting the Path of American Liberators" which tells the story of how military

FIGURE 2. *Gift shop selling copies of military badges on the second floor of the USHMM. This portable gift shop is located outside the entrance to the Wexner Learning Center, where the exhibition entitled "Witness to History" is located.*

FIGURE I. *Entrance to the permanent exhibition at the USHMM. After passing through the Hall of Witness and ascending to the fourth floor in box-car like elevators, visitors face a large photo-mural of an open grave filled with the bodies of concentration-camp victims. Visitors stand on one side of the photographic pit, with U.S. soldiers depicted viewing the remains on the other.*

photographers and filmmakers represented the liberation of concentration camps (FIG.3).

The U.S. military is identified with the soldier as photographer, who in turn becomes the vision and the voice through which significant moments in the exhibition are represented. A parallel chain of associations is constructed in relation to the highly differentiated Jewish communities that were destroyed by the Holocaust. The generalizing force of the narrative turns many Jewish communities into a single, collective Jewish body that is attacked, tortured, murdered, and ultimately reborn as a survivor and witness. Three metonymic figures — the soldier/museum as witness, the Jewish victim, and the Holocaust survivor — thus provide experiential points of reference for the narrative.[31] Each position is a reduction of the many to the one — a pure archetype formed out of the subtractive distillation of diverse parts to create a single whole. The narrative oscillates between these three positions as it unfolds, but it is on the third and second floors, where the story is concerned with the implementation and aftermath of the Holocaust — and hence the positions of the victim and survivor — that I want to examine it in more detail.

The third floor, dealing with the Holocaust, is structured quite differently from the floor above, which describes the rise of Nazism. While the fourth-floor display is dominated by extensive written texts, and requires visitors to move slowly through a linear exposition of history, on the third floor visitors may move freely between displays in the setting of a mock concentration camp.[32] The scene is entered by passing through one of the boxcars used to transport victims to the camps. After this, a passage leads through a "genuine replica" of a concentration camp gate complete with artificially induced rust. Beyond this is a flattened image of the train station at Auschwitz, defined by a black-and-white photo

FIGURE 3. *The "Witness to History" exhibition in the Wexner Learning Center at the USHMM. A box camera sits at the symbolic heart of the exhibition, and is surrounded by computer terminals where visitors can examine photos taken by U.S. soldiers as the concentration camps were liberated. The exhibition reinforces the status accorded to the military camera as an objective lens to history.*

mural of the station platform. A long gray bench placed in front of the image is turned to face the entrance to a portion of a camp barracks. The doors to the barracks are open, and just beyond, a low circular wall contains a group of video monitors that are angled upwards (**FIG.4**). The vaporous blue light they cast draws a crowd. The monitors show archival footage of Nazi medical experiments and are difficult (not) to watch. A passage leads from the barracks toward a reconstruction of a crematorium furnace.

The bodies that figure so prominently in earlier stages of the exhibition are now gone; it is a landscape of the absent presence. An empty boxcar, an empty train station, empty bunks, piles of victims' shoes: these are all powerful icons of loss.[33] Whether standing beside an empty bunk or looking at indistinguishable figures being pushed into a pit, the reduction of historical Jewish subjects to a sentient outline creates an opening for displacement and self-projection.

After passing a crematorium furnace, the exhibition route then leads downward to the second floor and the final part of the display called "Last Chapter." This retells the past we have just "experienced," but represents it through the formal and informal testimony of survivors since World War II. When viewed as a whole, this part of the exhibition offers a catalogue of the different ways in which Holocaust survivors have become witnesses — whether through personal recollections given as a part of a massive attempt to document the words of every living survivor (funded by Steven Spielberg's Shoah Foundation[34]), or through the televised legal testimony made in courtrooms of international law.

These different forms of testimony are displayed in a chronological order that is socially symbolic. Near the beginning of the display, a bank of televisions offer continuous black-and-white replays of Nazi trials, beginning with Nuremberg and concluding with those initiated by Simon Wiesenthal, the "Nazi hunter" who later became the inspirational force behind the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles. These constitute a metaphorical courtroom space, where the visitor is placed in the position of a witness. At the other end of the room, another kind of testimony is given: the full-color, emotional counterpart to the courtroom shown on the little TV screens. Here images of the survivors, many of whom are filmed in their homes, float on a screen that is framed by walls of Jerusalem stone (**FIG.5**). They tell stories of subterfuge and heroism within the camps, of escape, of being hidden and saved by others. There are many halting moments when words dissolve into unrestrained displays of emotion.

The space between the full-color present and the black-and-white past defines two contrasting moments in the postwar history of Holocaust survivors. The change in the status of the survivor occurs alongside a change in the context of testi-

FIGURE 4. *A partial reconstruction of a concentration camp bunkhouse at the USHMM. The barracks are surrounded by "object survivors" that evoke the absent presence of the Holocaust victims.*

FIGURE 5. *The theater of testimony at the conclusion of the permanent exhibition at the USHMM. The theater plays a film that features the testimony of Holocaust survivors and their struggle to survive during and after the Holocaust. The walls of the theater are clad in Jerusalem stone, and, as is the case with the Hall of Remembrance that follows it, symbolically encode the nation-state as the guarantor of collective memory.*

mony, from the courtroom to the amphitheater at the end of the exhibition. In making the shift, the museum foregrounds what literary critic Shoshana Felman has called the juridical unconscious.[35] For Felman, trauma is the "unconscious" of the trial, the pain and suffering that is there but cannot be translated into legal terms, and cannot be arbitrated through legal processes. Felman suggests that the Nuremberg trials were the first to use the material resources of the law to achieve a symbolic exit from the injuries of traumatic history.[36]

Since then, highly public trials, often broadcast around the world, have attempted to bring closure to collective trau-

ma through the conceptual resources and practical tools of the law, placing trials and trauma in a process of continuous articulation that has transformed both legal structures and the representation of collective trauma.[37] In staging the historical transition of the juridical unconscious the USHMM leads us to a utopian point. By the end of the exhibition, the nation-state has been resurrected, but now is a silent background, a static and timeless frame in which emotional testimony of past injustices take place. In other words, the state becomes a framework for the symbolic ventilation of emotion as an index of citizenship. This interrelationship is fixed in a final transition that takes place just beyond the exit from the permanent exhibition.

The Hall of Remembrance follows the conclusion of the permanent exhibition. It is a hexagonal room clad in the same stone used on the main facade — the limestone of official Washington and its public monuments (**FIG.6**). The slot windows at the corners of this interior space reconnect it to the other memorial spaces on the Mall, effectively turning it inside out.[38] The names of concentration camps, grouped according to geographical regions, are carved into black granite panels. Rows of votive candles line the space below the inscription. While the amphitheater of testimony contains images of survivors describing their experiences, the Hall of Remembrance is silent by comparison. It is dedicated to interiorized acts of commemoration — private recollections that occur in the allegorical space of the nation-state invoked by the "exterior monumentality" of stone walls and deliberate framing of Mall vistas.[39] Visitors are left alone with their memories, whatever they may be. The nation-state is symbolically reconstructed as a mute frame that enables a multitude of private unarticulated actions in public. The ideal citizen is

FIGURE 6. *The Hall of Remembrance, just beyond the conclusion of the permanent exhibition at the USHMM. Both the inside and outside of the hall are clad in the same stone required for buildings in the Capitol district; slot windows focus visitors' acts of remembrance on nearby U.S. monuments.*

both a victim and witness. The two terms are now placed in a temporal order in which the victim is that part of a past remembered in the safe enclosure of the national present.[40]

PRODUCTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

In his book *Present Pasts*, the cultural critic Andreas Huyssen has argued that Holocaust discourse has been appropriated and reworked to represent other forms of national trauma.[41] He has called these reworkings "productive inscriptions," because the Holocaust is understood as something that allows new meanings to become part of public memory. I would like next to examine this process of (re)inscription, through the case of the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa.

In its early stages of development, plans for the Apartheid Museum were guided by Solly Krok, a prominent South African for whom the project was part of a larger deal with the government of national liberation in 1994. Krok made his fortune selling toxic skin-lightening cream during the height of influx controls (the cream is now banned in South Africa, but sold legally in the United States).[42] Krok had initially sought permission to establish a casino within a theme park operated by his conglomerate in suburban Johannesburg. Permission was only granted with the proviso that this conglomerate would finance the design, construction, and two years of operation of a museum of national significance. Krok initially envisaged a museum that would present the history of South Africa in broad terms, potentially reaching back thousands of years to construct a deep history of pan-

African culture.[43] However, a visit to Washington in the early stages of the design process convinced him to shift the topic of the museum to address the rise and fall of Apartheid through "something emotional and theatrical" that would "complete the history of South Africa."[44]

The museum that resulted from this process has now established a dialogue with the casino and theme park across the street (FIG.7). The casino represents a parallel history of Apartheid, told through nostalgic references that range from tinted photos and reproductions of furniture from the colonial period to relics of a "white-only" restaurant from the now-defunct Carlton Hotel, which have been preserved in a luxury dining room for casino patrons (FIGS.8,9).[45] It is an instance of Bennett's exhibitionary complex writ large, where two themed environments organized around different registers of emotion (nostalgia and suffering) and cultural codes (low and high) are joined together into one contradictory narrative by the passage of visitors between the two sites.

The exterior of the Apartheid Museum employs the same strategies of ironic mimesis as the USHMM, but in different terms. Where the USHMM transforms Washington's official Classicism into something that evokes Nazi Germany, the Apartheid Museum adopts a form that is redolent of an urban prison, containing terrible secrets that are now on public display (FIG.10).[46] The building is a windowless, walled enclosure made of industrial brickwork, stone, and poured concrete, complete with its own simulation of the precolonial landscape. Ironically, this inward turn also replicates the post-Apartheid "gating" of Johannesburg as a whole.[47]

Once inside the museum, views are framed that randomly cast visitors as prisoners (FIG.11). However, rather

FIGURE 8. (LEFT) *A photograph of the lobby of the first Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg (built in 1906), on permanent display in the Gold Reef City Casino, in Johannesburg. The interior of the casino displays pictures chronicling the history of South Africa.*

FIGURE 9. (RIGHT) *The Three Ships Restaurant inside the Gold Reef City Casino. The restaurant is a reconstruction of a restaurant by the same name previously located in the second Carlton Hotel, built in 1973 in central Johannesburg after the first was demolished in 1963. The reconstructed space uses plates and flatware from the original hotel. The second Carlton Hotel closed in December 1997, after the migration of leading businesses from the center to the suburbs.*

than entering a faux box car/elevator to travel to the main exhibition, here the visitor passes through a large gate, purchases a ticket, and is arbitrarily classified as "white" or "nonwhite." Two entry doors corresponding to the classifications then lead into the exhibition area. Once inside, the visitor passes along a corridor lined with rows of pass books that frame the view toward a life-size image of a racial classification committee, photographed behind an imposing table **(FIGS.12,13)**.

Like the USHMM, the Apartheid Museum presents a story of oppression "from above." The administration of Apartheid policies is represented as an intensifying system of regulations and controls, and as in the USHMM, the narrative structure is conveyed in the three parts: decline, death and

FIGURE 10. *Entrance court at the Apartheid Museum. Visitors obtain tickets here and pass though a prison-like gate. In the distance, a concrete cube contains the final stage of the exhibition narrative, a memorial to the ideals of democracy after the formal end of Apartheid.*
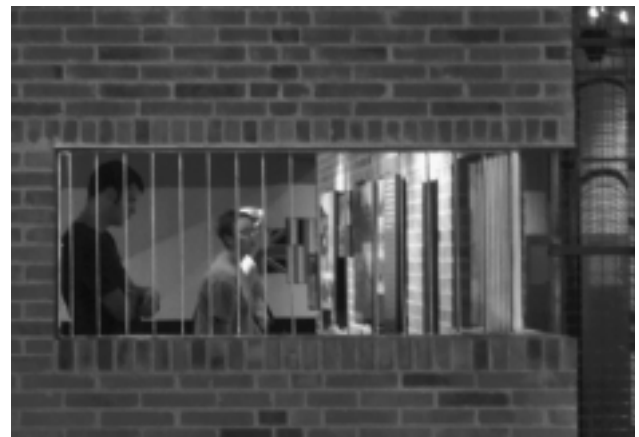

FIGURE 11. *Imprisoned visitors at the Apartheid Museum. The museum is designed to evoke a prison. Views within the exhibition make visitors part of the display, enframing them as both captors and prisoners.*

FIGURE 12. (LEFT) *Segregated entrances at the Apartheid Museum. Visitors are randomly classified as black or white at the ticket window, and must enter the first part of the museum through doors that correspond to their assigned identity.*

FIGURE 13. (RIGHT) *Corridor of pass books, Apartheid Museum. After passing through segregated entrances, visitors walk along a long corridor displaying the pass books issued under Apartheid. A life-size mural of a racial classification panel confronts the visitor at the end of the corridor.*

rebirth. In this case the "Rise of Apartheid" starts in the colonial period of the nineteenth century, when the practices of spatial segregation and the discourse of white supremacy were institutionalized. After the ascent of the National Party in 1948 and its subsequent consolidation of power, the story is told primarily through the actions of the state, and the embodied targets of those actions become an index of its brutality.

Although the breadth of racial classifications is ambiguously captured by the use of the term "nonwhite," the aesthetic systems of the museum work to position the narrative as an opposition between black and white, reducing the complexity of racial difference within the larger "nonwhite" category in the same way that difference between Jewish cultures are blurred at the USHMM. The extensive use of black-and-white documentary photography reinforces a dichotomous rendering of history — one that focuses to a great extent on the African National Congress and its leadership as metonyms for the entire "nonwhite" population. White is identified with the Afrikaner state and its instruments of oppression, and the collective image of whiteness becomes interchangeable with the policies and covert tactics with which it gained and held state power.

Black, as a monolithic category for everything that is "not white," is increasingly identified with the embodied experience of oppression, and is represented in stark terms through enlarged representations of humiliation, deprivation, and later torture and death. Although there is mention of the role that colored, Indian, and mixed-race populations played in the history of Apartheid, these groups gradually disappear from the narrative, and an undifferentiated black population becomes the subject of history. The construction of a unitary collective body out of a diversity of political histories and identities is made possible by gradually stripping away the social and his-

torical specificity of blackness until it dissolves into a transparent symbol of universal humanity. The most powerful moments of semiotic conversion are also the most solitary; thus, the growing abstraction of blackness is mirrored by the increasing spatial and acoustic isolation of the visitor.

Processes of self-abstraction converge in three climatic scenes that follow one after the other mid-way through the exhibition. These comprise the conceptual turning point in the story line, where the collective victim achieves a unitary status, is murdered, and is then reborn as a subject of mass resistance. The first scene in this sequence is of diamond mine workers stripped for a body search. The photograph is from Ernest Cole's 1968 book *House of Bondage*. When first encountered, the image is perceived separately from both its textual (and wider historical) context. It is enlarged to life size, and viewed at a distance, from within a darkened passageway. The visitor is thus placed in a space of double indemnity, where one looks through the museum's keyhole (the passageway) in order to look through the photographer's keyhole (the viewfinder). The control of the searched by the searcher represented in the photograph is repeated in the space of the museum, magnifying the tension in the original scene. The anonymous figures in the image are arranged in a repetitive sequence with their faces turned to the wall.

The process of stripping down continues in a subsequent tableau, an execution chamber where one noose hangs for every political prisoner executed under Apartheid (FIG.14). A narrow entry gate to this section of the exhibit requires each visitor to enter alone, symbolically passing through the hanging bodies of the (transparent) dead before leaving the room. Inside, the ropes are clean and white, and the lighting is carefully adjusted to cast shadows through the nooses. There are no accounts nearby to help distinguish the people signified by

FIGURE 15. *Chimney at the USHMM. The exhibition route passes under a chimney-like void containing unnamed photos of inhabitants of the village of Ejszyszki in Poland, all of whom were murdered during the Holocaust.*

FIGURE 14. *The execution chamber at the Apartheid Museum. Visitors pass beneath a canopy of nooses, one for every person executed under Apartheid.*

the nooses; rather, they merge together into a single, tangled pattern. The long shadows of visitors fill the shadows of the nooses as they move, one by one, through the space. The scene is reminiscent of a number of moments at the USHMM, but most closely recalls a point where visitors pass underneath a three-story chimney-like void. That space is also covered with human shadows — nameless photographs of all the residents of a single village exterminated by the Nazis (**FIG.15**).

The execution chamber at the Apartheid Museum is followed (not preceded) by the third important scene. This is a display of three solitary confinement cells, whose doors are left ajar — as if to underscore the reversal from death to life.

Following these three central images, the remaining portions of the exhibit embody the stark opposition of black and white populations in increasingly violent encounters of mass mobilization (**FIG.16**). The exhibition route passes through representations of mass uprisings that followed the Afrikaner-only language policies of 1970, the imposition of an extended state of emergency, and the growing international isolation of South Africa in the 1980s. In this sense, the Apartheid Museum's stress on resistance throughout the nar-

rative helps to differentiate it from the USHMM. The seeds of an alternative idea of the nation-state are present in the story from the very beginning. Central figures in the armed struggle are shown sabotaging government installations, organizing marches and walkouts, and moving between secret locations. At the end of the exhibition the characters are reversed, and the visible figures of resistance become the leaders of the reformed nation-state — ones who are, it should be added, almost exclusively male.[48]

The narrative draws to a close with a final transition, one which, as at the USHMM, defines the passage from a black-and-white past into a full-color present. Amidst smiling pictures of a national family sit clusters of voting booths that equate democracy with the act of casting a vote. The final stop on the journey magnifies this solitary moment, as the exhibition terminates in a concrete cube pulled away from the main building and surrounded by water. Inside resides a second cube made of glass, whose permanently sealed walls contain unopened copies of the new constitution (**FIG.17**). A bridge bisects the glass cube and permits only single-file movement, each visitor separated from the next on a short march to the present. It is an image of nation in which collective agency is confined in the past, where it can be remembered, curated, and reflected upon — but not

FIGURE 16. *Displaying armed resistance at the Apartheid Museum. After passing through a simulated execution chamber, visitors enter an area containing three solitary confinement cells, with their doors left open for entry (far right, just beyond the image). An open prison gate marks the entrance to the next major part of the exhibition, dealing with armed resistance to Apartheid. A military vehicle stands open for visitors to enter; surveillance film is played on the monitor within.*

mobilized in the present. Like the memorial chamber at the USHMM, it represents the nation as a mute container that is simply there, outside culture and history.

The museum constructs a model of citizenship not only through what it chooses to display, but also through the social process it sets in motion in order to do so. The current curator has come to the Apartheid Museum after working for the City of Johannesburg for 21 years. The museum is as much an allegory for the presumed benefits of privatized and "unbundled" public services in the present, as it is a story of past wrongs made right.[49] There is inevitable competition between the museum and the city's Department of

FIGURE 17. *The democracy chamber at the conclusion of the Apartheid Museum. The concrete cube contains a glass box whose sealed walls are partly filled with copies of the South African Constitution. The minimalist cube is also visible when entering the building (see Figure 10).*

Cultural Affairs. Both seek, in different ways, to be the point of entry for an overarching space of national representation, in which all other museums will, it is imagined, eventually fit. In this respect the Apartheid Museum also recalls the USHMM, which has made its mark in part by becoming a global headquarters for Holocaust remembrance. The Apartheid Museum is currently being marketed to international tour operators as a "gateway" to South Africa's emerging heritage industry.[50] And efforts are underway to make it a headquarters for training primary- and secondary-school teachers in a new curriculum in national history.[51] Though the museum is metaphorically buried in the ground, it seeks to control the air space of national memory.[52]

The model of political rationality the museum constructs converges with the national policy toward the past. Recently, controversy has surrounded attempts by a group of Apartheid survivors to seek reparations from multinationals that benefited from the system. The Mbeki government initially opposed the plan, arguing that it conflicted with the larger "national purpose" of placing Apartheid in the past — viewed as a necessary first step toward attracting global investment.[53] Though a process was later put in place that allowed the claims to proceed on a limited basis, the struggle illustrated the instrumental value of memorials to state terror in the global present. A stable collective personality is a necessary attribute of the global self-fashioning of nation, and therefore it is not just Apartheid, but the fractured political agency that dismantled it that must be collected together, symbolically compartmentalized and deactivated. It is a project to which the Apartheid Museum contributes through a narrative of universal history, in which mass agency is converted into silent, individual voluntarism, and contained in a timeless volume.

SPACES OF EMOTIONAL CONSUMPTION

The two museums examined here constitute subject-forming mechanisms: each is comprised of narrative structures, a set of aesthetic practices, an architecture. Though they deal with very different historical conditions, the fate of the idealized model of citizenship they represent is similar. In both cases, the stories of decline, death, and rebirth of the subject of history and the nation-state terminate in a present where identity is defined through (simulated) experiences of (past) national traumas. Historical experience reaches its climax as emotional experience, which is rendered as a symptom of larger spiritual themes (evil and good, loss and redemption, pain and joy). Both museums suggest that if the layers of historical trauma are peeled away, one will be left with the shimmering, but ghostly essence that is common to all. It is precisely the idea of immanent universality that enables the Holocaust narrative to be treated as a portable metaphor for the human condition, and that allows it to be used to represent historical trauma in other national contexts.

Both the museums operate through representations of the absent presence, where the collective subject of history ultimately becomes a transparent outline defined by differing intensities of human emotion. In doing so, the museums try to replicate historical experience on terms that will make it accessible to as diverse an audience as possible. The subject of history is gradually revealed as a generalized image of "humanity," while the viewer's sense of self is simultaneously diminished through immersion in darkened interiors and bombardment with sounds and images. In this way, both institutions attempt bring the subject and object of history into alignment by attempting to dissolve both into sublime emptiness.

In both cases, the representational process negates the social and historical condition of the bodies it seeks to describe, a paradox that is central to the operation of empathy. As Saidiya Hartman has noted, empathy seeks to counteract callousness to the suffering of others by positioning the body of the spectator in place of the body of the victim.[54] The goal is to make suffering visible and intelligible; yet in making the other's suffering one's own, that suffering is occluded by the other's erasure. The ambivalent character of empathy can thus be located in the displacement of otherness that occurs as we feel ourselves into those we imagine as ourselves. We project ourselves into the position of the victim on our terms, and in doing so we convert the other to the same.[55]

The pathological rhetoric that surrounds both museums underscores the link each forges between consumption and citizenship. These museums are not only spectacular theaters of prosthetic memory; they are also spaces in which emotional experience becomes the immaterial object to be consumed. As with the manufactured goods displayed in the nineteenth-century exhibitions, the pain and suffering on display is a product of machinery whose inner workings are hidden from view and mystified. Just as nineteenth-century expositions sought to initiate and maintain the ideological separation of production and consumption, so too do museums of the violent national past separate the consumption of historical suffering and pain from the specific bodies in which it was experienced.[56] They disappear through the process of empathy, a mode of acquisition that structures the reception of affect. The traumatic commodity is relocated in a mythic narrative of national progress that culminates in the eternal present of the nation-state. Emotional experience thus becomes the object(ive) of identity, something to be remembered and memorialized.

However, the act of emotional consumption cannot be understood outside the moralizing narrative that makes it desirable, even necessary. It is the promise that the consumption of affect will lead to a more tolerant self that sustains the entire process, makes the simulated violence endurable, vicariousness seem noble, and the negation of others an urgent necessity. Indeed, both museums ultimately insist on the simple claim that the consumption of the museum experience will lead, in and of itself, to the production of a more tol-

erant citizen. Yet the meaning of tolerance in both cases is vague and ambiguous at best, and expressed in the most general of terms. This is because tolerance is presumed to be the consequence of consumption; it is not something produced through social struggle or institutional change, but rather is the outcome of witnessing its simulated reverse.

If the nineteenth-century exhibitions worked to transform industrial workers into consumers by surrounding commodities with fantastic meanings, then the two museums examined here take this process to another, more ethereal level, by displacing attention from the commodity to the economies of desire that precede its existence.[57] The pedagogy of national citizenship reaches an immaterial stage: the physical commodity vanishes and emotion become the object of production and consumption.

As various critics of contemporary consumption practices have noted, in contexts where those who can consume already have what they need, the only way forward is through the production of desire. Commodities — from shoes to buildings — are now surrounded with elaborate emotional landscapes that become the primary object of consumption.[58] The product is a tertiary support for the culture of the brand, which does not simply reflect desire, but interactively produces it. In this respect, the museum of emotional consumption may be understood as the symbolic flagship of economies that are being restructured around services and the rise of "immaterial labor," or work in which caring and the transmission of emotion are the main products.[59]

Both the USHMM and the Apartheid Museum participate in this broader pedagogy of citizenship, while defining and promoting heritage industries related to their core thematics. The USHMM is widely acknowledged as a global center for Holocaust studies, which like all areas of academic research, is embedded in, and productive of, larger economic processes. It is also an economic force in itself, not only through the busy gift shop where Holocaust and USHMM memorabilia can be purchased, but through the substantial impact of the museum on tourism to Washington, D.C. The Apartheid Museum, with its privatized administrative structure and its conceptual interconnection with national economic policy, also reflects the constraints and possibilities of post-Apartheid economic development. This is underscored by its location within a theme park where the gold mine, once the primary (but now depleted) site of production in Johannesburg's urban economy, is transformed into a spectacular site of consumption. In both cases, apocalyptic narratives of national history represent both the endgame of consumption and its precarious possibilities as a strategy for national growth in a global context.

Inasmuch as both institutions work to separate the past from the present, both constitute models of collective self-identity that are ahistorical. The temporal boundaries they erect mean that, for example, it is possible to represent Israel as a homeland for survivors of the Holocaust without examin-

ing the wider context of Middle East politics and the struggles over Palestine. Likewise, the scenes of a great, multicultural family embraced by Nelson Mandela at the conclusion of the Apartheid Museum displace understanding of how the dynamics of structural racism continue in the so-called post-Apartheid present. In both cases, experiential history is offered as a way through to a timeless, universal humanity, a precondition for a model of national citizenship that seeks to transcend even the global.

POSTSCRIPT: MOURNING OF THE ETERNAL PRESENT

It's "mourning in America," to play on the famous slogan that helped secure Ronald Reagan's second presidential election victory in 1984. I am standing at the edge of where the World Trade Center complex once stood. It is now a vast construction site, visible through a wire mesh fence. The enclosure acts as a support for a series of illustrated panels that tell the story of New York's history from the nineteenth century to the present. The narrative describes the city's history as involving an irrepressible rise from setbacks and disasters, one that now includes 9/11 (FIG.18). The crowd move slowly from panel to panel, while some stop to photograph the crucifix made of rusting steel sections from the fallen towers that stands on the site. The panels describe a narrative of progressive history, in which each disaster is followed by struggle and collective triumph.

Descending into the temporary PATH urban rail terminal at one end of the site (a simple shed-like building that will be removed as the structures that surround it are completed), commuters are brought down into the original Word Trade Center excavation, almost to its base. From here it is possible to see the crucifix again — and on the other side, the "slurry wall." But this is only seen by looking through a mesh screen

FIGURE 18. *The temporary transit terminal at the World Trade Center. The terminal's walkways provide dramatic views into the crater left by the destruction of the twin towers, now a construction site. A crucifix made by workers who cleared the site of debris is visible through a transparent scrim that displays famous quotations about New York.*

that contains uplifting quotations by famous Americans. At one end of the station, new tracks curve toward the temporary platform and stop abruptly, awaiting completion of a new transit terminal designed by Santiago Calatrava.

A large mechanical plant building for the Calatrava structure is slated for construction at the northeastern corner of the memorial park. According to the master plan designed by Daniel Libeskind, building to house two of the much-disputed cultural amenities for the site was also to be located here.[60] And after a call for proposals, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) selected the tenants: the Drawing Center (a Soho art gallery), and the International Freedom Center (IFC), a new institution that proposed to "explore freedom as a constantly evolving world movement in which America has played a leading role."[61] The Norwegian architectural firm Snohetta designed the building to wrap around 40,000 sq.ft. of mechanical equipment with a sequence ramps and voids, while also straddling the platform area of the transit terminal below.

The programming proposed by the IFC can be criticized for its teleological — even imperial — view of history, its abstracted celebration of freedom, and its apparent conflation of free societies with free-market societies.[62] The contradictions at the heart of the project were exemplified by the uncertainty over how to end the "Freedom Walk," a linear route describing the progress of freedom through history. When the design was made public, an image of an Iraqi voter was removed from a prominent illustration depicting the conclusion, and replaced with one of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Lyndon Johnson, a fact that did not go unnoticed by the IFC's critics.[63]

Of greater significance for this discussion, however, was the way in which questions about the IFC became a means to exclude any attempt at historical interpretation from the site, by reasserting the primacy of memorializing "fallen heroes." A small but vocal group of families and friends of 9/11 victims launched a campaign to "take back the memorial." This quickly grew in scale following an article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Debra Burlingame, the sister of Charles F. "Chic" Burlingame III, pilot of American Airlines fight 77, which was crashed into the Pentagon on 9/11.[64] She referred to the plans for the IFC as the "great Ground Zero heist," and criticized it as an inappropriate intrusion of world history and politics onto "sacred ground." Her most stinging criticisms were reserved for the IFC's organizers and advisory board members, whom she described as follows:

> *The Lower Manhattan Development Corp. is handing over millions of federal dollars and the keys to that building to some of the very same people who consider the post-9/11 provisions of the Patriot Act more dangerous than the terrorists that they were enacted to apprehend — people whose inflammatory claims of a deliberate torture policy at Guantanamo Bay are undermining this country's efforts to foster freedom. . . .[65]*

Burlingame's position toward "activists and academics" who she claimed were "salivating at holding forth" was amplified in subsequent protests organized by the Take Back the Memorial group. In polarizing rhetoric reminiscent of the Cold War, the programming of the IFC was described "anti-American" and unpatriotic.[66] The presence of the Drawing Center was also challenged after it was revealed that it had held an exhibition containing work that was critical of recent U.S. foreign policy.[67] The campaign against the memorial continues today with demands to remove it from the underground location established for it through an international design competition, and house it in a redesigned above-ground facility.[68]

As has been noted elsewhere, the transformation of the site into a battleground of immense, even sacred national importance occurred almost immediately after the attacks. President Bush led the way by referring to 9/11 as an attack on "freedom" and the "American Way of Life," rather than, as was largely the case in the international media, an attack on symbols of U.S. global financial and military power.[69] Governor George Pataki of New York (who ultimately retains control over the direction of development on the former World Trade Center site) reiterated this viewpoint, publicly equating the 9/11 memorial project with Pearl Harbor and the beaches of Normandy.[70] He entered the fray over the cultural facilities and sided with those who opposed the two institutions. Pataki barred the IFC from the site in July 2005; around the same time, the Drawing Center announced plans to relocate to a building in the renovated Fulton Street Fish Market.[71] The World Trade Center Memorial will now extend above ground and occupy a smaller version of the building that was originally intended for the IFC and the Drawing Center.[72]

The net effect has been not only to eliminate the IFC and the Drawing Center from the site, but also to severely limit the breadth of public discourse. Initial plans called for the IFC and the World Trade Center Memorial to be connected, with the two institutions, respectively acting as the "brain and heart" of the rebuilt World Trade Center.[73] The departure of the IFC has turned the memorial (now referred to as a memorial museum) into an ahistorical sequence of "object-survivors" culled from the rubble of the collapsed towers. Massive steel columns, rusting and scarred, a fire truck with its crushed cab and mangled body, and the broadcast antennae from the roof are among the rescued artifacts to be installed as permanent witnesses to the destruction of the towers.[74] Indeed, the entire crypt-like building (which includes the slurry wall as a major part of its cavernous interior space) has been cast as an iconic survivor. As Steven M. Davis, one of the architects for the scheme, has stated: "Normally the icon contains the exhibit. . . . Here the icon is the exhibit."[75]

These evocations of the dead will be connected by a route that passes by two large voids, each representing the footprint of one of the twin towers. The stripped-down architecture of the memorial museum — a composition of concrete, black granite, natural light from above, and flowing water — is designed to both mirror and help produce a state

of contemplative self-abstraction. The exhibition route spirals downward to bedrock, past images of "everyday life" at the World Trade Center between 1993 and 2001 and displays that document the attacks on 9/11, to culminate with a massive subterranean chamber focused on the slurry wall. Some 9,100 unidentified remains will be kept in an adjacent repository, with a contemplation room nearby, complete with a symbolic vessel open to the sky. As the Senior Vice President for Memorial and Cultural Development at the LMDC has said, "It's going to be sensual, graphic and very honest."[76]

In February 2006, the LMDC announced that Alice M. Greenwald, an associate director for museum programs at the USHMM, would become the Director of the World Trade Center Memorial Museum.[77] Greenwald began working at the USHMM as a consultant in 1986, and was part of the original design team for its permanent exhibition.[78] The influence of the USHMM on the development of the project was apparent even before her appointment, both in the changing conception of the facility as a "memorial museum" and in its presentation of a sequential narrative that climaxes in ghostly encounters with damaged object-survivors.

The World Trade Center Memorial Museum, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Apartheid Museum all represent history as a way through to a discourse of a universal humanity. Yet if these institutions and others like them share strategies of empathy and geopolitical transcendence, the WTC Memorial Museum moves this technology of citizenship to another level. Here the climatic moment of death and rebirth radiates outward from a sentient core to overtake the entire exhibition. Any references to the broader social and historical conditions that may have led to the attacks on 9/11 have been barred from the site as profane violations of the rights of the dead.

Although its advocates argue that this version of collective mourning occupies a sanctified space outside politics, it does so through the political act of placing national history in an eternal present, where it can operate as the unconscious supplement to the very real and terrifying violence of U.S. imperialism.[79] As Warwick Tie has noted, in this configuration of sovereign power, "brutality embraces affection."[80] The contested realm of collective, public memory is replaced by an accumulation of private emotions and individual commemorations, with the heroic nation-state constituted as their mute guarantor.[81] The memorial museum now under construction at Ground Zero formalizes this psychic economy. Albums and stories of the dead will be gathered together in a library of individual memories, with scarred remnants of the twin towers recast as their somatic backdrop. The dead and their object-survivors are destined to become the guardians of the silence that now engulfs the site.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. See for example, L. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992); J.C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); J. Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); B. Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); S. Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); and V. Parkash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).
2. See the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience 2003 Conference Report, p.2. At present, the coalition includes thirteen sites: *The District Six Museum* (South Africa); *Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site* (U.S.A.); *National Civil Rights Museum* (U.S.A.); *Gulag Museum at Perm-36* (Russia); *Japanese American National Museum* (U.S.A.); *Liberation War Museum* (Bangladesh); *Lower East Side Tenement Museum* (U.S.A.); *Terezin Museum* (Czech Republic); *Women's Rights National Historic Park* (U.S.A.); *Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site* (U.S.A.): *Maison Des Esclaves* (Senegal); *Memoria Abierta* (Argentina); and the *Workhouse* (U.K.). The coalition maintain informal connections with a wide range of human-rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch, the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, and the International Center for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, which advise on how to link the histories told at the sites to contemporary human-rights issues.
3. Daniel Berenbaum stated in relation to the USHMM: "We recast the story of the Holocaust to teach fundamental American values." Quoted in P. Gourevitch, "Behold Now the Behemoth: The Holocaust Memorial Museum, One More American Theme Park," *Harpers* (July 1993), p.56. Berenbaum became a project director at the USHMM in 1987 while it was in the planning stages, and was director of its research institute from 1993–99.
4. See, for example, B. Weber, "Shock Therapy for Police Recruits: At Holocaust Museum, Learning to be Good Cops from the Very Bad Cops," *New York Times*, Saturday, May 10, 2003, pp.A19,A21. In the article, Chief Charles Ramsey of the Metropolitan Police Department in New York City states: "I'd like to see [the police training program] go across the country. But that's problematic, because you've got to see it, feel it, in order to feel the full impact. When you come out of the exhibit, you're different."

The Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles has developed an extensive set of courses held at the museum and online for use by law-enforcement officers and those employed in the criminal justice system.

Entitled "Tools for Tolerance," the courses provide California-state-certified training to "assist staff supervisors to gain expertise in certain leadership skills and infuse those skills in a paramilitary organizational structure." See the "Tools for Tolerance" section of the Museum of Tolerance website at www.museumoftolerance.com.

5. E. Rothstein, "Slavery's Harsh History is Portrayed in Promised Land," *New York Times*, Wednesday, August 18, 2004, p.B1. Rothstein writes: "At the exhibit's end, in a room called Dialogue Zone, a social worker greets visitors, who may feel overwhelmed by the trauma — or perhaps upset that the original subject, so powerfully touched upon, has been so lost in a cloud of righteous feeling. One posted ground rule reads: 'Avoid terms and phrases which define, demean, or devalue others, and use words that are affirmative and reflect a positive value.'"

6. The most recent, and perhaps the most controversial entry to the field is the current proposal for a branch of the Museum of Tolerance in Jerusalem, to be designed by Frank Gehry — a $200 million campus devoted to exhibitions and lectures that will examine the history of anti-Semitism as a chronicle of "man's inhumanity to man." S.G. Freedman, "Frank Gehry's Mid-East Peace Plan," *New York Times*, August 1, 2004, p.A1. An NPR report on February 24, 2006 by Linda Gradstein revealed that the museum will be built on top of a portion of a Muslim graveyard, and construction has been temporarily stopped by the Israeli Supreme Court. See "Israel Debates Sites for Tolerance Museum" at http://www.npr.org/programs/day/transcripts/2006/feb/060224b.gradstein.html#email.

The Jerusalem branch of the Museum of Tolerance will be the third major institution linked to the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. The second is the New York Tolerance Center, opened in February 2004. It replicates many of the displays in the Los Angeles headquarters, including the "Point of View Diner," an interactive display in a restaurant setting, where visitors seated at tables may use juke box controls to register responses to questions that test for intolerance. Although the Los Angeles museum is open to the general public, the New York branch is "a professional development train-

ing center" for "front line professionals" in the criminal justice system. It seeks to build on the success of the Web-based "Tools for Tolerance" program operated by the Los Angeles branch of the Tolerance Museum, which has trained more than 70,000 people through its online courses. Four other offices, in Toronto, Canada; Paris, France; Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Boca Raton, Florida, extend the activities of the Simon Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles by monitoring bigotry and anti-Semitism in their respective contexts. See "Tools for Tolerance" at museumoftolerance.org.

7. James Ingo Freed, quoted in A. Lansberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Memory in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p.134.

8. Ibid, p.129.

9. I have borrowed this term from Chris Rojek. See his "Fatal Attractions," in D. Boswell and J. Evans, eds., *Representing the Nation: Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.185–207.

10. J. Lennon and M. Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster* (New York and London: Continuum, 2000), p.12. The authors suggest that it is the commodification of anxiety and doubt, and the design of sites as both products and experiences that qualify them as dark tourism.

11. Technologies of citizenship can also be described as mentalities of governing, or as practices that are concerned to "conduct the conduct of others." M. Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Societies* (London: Sage, 1999). Dean notes that to "analyze government is to analyze the practices that shape, sculpt, mobilize and work through choices, desires, aspirations, needs wants and lifestyles of individuals and groups" (p.2).

12. See, for example, D. Preziosi, *Brain of the Earth's Body: Art, Museums and the Phantasms of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); N. Prior, *Museums and Modernity: Art and the Making of Modern Culture* (London: Berg, 2002); P. Harvey, *Hybrids of Modernity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996); and A.E. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). For a discussion of the relationship between

commemoration and national identity, see J.R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

13. T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

14. Ibid., pp.59–88.

15. Bennett notes: "The peculiarity of the exhibitionary complex is not to be found in its reversal of the principles of the panopticon. Rather, it consists in its incorporation of aspects of those principles together with those of the panorama, forming a technology of vision which served not to atomize and disperse the crowd, but to regulate it, and to do so by rendering it visible to itself, by making the crowd the ultimate spectacle." Ibid., pp.68–69.

16. Ibid., p.81.

17. Ibid., pp.65–66.

18. Ibid., p.81.

19. For a detailed analysis of the term in the U.S. context, see F. Buell, "Nationalist Postnationalism: Globalist Discourse in Contemporary American Culture," *American Quarterly*, Vol.50b No.3 (1998), p.551.

20. A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). Huyssen argues that "memory projects may construct or revise national narratives . . . but these narratives are now invariably in a space somewhere between the global and the local" (p.96).

The historical development of the exhibitionary complex can be traced to colonial contexts. See T. Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). When describing travelers to Cairo in the nineteenth century, Mitchell notes: "Reality was that which presented itself as exhibit, so nothing else would have been thinkable. Living within a world of signs, they took semiosis to be a universal condition, and set about describing the Orient as if it were an exhibition" (p.14).

21. N.G. Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (London: Verso, 2003), p.81.

22. After initial controversy, the USHMM was developed with the goal of "Americanizing" the Holocaust. The definition of who the institution was intended to memorialize was expanded to be as inclusive as possible, with

the Executive Order establishing federal support for the museum stating that the new institution should honor the memory of "all the victims of the Holocaust — 6 million Jews and 5 million other people." The effort to move beyond "ethnic" Jewish memory was deemed essential to making the museum relevant to non-Jewish Americans. See E.T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp.41–45.

In practice, the Museum is focused largely on the Jewish experience of the Holocaust, with supplemental references to other affected populations. The representation of Jewish populations is sufficiently abstract as to permit a wide range of identifications, and they effectively become nonethnic. See G. Crysler and A. Kusno, "Angels in the Temple: The Aesthetic Construction of Citizenship at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," *The Art Journal*, Vol.56 No.1 (Spring 1997), pp.52–64.

23. Recent attendance figures for the USHMM posted on its website in March 2006 state that since it opened in 1994, there have been 23 million visitors, of which 17.3 million have been "non-Jews," or more 75 percent of the total. Some 7.8 million of the total were schoolchildren, 3 million were minorities, and 2.8 million were international visitors.

24. See, for example, M. Jay, "Of Plots, Witnesses and Judgments," in S. Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the Final Solution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp.97–107.

25. The Apartheid Museum was initially conceived by Solly Krok, a co-owner with his brother of the holding company Akami Egoli, which controls the Gold Reef City theme park and casino. Krok visited the USHMM twice when the initial plans for the museum were being developed, and as a result insisted that the Apartheid Museum be organized around similar narrative structure. For details of Krok's Holocaust epiphany, see J. Gordin, "Looking Back in Horror and Wonder at Apartheid: Tycoon Solly Krok finds Inspiration for Johannesburg's New Apartheid Museum while Visiting a Memorial to the Holocaust in Washington," *The Sunday Independent* (South Africa), November 18, 2001, p.4.

26. Almost half the total visitors to the Apartheid Museum are from South Africa; the rest are from other national contexts. Attendance at the Apartheid Museum is evenly split between domestic and international visitors, with adults as 70 percent of the total number of visitors, and 30 percent children. In the first year of operation (2001–2002), total attendance was 300,000, evenly split between domestic and international visitors. These figures were provided by the Apartheid Museum in 2002 and updated in November, 2004.

27. This discussion draws upon aspects of earlier research presented in Crysler and Kusno, "Angels in the Temple." I gratefully acknowledge the contributions of my co-author, Abidin Kusno, to that article, many of which have played a formative role in developing this text. The research for that article was completed in 1995–96. I visited the USHMM again in 2004 to assess how the museum, and in particular, the permanent exhibition had changed. See also J. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); and J. Young, ed., *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (New York: Prestel, 1994).

28. As both candidate and president, Carter supported the Palestinian right to an independent homeland. He further inflamed controversy when, in 1978 he linked the sale of aircraft previously promised to Israel to the sale of aircraft to Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The plans for the USHMM were initiated as these debates continued in Congress in the same year. The President's Commission on the Holocaust was established in 1978 to make recommendations for a memorial dedicated to those who died in the Holocaust. See Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, pp.1–5.

29. A. Dannatt, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: James Ingo Freed* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), pp.6–8.

30. Magnetized identity cards are also issued to arriving visitors. These provide access to interactive stations at various points in the permanent exhibition that relay the fate of the person depicted.

31. For further elaboration on the role of metonymy in the exhibition narrative, see Crysler and Kusno, "Angels in the Temple," p.61.

32. Part of the pleasure associated with the vicarious experience of pain on the third floor results from the sense of relief visitors feel from the crowded and demanding cognitive regime of the fourth floor. Crysler and Kusno, "Angels in the Temple," p.59. See also Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p.132.

33. More than ten thousand items relating to the Holocaust, from art and articles of clothing to objects created in the camps, were donated to the USHMM. These are called "object survivors" by the curatorial staff. See Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, p.145.

34. The Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation was founded by Steven Spielberg following his encounter with Holocaust survivors while filming *Schindler's List*. Between 1994 and 1999, the foundation collected 57,000 testimonials by survivors, rescuers, liberators and war-crimes trial participants. See the Shoah Foundation website at www.usc.edu/schools/college/yhi/.

35. S. Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Trauma in the 20th Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 2002), p.5.

36. Ibid., p.1

37. Ibid. Felman writes of the Eichman trial: "The trial was a conscious legal effort not just to give the victims a voice and a stage, to break the silence of the trauma, to divulge and to uncover secrets and taboos, but to transform these discoveries into one national collective story, to assemble, consciously, meticulously, diligently, an unprecedented public and collective legal record of mass trauma that formerly existed only in the repressed form of a series of untold, fragmented stories and traumatic memories" (p.7).

38. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, pp.96–108.

39. The walls of the Hall of Remembrance have vertical slit window that frame partial views of significant Washington monuments. "'Why' asked Freed, 'do you consciously make openings when you can see the various American icons on the Mall? Because these are the things that save you.'" Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, p.102.

40. Crysler and Kusno, "Angels in the Temple," p.63.

41. In *Present Pasts*, Huyssen argues that the inscription of tropes and images, ethical and

political evaluations function "like a prism that helps focus the local discourse in both its legal and commemorative aspects" (p.98).

42. The Kroks owned Twin Pharmaceuticals, the company that produced the skin-lightening cream. C. Bauer, "Speaking for Itself, and for All of Us," *Sunday Times* (South Africa), December 2, 2001, p.24.

43. Jeremy Gordin, "Looking Back in Wonder and Horror at Apartheid," *The Sunday Independent* (South Africa), Nov. 18, 2001, p.4.

44. Ibid., p.4.

45. The casino contains a mock reconstruction of parts of the 1973 Carlton Hotel and historic photos of the original 1906 building. The historic hotel was replaced by a modern tower of the same name in downtown Johannesburg. The plates, cutlery, and interior fittings from its famous "whites-only" dining room, The Three Ships, are used in a mock re-creation of the same space at the casino. The modern version of the hotel was finally closed in 1997 following the flight of capital from the center of Johannesburg after 1994. See "'Something Old, Something New' Describes the Revival of The Three Ships Restaurant at Gold Reef City," at HotelandRestaurant.co.za.

46. The building was designed by a consortium of architects led by Sidney Abramowitz, and including the Johannesburg architectural firms Mashabane and Rose and GAPP Architects.

47. See, for example, D.M. Smith, *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1992); L. Bremner, "Crime and the Emerging Landscape of Post-Apartheid Johannesburg," in *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1998), section B2; and A. Simone, "People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg," *Public Culture*, Vol.36 No.3, pp.407–29.

48. The Apartheid Museum plans to revise the permanent exhibition to include more historical material about women. Conversation with Wade Davey, Apartheid Museum, November 20, 2004.

49. See, for example, S. Graham and S. Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructure, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition* (New York: Routledge,

2001), pp 217–30.

50. Coombes, *History after Apartheid*; D.S. Morton, "A New Generation of Architects in South Africa Struggles to Install Design Ideals of Equality and Local Identity," *Architectural Record*, Vol.187 No.9 (September 1999), pp.65–66; and J. O'Reilly, "Truth and Reconciliation," *Museums Journal*, Vol.104 No.8 (August 2004), pp.30–31.

51. Telephone interview with Christopher Till, November 18, 2002. South African Minister of Education Kader Asmal mandated the creation of a new history curriculum and a new set of history textbooks soon after the ANC assumed power in the post-Apartheid government. The Apartheid Museum has been used as a site for teacher-training programs sponsored by Wits University. T. Mtshali, "South Africa is Losing its Memory," *Sunday Times* (South Africa), October 3, 2002, p.17.

52. R. Carroll, "Did You See the One about the Racist TV Ads?" *The Guardian* (London), June 19, 2004. The Apartheid Museum embarked on a national advertising campaign that showcased the telling of racist jokes and then asked viewers to visit if they weren't able to understand why the jokes were racist.

53. R. Carroll, "S. Africa Shuns Apartheid Lawsuits: Country Needs Investment, say Ministers, Not Compensation," *The Guardian* (London), November 27, 2002, p.A19.

54. S. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.19.

55. Ibid.

56. Both museums help to sustain Holocaust and Apartheid industries that extend beyond the museums, to include negotiations for reparations, various forms of research, education and cultural production (for both popular and scholarly audiences), international investment, and tourism.

57. S. Ahmed, "Affective Economies," *Social Text* 79, Vol.22 No.2 (Summer 2004), pp.117.

58. D.S. Lowe, *The Body in Late Capitalist USA* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); and C. Lury, *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy* (London: Routledge, 2004).

59. The corollary to this is a workforce organized around "immaterial labor" and whose primary object of production is caring. See,

for example, M. Hardt and A. Negri, "The Sociology of Immaterial Labor," in *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp.289–94.

60. The Port Authority added the large space for mechanical equipment to the brief for the building halfway through the design process. The size of the plant was later cut in half. See N. Ourousoff, "A Temple of Contemplation and Conflict," *New York Times*, May 20, 2005, p.A1.

61. The International Freedom Center, *Content and Governance Report*, September 23, 2005, p.2.

62. The IFC's Content and Governance Report explained that visitors would visit an orientation film entitled "To be Free," which would "show how the World Trade Center attracted people from all over the globe to a place in which national and cultural differences were subsumed in trade and commerce — how Lower Manhattan has, in essence, always been an international freedom center, drawing people to a dream of free and better lives" p.8.

63. See Ourousoff, "A Temple of Contemplation and Conflict."

64. The campaign circulated a petition that began with the following statement: "We the undersigned, believe that the World Trade Center Memorial should stand as a solemn remembrance of those who died on September 11, 2001, and not as a journey of history's failures or as a debate about domestic or foreign policy in the post 9/11 world. Political discussions have no place at the World Trade Center September 11th memorial. . . ." From the extensive documentation of the campaign to stop the IFC on the Take Back the Memorial website at takebackthememorial.org.

65. D. Burlingame, "The Great Ground Zero Heist," *Wall Street Journal*, June 8, 2005, p.A14.

66. See the blog and news reports posted at www.takebackthememorial.org.

67. D.W. Dunlap, "Drawing Center May Drop Plan to Move to Ground Zero," *New York Times*, July 23, 2005.

68. See T. Sumner, "Ground Zero Rally Notice," March 13, 2006, as posted on takebackthememorial.org. The notice for rally at noon on March 13, 2005 states: "Take Back the Memorial invites all supporters to

join with us to support the call for a post-ponement of the groundbreaking of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation's flawed memorial. Take Back demands that legitimate talks with Governor Pataki and John Cahill ensue immediately with an aim towards resolving the outstanding issues plaguing the memorial before construction commences. America deserves nothing less."

69. D. Harvey, "Cracks in the Edifice of the Empire State," in M. Sorkin and S. Zukin, eds., *After the World Trade Center* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp.57–67.

70. P.D. Healy, "Pataki Warns Ground Zero Cultural Groups not to Give Offense," *New York Times,* June 25, 2005, p.A11. See also D.W. Dunlap, "Governor Bars Freedom Center at Ground Zero," *New York Times,* September 29, 2005, p.A1.

71. R. Pogrebin, "The Drawing Center Finds its Perch: Hope Centers on a Fulton Fish Market Site," *New York Times,* January 11, 2006, p.E1.

72. D.W. Dunlap, "Space at Ground Zero, and Better Views," *New York Times*, January 19, 2006, p.B4.

73. As quoted in Burlingame, "The Great Ground Zero Heist."

74. See E. Lupton, "Surplus History From Ground Zero Rusts in a Hangar," New York Times, December 19, 2003, p.A32; and D.W. Dunlop and E. Lupton, "Artifact Center Added to Revised Memorial at Ground Zero," *New York Times,* January 15, 2004, p.A19.

75. D.W. Dunlap, "Taking Form at Ground Zero, a Place to Recall a Lost Era," *New York Times,* August 29, 2005, p.A15.

76. Ibid.

77. R, Pogrebin with contributions by G, Collins, "A Leader is Chosen for the 9/11 Museum," *New York Times,* February 8, 2006, p.B1.

78. Ibid.

79. W. Tie, "The Psychic Life of Governmentality," in *Culture, Theory and Critique*, Vol.45 No.2 (2004), pp.161–76. See also I. Boal et al., "Modernity and Terror," in *Afflicted Powers: Capital and Spectacle in a New Age of War* (London: Verso, 2005), pp.171–96.

80. Ibid., p.163. For interesting discussion of the aestheticization of cognition, see S. Buck-Morss, "The Cinema Screen as Prosthesis of Perception: An Historical Account," in C.N. Serenetakis, ed., *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp.45–62.

81. J. Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), pp.1–18.

All photographs are by the author.

Building for the Business of Bermuda

SYLVIA SHORTO

The vernacular building of Bermuda until very recently followed the slow, steady trajectory of small-island evolution. In the 1960s its distinctive architectural aesthetic was written into the law, partly to safeguard the tourist industry. Contemporary economic events in Bermuda, driven by the forceful presence of international insurance companies, are now dictating change. This article examines two buildings, recently constructed as global headquarters for ACE Limited and XL Capital Limited. It links the conscious manipulation of local traditions of material culture by these companies to residual effects of Bermuda's particular colonial history.

"This is Bermuda. Let's keep it that way!" These lyrics from a popular 1960s calypso encapsulate the building history of Bermuda, a tiny mid-Atlantic island that still retains its status as an Overseas Territory of Great Britain. Bermuda has a staunchly traditional colonial history, and its revivalist architectural aesthetic conforms to a simulated idiom, written into the law in 1965 and intended to safeguard its tourist industry.

This article uses both the historical trajectory of, and the rupture with, Bermuda's architectural traditions as a site to explore larger meanings in the contemporary space and place of ACE Global Headquarters and XL House, two of Bermuda's newest, purpose-built corporate structures. Though the buildings start with different design concepts, each makes reference to and recontextualizes local traditions. In this article I show how, through their buildings, ACE and XL consciously attempt to give the impression of having assimilated comfortably into local culture. In fact, both companies have been instrumental in changing it.

The wry expression "haves and have lots" is used of Bermudians, who now have the highest per-capita income in the world.[1] However, this does not detract from the actual hardships faced by people at the lower socioeconomic levels of a society with a high cost of living, and where soaring real estate values have resulted in chronic housing shortages. Nor does it detract from the sense of disjuncture from local subcultures that is an inevitable result of power wielded in a small community by international business.

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ACE GLOBAL HEADQUARTERS AND XL HOUSE

Henri Lefebvre has demonstrated that any space already produced can be used to analyze change.[2] In this regard, the very location of ACE Global Headquarters and XL House is symbolic of the replacement of tourism by international business as the mainstay of Bermuda's economy.[3] Just outside the municipal boundary of the City of Hamilton, the buildings were built side by side on an elevated fifteen-acre block of land where a major hotel, the Bermudiana, once stood (**FIG.1**). Separated by a semipublic strip of garden, the two buildings literally turn their backs on each other, however, with XL having its entrance on Bermudiana Road, and ACE its entrance on Woodbourne Road a block away.

The block on which the two buildings sit is bordered to the south by Pitt's Bay Road, now known locally as "Insurance Alley." Pitt's Bay, an extension of Hamilton's thriving waterside Front Street, was once a genteel residential road where nineteenth-century verandahed houses stretched from the elite Royal Bermuda Yacht Club to the Princess Hotel and beyond (**FIG.2**). Commercial rezoning and specific-planning regulations now allow for restricted urban growth, however, and it has become the location of several new waterfront office blocks, functionally expanding the city (**FIG.3**).[4]

ACE Limited and XL Capital Limited together decided to buy the former Bermudiana Hotel block in 1997. Bermudian law had previously limited foreign ownership of a commercial property site to 40 percent, but a special act of Parliament allowing ACE and XL 100 percent land ownership provided an incentive to build.[5] But rather than fostering existing traditional building through adaptive reuse, or opting for an impersonal international style, as other companies in similarly zoned areas had done, they embarked in a new direction, resulting in two very different kinds of local architectural referencing: one a vaguely modernist abstraction of the idiom; the other, to all intents, like an overgrown cottage.[6]

FIGURE 2. *Front Street's verandahed shopfronts at the end of the nineteenth century. Archival photograph in the author's collection, reprinted by Mark Emmerson.*

If a definition of accomplishment in architecture is local intelligibility, then in their interpretation of style, both ACE Global Headquarters and XL House are successes. ACE Limited, the holding company for the ACE Group of Companies, broke ground in August 1998, and its building was officially opened in August 2001. The steel-frame and stuccoed concrete-block structure was designed to accommodate the holding company, its global operations, and several locally operated subsidiaries. The master plan proposed two linked blocks comprising approximately 120,000 sq.ft. of office space. Only one of these has been built to date, containing 70,000 sq.ft. in a four-story structure with a penthouse.[7]

FIGURE 1. *New buildings for ACE Limited (left) and XL Capital Limited (right), seen from the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club marina.*

FIGURE 3. *Bermuda's "Insurance Alley" with The Waterfront at Pitt's Bay in the distance.*

The architect for the project was Peter Happner, then working with the Hillier Group of Princeton, NJ, a large firm that specializes in corporate buildings worldwide. Harold Conyers and Associates of Bermuda was the local firm of record. Conyers had previous experience collaborating on an overscaled, mixed-use project with random local referencing, The Waterfront at Pitt's Bay, designed by CBT, Inc., of Boston.

For ACE, which operates in over fifty countries, the building was intended to symbolize a "commitment to Bermuda."[8] The company wanted a sizeable commercial building that would still fit into the local context — a "truly Bermudian-style home," as they put it in a press release. This requirement was realized quite literally through the grafting of local vernacular elements onto an L-shaped block made of modern materials. The architects' design broke the formal massing and roof lines of the block with the additive wings of a traditionally built Bermudian cottage. The use of small, mullioned windows and pastel colors further helped domesticate the building. The architects then liberally applied local details such as keystone architraves, corner pilasters, and scalloped Flemish gables (FIG.4). A false Bermuda buttery was also set at a rakish angle at the entryway to serve as a porch (FIG.5A,5B).[9] The building's landscaping, though incomplete to date, was designed like an oversized suburban garden, with a barbeque on the terrace, a tennis court, and the corporate equivalent of a drive-around and a four-car garage.

Yet, lest anyone mistake this for domestic architecture — a condominium complex, perhaps — a high tower was added to proclaim the company's power (FIG.6). The ACE tower rivals those of major public buildings on the Hamilton skyline — the City Hall, the Parliament Building, and the Cathedral — and echoes in its cylindrical form the more prosaic but equally important smokestacks of the local utility company, Belco. Poking up into the sky, it also provides an unambiguous challenge to its neighbor and rival, XL Capital Limited.

FIGURE 4. *ACE Global Headquarters from the southeast. The architects were the Hillier Group of Princeton, NJ, with Harold Conyers and Associates of Bermuda.*

XL House was opened in May 2001. Its principal designer was New Zealand architect Ted Wood, working at that time with the Bermudian firm Entasis. Entasis was given a looser brief than the Hillier Group, and the resulting design presents far more measured postmodern references. But Wood, too, was forced to solve the problem of how to plan a big office building for a tiny country that didn't have a tradition of big buildings of any kind. Wood has described the elements in his design process as being "abstractions of the local vernacular" — a white building with a white, stepped roof; an accretive plan that could grow as need dictated; verandahs and a lushly planted garden (FIG.7).[10]

Like ACE, XL also intended to build in two phases, but the growth of the company became so rapid that it decided during construction to build both phases at the same time.[11]

FIGURE 5. *A) The ACE entry buttery. B) Bermuda's eighteenth-century butteries, which still dot the landscape, were built for a variety of storage and food-related activities.*

A.

B.

FIGURE 6. *ACE Global Headquarters from the northwest, showing the tower.*

Though the two sections of XL House have only five and six stories respectively, conforming to regulations of the 1992 Bermuda Plan, the south block is referred to as Tower One and the north block as Tower Two — a terminology perhaps designed to draw attention from the special permission that had been granted for the ACE tower.

When the land for ACE Global Headquarters and XL House was sold in 1997, XL negotiated for the eastern side of the site, which directly bordered the city and was the better side as far as views were concerned. As a consequence, Wood's design is distinctly outward-looking, laying visual claim to beautiful, prosperous Bermuda. Large windows in its modular steel frame offer spectacular vistas of both the built and natural environment: yacht-filled Hamilton harbor; the Paget shoreline with its rows of luxury houses now being sold to corporate executives; the distant islets in the Great Sound; and the rooftops of the changing city.[12] When viewed

FIGURE 7. *Entrance to XL House on Bermudiana Road.*

from across the harbor, XL House sits quite comfortably in the city skyline. Yet it also seems territorial in its site coverage, filling its half of the former Bermudiana Hotel block rather too amply, and looming over the streetscape of Bermudiana Road, from where it feels out of scale.

Though there is wasted space in the overall design, Wood, thinking ahead, also negotiated permission for an extra penthouse service story for Tower Two.[13] And he further managed to spread his building out at the northeast corner of the site in return for setbacks. Linkages on Bermudiana Road, the city boundary, were difficult to reconcile, however, as previously there had been a wall there hiding the service areas of the old Bermudiana Hotel. XL had originally intended to make permeable this now artificial boundary between the city proper and the growing, commercially zoned area to its west. It hoped to do this by extending the semipublic garden east to west between the two towers, but this space was eventually given over to more pressing needs — additional corporate offices. To compensate, the landscape designers paid detailed attention to the south garden, installing a highly visible fountain in the form of three animated whale tails, a motif that implies complicity with the natural world as well as power and freedom in the corporate environment (**FIG.8**).[14]

In its interpretation of Bermudian architecture, then, XL House uses signifiers of an environmentally friendly interrelationship between man and nature — though with man, naturally, in control. The ACE Global Headquarters, on the other hand, refers directly to Bermudian material culture and plays with the idea of a domesticity that is at once cozy yet grandiose.

Both of these design metaphors are continued in the interior spaces of the buildings. The quietly sumptuous lobby of XL House attempts to bring Bermuda's famous ocean reef indoors, and its principal feature is a vast, tubular, salt-water aquarium. Meanwhile, the entrance to ACE Global Headquarters is the high-ceilinged, circular Globe Room, connected to the wider world by multiple TV screens. The lobby floor signifies the sense of place the company accords Bermuda (or perhaps that it accords itself in Bermuda). Here an ocean of pale marble is inlaid with a black marble map of the world. The map does not adhere to any known cartographic system, but the symbolism is unmistakable. Bermuda is at its center, no longer a tiny land mass but enlarged and inlaid in shining precious metal. One must tread on it to approach the receptionist.

Corporate offices are symptomatic of corporate cultures, and these are especially easy to read in new, customized buildings. In both the ACE and XL buildings there are clear indications of hierarchy, though the hierarchy seems to differ slightly.

Each spacious XL tower is planned around a central core that contains service facilities. Ringing the core are the offices of clerical staff and lower-level executives, who work in a succession of progressively smaller, standardized cubes with progressively lower partition walls as you descend the floors. With the exception of floor two of Tower Two, where the outer space

FIGURE 8. *The whale fountain, and the Paget shoreline.*

with the windows was given to the clerical workers by a more democratic supervisor, these are ringed by executive offices. Upper-level management offices, on the top floor of Tower One, are allocated according to the fineness of the view. The most sweeping vistas of all are from the chairman's verandah.

The interior organization was determined after a costly *feng shui* consultation. The offices are fitted out in a standard corporate grey, set off with rare laminated hardwoods and adorned with a collection of Bermudian paintings. Calm and functional, they reflect the personalities of executives in a limited way: while some have piles of file folders all over the floor, others have rationed themselves to a single sheet of paper and a Mont Blanc pen beside the desktop computer. The overall feeling is one of carefully controlled casualness. Executives wander the halls in Bermuda shorts, Polo shirts, and Docksiders, as if poised to relate to the island culture just outside their doors.

ACE Global Headquarters, on the other hand, seems to speak of a leaner organization. Its offices are noticeably more compact and somehow more suburban. The tower is perhaps the only unused (although far from symbolically wasted) space in the building. "I kinda like having limited space. It's efficient," Chairman Brian Duperreault told me.[15]

Reflecting the domesticity of its exterior, there are 22 small meeting rooms dotted throughout the building, each with a local name. The principal board room, for example, is known as the Bermudiana Room. This is not just the name of the hotel on whose former site the building sits; it is also the local name for a small indigenous blue flower. Plaques carefully explain the significance of such names to clients

and executives from abroad. Walls are also hung with the company's collection of Bermudian paintings, photographs, and early tourist posters. All the offices are inward-turning and private, as their small cottage windows imply.

The executives of ACE Limited, the holding company, use an exclusive part of the fourth floor. Here, in a carefully sequestered suite of offices, behind two sets of doors, the company chairman and the president work privately with a small squad of personal assistants. The feeling is one of privacy to the point of secrecy.

BUILDING BERMUDA

An outline of Bermuda's history helps explain some of the circumstances faced by the architects for ACE and XL when they began their quest to design a successful local corporate architecture.

Since its initial settlement, Bermuda's economic base has changed radically every hundred years or so — from abortive tobacco plantations, to shipbuilding and privateering, winter agriculture, tourism, and finally international business. Bermuda's buildings, however, until very recently followed the slow, steady trajectory of small-island evolution.[16] They were traditionally made from a limited number of locally available materials: the indigenous cedar tree (*Juniperus bermudiana L*); a soft, hand-cut coral stone used for building blocks; and a harder stone that was burned to make lime. Influences from abroad — from the conspicuous consumption of the
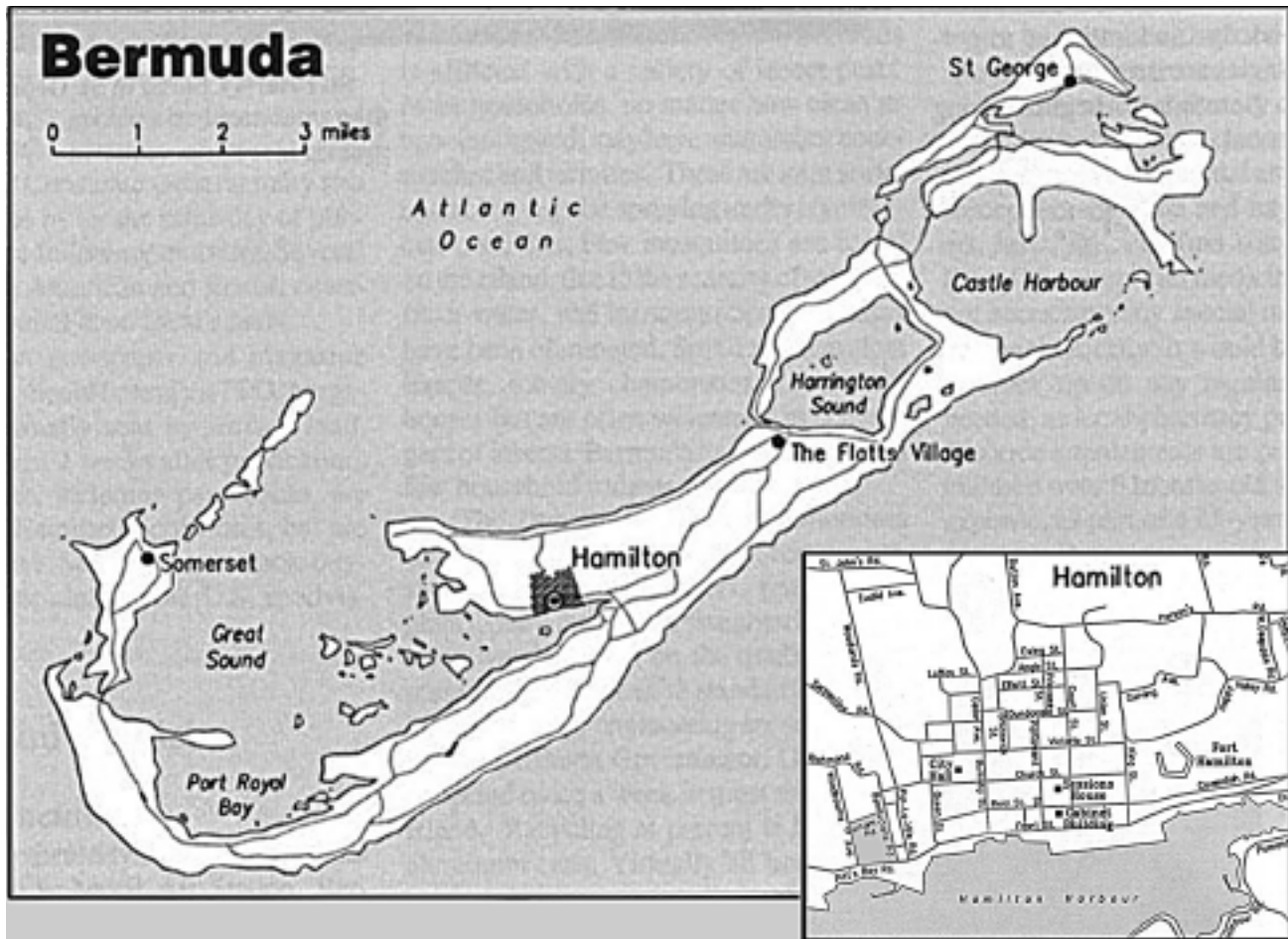
Georgian era to the eclecticism of the Victorians — were certainly assimilated into local design, but they were always conservatively tailored to suit local conditions. Later, from the 1920s and 30s, the half-imagined notions of a colonial revival sat comfortably in the landscape. It did not stir much controversy when, in the mid-twentieth century, guidelines for planning were set in place to safeguard an aesthetic image that had naturally evolved, and that was an attractive asset to tourism — then the dominant industry.[17]

Bermuda lies about 600 miles east of North Carolina. Referred to in the singular, its many islands cluster to resemble an upended fishhook that occupies a total of less than 21 square miles (FIG.9). From the earliest days of transatlantic seafaring, Bermuda and its surrounding reefs were well-known shipping hazards. For sixteenth-century Spaniards, this "Isle of Devils" stood as a marine signpost to fleets sailing back to Europe from Havana in the Gulf Stream. However, even though their ships sometimes foundered nearby, there was never any Spanish settlement, perhaps because there was no indigenous labor for an *encomienda* system. Bermuda, in fact, has fewer than 400 years of populated history.

The first settlers on the island were English sailors. In 1609, the *Sea Venture*, on its way to the fledgling colony in Jamestown, Virginia, was blown onto Bermuda's reefs; realizing the islands' possible strategic and commercial advantages, three men stayed to guard a claim for England. Formal colonization began in 1612, when a governor and a boatload of settlers were sent by the then-parent Virginia Company. A series of merchant adventurers, served by slaves of African and Amerindian origins, began to investigate the commercial possibilities of various crops. Bermuda's fertile soil was first promoted as a place to experiment with Mediterranean crops such as grapes and oranges. But a successful plantation was never developed. Even New World crops were not a success, as Bermuda was clearly too small for sugar, and proved to be too damp for tobacco.[18]

Bermuda was first surveyed in 1617, and mapped in two parts. The main part comprised three quarters of the land, and was partitioned into eight "tribes," named for principal investors in England. Each tribe was further divided into 400 equal shares of 25 acres. The shares sliced across the land regardless of terrain and were allotted according to invest-

FIGURE 10. *Eighteenth-century cottages in St. George's, photographed in the late nineteenth century. Archival photograph in the author's collection.*

FIGURE 11. *Oleander Circle, with a projecting entry porch, Flemish gable, and "welcoming arms" stairs. There are additional ells at the rear.*

ment. The remaining quarter, including St. George's Island to the east, was kept as common land. Here, Bermuda's first town developed, with narrow streets determined by vantage points and the contours of the land (FIG.10).

Because Bermuda had no hostile population there was no need to huddle defensively, and settlement spread evenly all over the island. Small houses were built in the shelter of rocky outcrops. Evidence also exists of an early phase of semipermanent building (as in colonial Chesapeake), typified by cedar-framed and plastered houses with palmetto-thatched roofs. Today, Bermuda might fairly be described as an extended suburb. There is very little undeveloped open space left to give a sense of the primeval landscape. However, even if the land has been altered by changing development requirements, the memory of original settlement is still evident in remnants of "tribe roads," dry-stone boundary walls, and the place names used.

It was not until the end of the seventeenth century, when there was a change in political status from administration by the Bermuda Company to self-governing territory under the English Crown, that people began to feel securely established. Only then were stone houses built in numbers. Bermudian builders, with remembered English traditions as their starting point, worked out a unique series of solutions to suit the practicalities of this small place with its limited yet singular resources.[19]

Limestone and cedar houses (large for landowners, small for workers) grew from the late English medieval hall-and-chamber nucleus, with wings with hipped or gabled roofs added in a way that sometimes appeared quite haphazard, forming cruciform, L, H, T or flattened U-shaped plans (FIG.11). Buildings were almost always a single room deep, for ventilation in the warmer months and as protection against hurricanes, but also because of the limitations of local trees, which seldom yielded building timbers longer than twenty feet.

Bermuda's soft stone was easily cut with hand saws into building blocks (FIG.12). Within walls made from the blocks, a ledger plate would be used to support cedar beams and joists between floors. The walls were sometimes held together with tie beams, and were typically topped with a scarfed cedar plate, abutting high-set window frames. Wide, tapering chimneys, for cooking and for warmth in winter, provided additional support at gable ends.

Roof framing was simple, with rafters lapped and pinned at the crown of the roof, notched onto the wall plate, and braced with collar ties a third of the way down. The traditional roof pitch was 36 degrees, but a short rafter foot of a shallower pitch helped support overlapping limestone roof slates. These were hand cut into slabs and laid onto lathes nailed across rafters — a practice that is continued today. The entire house was then covered with lime wash.

Bermuda has no rivers. As a result, rainwater was caught on the slates, channeled down through gutters and

FIGURE 12. *Bermuda's soft stone was once cut with handsaws. Archival photograph in the author's collection.*

conduits into a lime-washed subterranean tank with a distinctively raised, domed top that allowed the circulation of air over the water (FIG.13).

In the eighteenth century, Bermudians and their slaves turned to the sea for their livelihood — to venture trading, privateering, and fishing. They built swift little cedar sloops and transported cargoes between ports all over the Western Atlantic, from Newfoundland to the Caribbean, and occasionally as far south as St. Helena. They even attempted a kind of colonization of their own, sailing 1,000 miles south with their slaves to the Turks and Caicos Islands to rake and trade salt.

Bishop George Berkeley noted that Bermudians had "become carriers for America as are the Dutch for Europe," and that they were "the only people of all the British plantations who hold general correspondence with all the rest."[20] The result was a dense web of overseas cultural connections, especially with the thirteen American colonies, with which Bermudians linked themselves through family and business.[21]

But there were inevitable tensions. During the American War of Independence, Bermudians found themselves torn between support for the Revolution and loyalty to the Crown. Later, during the American Civil War, they allied themselves with the South in order to benefit economically from blockade-running during a lean economic period.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Bermudian carriers were quite literally put out of work by the development of the steamship. As the economy struggled and the century progressed, there was a renewed attempt at commercial farming, this time at growing early spring vegetables for the New York market. Portuguese workers from the Azores came to help farm, their labor augmenting that of Bermuda's now-emancipated slave population.[22]

Ironically, the steamships that transported fresh produce to American ports brought further prosperity when Bermuda was almost accidentally discovered as a tourist destination. The first visitors came for rest cures in the sea air. But there was also a wave of late-Victorian explorers — oceanographers, naturalists and geologists, who examined, collected and categorized all things Bermudian.[23] A place unsullied by the excesses of the Gilded Age or the ills of modern industrialization, Bermuda soon also began to attract wealthy American financiers and industrialists, bent on escaping a world of their own making.

Since its earliest settlement, Bermuda has borne the brunt of the myth of paradise. In early tourist literature it was described as an isolated Eden, a "colony of contentment," and was actively promoted as an anti-modern place that refused to bow to "the modern gods of speed and noise."[24] At the turn of the twentieth century, tourism began to have a positive impact on the economy, and several new hotels appeared: first the Princess, a wooden, verandahed waterfront structure at the entrance to Hamilton harbor, then the Bermudiana, built in 1924 between the Princess and Hamilton's Front Street port to a design by New York architect Charles Wetmore.

Many wealthy visitors now came for lengthy stays in the winter months, and many built their own homes in the exclusive developing resort area of Tucker's Town.[25] Bermuda's building tradition was already saturated with cultural value, and the publication of an illustrated book on Bermuda's houses by Boston-based architect and visitor John S. Humphreys provided an important visual resource for builders in Bermuda and elsewhere.[26] Architects for American clients now created local versions of the colonial revival, imagining a cottage-like simplicity in ample homes that used the additive forms and simple details of Bermuda's past. A notable example is the house built in 1933 as a getaway for Vincent Astor. It looks rather like a small village (FIG.14).[27] Even on the rare occasions when Modernist architects like Wallace Harrison built in Bermuda, their designs referred back to the tradition of slow-moving conservatism.[28]

In the 1920s and 30s, Bermuda had no Department of Planning to guide design. But with tourism now becoming Bermuda's economic backbone, an aesthetic and a self-image were already carefully being crafted that would safeguard this financial stake. When the results were finally written into the planning laws in 1965, it became difficult to build in any other way.

Because of these stringent building regulations it may be argued today that Bermuda played a part in the reintroduction of place-specificity to international architecture. Robert Venturi's oceanfront Brant House (1975) in Tucker's Town recontextualized a host of local references to comply with the planning code, doing so with grace and irony (FIG.15). Other architects, less original and less talented, followed suit, and postmodern Bermuda became an easy place not only for self-reference but for self-parody.

Changed building materials now also had an impact on Bermudian design. Cedar and limestone, in increasingly short
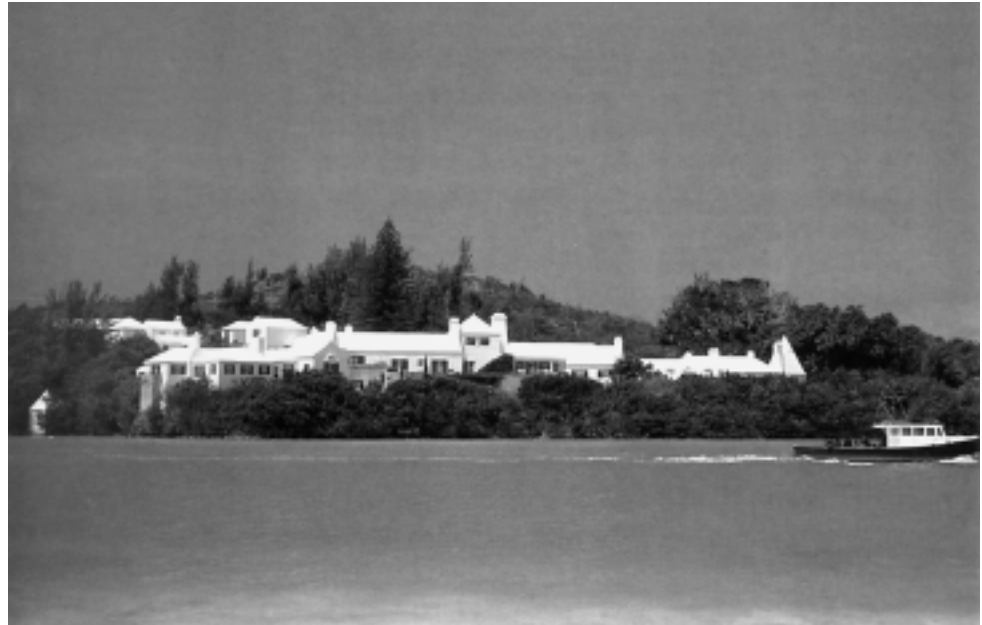
FIGURE 14. *The sprawling Astor House at Ferry Reach, designed in 1933 by Bermudian architects N.W. and J.F. Hutchings, combines a mixture of elements from an imagined past. Photo by Ian MacDonald-Smith.*

supply, were largely replaced by new, prefabricated products, shipped in giant containers and used for structures that were no longer simple expressions of durable local materials.[29] Because they were untried in the climate, they often had a short life expectancy; nevertheless, they began to subtly alter the built environment.[30] The scale of structures also began to grow, as did the population, and land became a scarce commodity of increasing value. Today, instead of siting houses with regard to the contours of the land, the trend is to flatten a lot and fill the space with the largest house the law will allow. Bermuda's architecture — its whole landscape for that matter — shows the inevitable force of these changes (**FIG.16**).

Perhaps the best place to observe the degree of change is in the City of Hamilton and its adjacent areas, where planning laws have been interpreted more flexibly. Hamilton was not Bermuda's original capital, but was created when a centralized town became necessary. The compact new town of only 185 acres, in Pembroke Parish, was laid out on a regular grid, fronting the harbor, and incorporated in 1793. Some lots in the town were sold, while others were reserved for public buildings — a market, a parade ground, a courthouse, and a legislative building (to which the legislature moved from St. George's in 1815). While St. George's today is prey to the artifice of historic tourism, Hamilton, officially a city since the

FIGURE 15. *Robert Venturi's Brant House in Tucker's Town (1976) was applauded by architectural critics around the world. The architect complied ironically with local building regulations.*

FIGURE 16. *Grandiose new houses in Bermuda are often given classicizing details.*

FIGURE 17. *1990s commercial buildings in the city of Hamilton.*

FIGURE 18. *Lane House, which predates the city, has been adapted as a suite of offices by Renaissance Re.*

completion of an Anglican Cathedral in 1897, has become a thriving metropolis, sprawling out of its own boundaries.

Hamilton also struggles with its identity. During the 1970s and 80s the city was made a scapegoat in a tradeoff for a failed attempt at historic preservation legislation elsewhere on the island. In particular, its early nineteenth-century character was sacrificed to functional new office buildings of indeterminate style (FIG.17). An early example, the American International Building (1971) — a successful, though locally atypical, white International Style block — stands to the north and west of the city.[31] However, its construction entailed the destruction of three nineteenth-century houses and the leveling of a small hill. Unfortunately, the building also set a precedent for others to build in an anonymous way, stretching planning law to its limits, and soon there were regrettable lapses on all sides, including the government's own Public Works Department.

More recently, some companies have managed to take an alternative approach to corporate building. In another concentration of development — on the main eastern artery into the city, where offices are now replacing boatyards, warehouses, and waterfront houses — Renaissance Re, Ltd., a fast-growing reinsurance business, recently moved into a reused cluster of older buildings.[32] These included Lane House, a mid-eighteenth-century domestic structure with a history that predates that of the city itself (FIG.18). Development in Hamilton is now also guided by a master plan that at least pays lip service to the preservation of what remains of the city's character.[33]

"THE RIGHT PLACE FOR INSURANCE"

"It's lovely here," a heavy-set tourist told me one hot July afternoon, as she admired the way a white house stood out against the sea, "Just like in colonial times." For many, there is

something almost narcotic in the mix of beauty and nostalgia that Bermuda has so skillfully marketed. But during the past fifteen years tourism has softened, and there has instead been rapid growth in international business. This has been supported by government as a response to the need for an alternative economic base. Today, along with New York and London, Bermuda finds itself a center of the global insurance industry, with about 90 percent of the world's catastrophe reinsurance now being written in Hamilton. Both ACE and XL Capital were established in Bermuda, and these giant companies now anchor the island to the history of world insurance.[34]

The story of the growth of insurance in Bermuda is usually divided into four phases.[35] The first was marked by the arrival of the American International Group (AIG), which set up the headquarters of its international operations in Bermuda in the late 1950s. The second phase began thirty years later when the liability insurance sector of the global industry underwent a massive revision. At the time, high-end insurance coverage for very large corporations (the excess liability market) had all but dried up. But its reorganization was spearheaded in 1986 by two American businessmen, Robert Newhouse and Robert Clements, Jr., co-founders of ACE and XL (then called Exel), who found new ways to provide top and mid-range layers of excess liability coverage. They chose Bermuda as a location from which to operate, at least in part, because it was possible to set up companies there quickly. Among other driving factors were Bermuda's neutrality and the avoidance of some corporate taxes and the fact that AIG was also already firmly established there, as were other, smaller companies.

It is important here to note that Bermuda prides itself on being a legitimate place from which to conduct international business.[36] As a developed country in close proximity to the U.S., with a largely service economy, it was already consciously nurturing many of the features needed to compete in a borderless world: a well-maintained infrastructure, a well-educated

population, and a well-managed government with adequate capital behind it.[37] According to Brian Duperreault, these features, as well as its location, make Bermuda "the right place for insurance."[38] Both ACE and XL have thrived there, and in less than eighteen years, ACE's capital and surplus of $500 million has grown to $10 billion, while and XL's capital and surplus of $250 million has grown to $7 billion.[39]

The most insured places in the world are Switzerland, Japan, the East and West Coasts of the U.S., and some of the major cities in Europe. In many other parts of the world, the concept of insurance is meaningless; but within the capitalist West it plays a vital part in the fundamental principal of continual growth. It is, if you like, the service industry of capitalism. The motto of ACE Limited is, "Take away the risk and you can do anything."

It was a natural disaster that spurred the third phase of growth for Bermuda's insurance industry. In 1992 Hurricane Andrew hit the southeast coast of the U.S., causing the largest losses recorded to that date for any natural disaster. Eight new companies were formed in Bermuda, as many smaller companies were simultaneously forced out of the volatile global market. ACE and XL founders, Newhouse and Clements, in a bid to reinvigorate the industry, expanded through the acquisition of four of these eight newly established companies. As a result of growing regulation change in the U.S. and Europe, following 1993 several more overseas companies came to Bermuda and clustered together, like tinsmiths in a *souk*. They were aided by the increasing sophistication of Bermuda's infrastructure, which was itself growing to meet the demanding presence of companies like ACE and XL.

Concentration was good for everyone's business, and Bermuda had now become a major center. But ACE and XL soon found themselves openly competing with each other, and in 1999 XL trumped ACE in a major business deal. Though they still trade with each other, their once-cordial relationship is now one of commercial rivalry, as both continue to bid for large companies in the U.S. and elsewhere. The cozy cottage style in architecture does not necessarily bring friendliness to the corporate environment.

It was the World Trade Center disaster that triggered the fourth phase of growth in Bermuda's insurance industry. Events following the attacks of 9/11 have led industry observers to regard both ACE and XL as on a path to joining the half-dozen largest insurance companies in the world. In a rapid realignment immediately after the attacks, Bermuda-based companies achieved the largest, fastest deployment of capital ever, raising more than $15 billion of a world total of $25 billion in just one hundred days.[40] This capital was raised in anticipation of elevated profit levels caused by a global shortage of commercial insurance.

Without commercial insurance, the capitalist engine grinds to a halt, and it was this new money that restarted a stalled machine. New companies, inventively incorporating both insurance and reinsurance, were now redesigned to spread the risk of future global property catastrophe across this ocean of money. Having very recently settled into their new global headquarters buildings in Bermuda, both ACE and XL were ready for these challenges, and their companies continue to grow. ACE Global Headquarters and XL House, relatively modest-looking structures by global corporate standards, can now be seen almost to belie the assets of nearly $100 billion that both companies are known to have amassed in a period of less than eighteen years.[41]

LIVED EXPERIENCES

During its rapid growth phase as a center for international business, there have also been significant political changes in Bermuda. After being in office for more than thirty years, since the local inception of party politics, the United Bermuda Party (UBP) lost its control to the opposition Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in 1998. As an opposition, the PLP had been a successful, union-backed, labor-oriented party with a deeply vested stake in the interests of the majority black population.[42] Their program as a ruling party has, thus far, seemed merely an attempt to equalize racial imbalance within established capitalist structures. Political changes, however, have not had an overt effect on the functioning of Bermuda's insurance industry. International business has been embraced by both parties, and both parties are known to be funded by international business. But these changes to Bermuda's political landscape are significant in any contemporary assessment.

ACE Limited, XL Capital Limited, and other international companies, now fixtures in Hamilton's commercial landscape, have brought a renewed wave of prosperity to Bermuda. Many sectors of the community have benefited: small and large businesses, landlords, airlines, hotels and restaurants, and other local services, as well as the government itself. According to population census figures, more than 3,000 Bermudians worked for international companies in the year 2000, an increase of 65 percent from 1990.[43] During the building of ACE Global Headquarters and XL House, work was distributed among a variety of local contractors and craftsmen.

But there are drawbacks as well. Bermuda today has a high level of educational attainment, as well as a sophisticated infrastructure, yet it cannot keep pace with the insurance industry's demand for specialist labor. As many as 2,000 highly paid foreign executives have now moved to the island on short-term contracts, many with families and most of them white.[44] What difference has this executive influx made to Bermuda's way of life, and how are companies responding to the changes they are creating in the community?

Bermuda has a strong record-keeping tradition and an uninterrupted archive of official documents. Statistics that might shed light on surfacing issues influenced by the

effects of international business on the community are under study but have not yet been published. In particular, a government-funded statistical analysis of changes to Bermuda's social structure, as reflected in the comparative 2003 Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (ALL), is due to be released in early 2006.[45] In the meanwhile, I offer the following comments based upon interviews and observation.

Among Bermudians, both black and white, there is a general consensus that something has altered fundamentally in their society in recent years. While some are enjoying the benefits of high-paying employment, others feel they are being abruptly telescoped into a future that is not of their own making, and many are frankly concerned by the global anonymity that they feel is encroaching on their small island. "It struck me forcibly one day when I was walking down Front Street," a middle-aged Bermudian woman told me. "People just don't have eye contact any more."[46]

With anonymity has come a noticeable hardening of social and racial stratification. This small island is far from monocultural. When many black Bermudians talk about their culture, for example, they refer to lived experience rooted in the inequalities of the past, though an individual's perceptions of this will differ according to circumstances. After the 1990 population census the mixed-race but predominantly white UBP government hired an American sociologist, Dorothy Newman, to analyze advances in the educational preparation of black Bermudians for corporate employment. Following methodological categories used in the census, she classed Bermudian socioeconomic groups as "poor" (earning less than half the median household income); "near-poor" (earning half to 62.5 percent); "middle-class" (earning 62–150 percent); and "well-to-do" (earning more than 150 percent of the median).[47] The median was then about $50,000 a year. Newman's findings were ultimately complimentary of the government's long-term plans to prepare both people and infrastructure for its growing international business sector, as it was then understood.

Ten years later, expatriate or guest workers, in the main bracketing the local population, find themselves largely either at the very top or the very bottom socioeconomic layers of Bermudian society. At the top are the highly paid executives of insurance and other companies, while at the bottom are kitchen staff and domestic help. There is also a socio-cultural divide between expatriates and Bermudians, with more privileged expatriates tending to cluster together in closed subgroups, eschewing interrelationship with the larger community. On a local level, they are likely only to have contact with elite Bermudians (if at all), and are therefore less likely to understand the self-referential historical nuances of Bermudian society.

The Premier of Bermuda, Alex Scott, who is black, recently shrugged off the idea that this might be a long-term problem, saying that stratification was only to be expected, being an engrained way of life in a country that had grown out of slavery, indenture, and subsequent racial segregation.[48]

Unfortunately, the trend seems to be leading again to increased racial division. Commodity fetishism, especially in a small place, can easily result in a perpetual state of affluence envy, though it might be affluence without fulfillment.

Elite guest workers in Bermuda have very high lifestyle expectations, and a high-end service industry now caters primarily to them. Services are becoming more and more homogenized, and franchises — also very carefully limited by laws seeking to protect the uniqueness of the environment — are gradually creeping in. As a consequence, in Bermuda as elsewhere in the world, there is less variety to life.

Meanwhile, for tourists, the strength of the Bermuda experience had always been its people. Those reasons why tourists came — the peaceful traditions, or perhaps the pleasure of encountering the same waitress or bartender year after year — are, however, of an age passed. The new generation of Bermudians does not want to fill such jobs. Waiting at table and other menial jobs are now largely filled by poorly paid Asian workers, contributing to a sense of anonymity.[49] This, of course, is a cycle of self-strangulation, giving more power to the corporate presence and lessening the possibility for economic alternatives grounded in the uniqueness of the island's culture.

The international business community is also having a profound impact on Bermuda's housing market. Inflated values in both the rented and owned segments of the real estate market began when international companies started to provide large living allowances for foreign employees. Landlords raised their rents, companies provided housing subsidies, and, in the ensuing vicious cycle, rents soared. With the rent for a desirable house now as much as $20,000 a month, most companies regularly provide generous rental allowances. Bermuda has limited rent control that applies only to low-value properties — houses assessed for land taxation as having an annual rental value of $16,200 or less.[50] Ownership of domestic properties with an annual rental value of less than $126,000 is also not permitted to non-Bermudians. But since only a small pool of houses is available for non-Bermudian ownership, rent inflation is inevitable.[51]

Independent housing statistics released in July 2004 showed that nearly one-third of Bermudians now spend more than half their monthly income on housing. Of this number, more than half earn less than $50,000 a year. The survey also showed that one in five people is actively searching for more affordable housing.[52] There are currently more than 600 families on the government's list of those in need of adequate accommodation, and families of six and seven people are said to be living in one- and two-bedroom apartments.

In this housing crisis the greatest pressure is on disaffected "poor" and "near-poor" working people, especially the majority black Bermudians in these groups. Many black people, who comprise more than half the population and who assumed that the new PLP government would make a positive change in their lives, are becoming resentful that it does not seem to be doing so.[53]

Pressure is also being felt by young professionals who may have recently completed training abroad. There are the beginnings of an outmigration of Bermudians because of problems with quality of life that surround the housing shortage. In addition, there is now a population of approximately 120 people living on the streets and in parks in Hamilton — some of them with daytime jobs they must go to in order to feed themselves.[54] While Bermuda has always had a small-town tradition of eccentric vagrants, and once took pride in men like "Wardrobe" Tucker (who wore all his clothes at once, the summer ones on the outside in summer), homelessness is now acquiring a far more bitter meaning.

THINKING LOCALLY, ACTING POSTGLOBALLY

From the optimistic jargon of the 1960s and 70s, when multinational was the buzzword, to the transnationalism of the 80s and 90s, we have now passed to an age where many large corporations have completely transcended nationalism and hover in the air around us, like the rings of Saturn. This article was originally presented as a paper at the 2004 IASTE conference, which attempted to articulate the role of the built environment in a postglobal world. Bermuda's planning legislation, resulting in the continuation of a clearly defined vernacular architecture, made it an ideal site to explore the concept of the postglobal in architecture. It is this Bermudian idiom, expressed in metaphors of nature and local culture, that informs the design of the two new corporate buildings under study, XL House and ACE Global Headquarters. But this is a corporate architecture that can no longer be labeled postmodern. In their unambiguous attempt to appear to belong, these buildings move local referencing light years away from Robert Venturi's gentle irony at Brant House. Referencing is now used earnestly as a charged signifier of their incorporation of Bermuda into the global world of insurance.

"Culture is an ever-changing product of human practices," Michael Peter Smith has written.[55] In a critique of David Harvey's concept of the condition of postmodernity, Smith pointed out that Harvey does not allow for the agency of the local, which he relegated to sporadic, dead-end outbursts. Smith, instead, argued that the complexity of the local has the power to continuously affect the process of change. In seeking a definition of the postglobal, I would argue that part of that condition is the necessity to appear to assimilate, and by doing this to demonstrate recognition of the underlying power of the intangible aspects local culture. A definition of the postglobal must incorporate the idea of the global attempting to assimilate locally, for its own purposes. Without new resistances, the local therefore becomes increasingly postglobal.

ACE Global Headquarters and XL House may be representative of a new paradigm: a conscious attempt to locally conceal globalization. When XL Capital decided to spend $120 million on its corporate headquarters, a high price even after factoring in hefty local building costs, it was signaling its serious intention to put down lasting foundations in Bermuda.[56] We have seen in the design of both ACE Global Headquarters and XL House how attention was paid to maintaining superficial aspects of Bermuda's stylistic tradition. Architects worked in the local idiom using metaphors of local domesticity and the command of nature. With some license granted, they largely adhered to planning legislation, even though others before them had pushed the law to its limits within the city boundaries. While linked to postmodern design, the architectural styles chosen by ACE and XL speak plainly of the companies' intention to assimilate into the local community. If more evidence should be needed, both companies have taken further steps to fit in, in ways that seem designed to benefit the community, while ensuring their own futures in Bermuda.

XL's Chief Executive Officer, Brian O'Hara, recently offered the opinion that Bermuda was "full."[57] Nevertheless, both ACE and XL are actively involved in real estate speculation, and in other activities designed to strengthen their ties with Bermuda. At the time of writing, XL was building condominiums for executive rental on the site of another former hotel, the Belmont. ACE had already completed condominiums, located close to its Global Headquarters, and which echoed the verandahs of Front Street (**FIG.19**). These are rented on the open market. Managed by the ACE Foundation, they provide money for select charitable support in the community. In this regard, ACE is the more public benefactor, spreading its money and also publicizing itself widely in the community.[58] For example, the company is one of the sponsors of a local branch of Habitat for Humanity, the charitable foundation that finds ways to help people renovate derelict houses. Habitat finds volunteers to work with owners and pass on building skills. The irony here is that in

FIGURE 19. *ACE apartments with verandahs that refer back to nineteenth-century Hamilton.*

Bermuda, this is a revival of a local tradition of pooling resources, common in the black community until very recently, when friends and neighbors helped each other build. Pressures associated with the high cost of living have now made this practice untenable. XL for its part, in collaboration with the Bermuda government, focuses its charitable support on a major educational program in the country's secondary schools, intended to raise the standard of computer literacy. These activities certainly benefit the community, but they are also carefully calculated to serve the long-term interests of the companies in Bermuda.

We now need to ask, is there an intelligible trajectory of meaning in the assimilation tactics used by ACE and XL? What, if any, is the relationship between international business and Bermuda's colonial past? Corporate assimilation seems to me comparable to the historical patterns of emulation found in the processes of colonization. In Bermuda, the position of newcomers vis-à-vis "oldstanders" was often a problematic one, perhaps because it was an uninhabited place before colonization and, despite the subsequent introduction of slaves from elsewhere, the establishment of a social hierarchy was more fluid. The first elite settlers, who arrived in the seventeenth century, were the yardstick for society.[59] Recent archaeological investigation has shown that elites and merchant seamen in Bermuda displayed more conspicuous wealth than their mainland U.S. counterparts.[60] When subsequent generations of settlers arrived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the way to be accepted was to quickly learn how to do what others were already doing. Participation in local and highly visible material traditions was a primary signifier of assimilation.

In Bermuda today, ACE and XL also signal their intention to belong through architectural style. Their actions are clearly measured, and I suggest that they are participating in a continuum of colonization. This eases their progress.

Why Bermuda is at present so uncritical of much of what is happening is another matter. The long-term impacts of colonization are not always easy to identify, and in Bermuda, this is particularly so because there is a qualitative difference in the colonization of a formerly uninhabited country. Perhaps, in that regard, Premier Scott was not so wide of the mark when he spoke of the inevitable residual effects of segregation.

In her book *The Silent Takeover*, economist Noreena Hertz has argued that although globalization is becoming the dominant world ideology, its promise is already failing in a fundamental way.[61] In many parts of the world, the fruits of liberal democracy are not being delivered because corporate power has the economic potential to control democratic processes. If, as is also argued, globalization has been hampered to date by the detrimental effects it has on local environments, and by local resistances, international companies in postglobal Bermuda seem to have realized this. They are making a locally intelligible attempt to appear to assimilate. This seems a necessary outcome for survival in still-colonial Bermuda. Underwriting, which has no national allegiance, is the service industry that protects the heart of the dominant global culture, and a part of it, the post-9/11 insurance industry, is now having a significant impact on Bermuda. This is not immediately legible in the island's corporate architectural styles, which continue to sufficiently emulate a past that is itself modeled on a colonial revival to meet the expectations of twentieth-century tourists.

Buildings as artifacts, and as referents to local tradition, have powerful meanings. Inside XL House there hangs a serenely beautiful watercolor by a contemporary Bermudian painter, Steven Masters. The image is of an elderly stone mason, slaking lime. In this postglobal building made of modern materials, it really is an irony to see such calculated sentimental attachment to the material culture of the past when irony would seem to be the very last thing intended.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. According to the 2004 World Bank Indicators database (http://www.world-bank.org/data/databytopic/GNIPC.pdf), Bermuda currently has the highest per-capita Gross National Income (GNI), at more than $53,000.
2. See H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith, trans. (Oxford: Blackwells, 1991). Lefebvre, and others, have also argued that in contemporary capitalist society, what is seen takes priority over what is lived.
3. The first Bermudiana Hotel was destroyed by fire in 1959, and although

rebuilt almost immediately, never again achieved financial viability because of muddle-headed investors. By the mid-1980s it had become derelict, the home of squatters.
4. "The Bermuda Plan," Bermuda Government, Department of Planning, 1992. The plan is currently under review.
5. The Bermudiana Site Rehabilitation Act, 1997. Previously, all foreign companies except hotels had been restricted to a 40/60 percent ownership, with Bermudian partners as major shareholders. There had been one exception outside the hotel industry: in 1971, presaging the local growth of international

insurance, special exemption was given to the American International Group (AIG) for 100 percent land ownership.
6. An example of adaptive reuse is Renaissance Re in Lane House, Pembroke. For an International Style block, see the AIG Building. Details in text below.
7. Http://acelimited.com/MediaCenter/PressReleases/html/mc_pr_1. The substructure for the second phase was also laid, but at present this is covered by tennis courts.
8. B. Duperreault, ACE Chairman and CEO, in remarks made at the opening of the ACE headquarters. See also the ACE Group's

unpublished public-relations brochure, "Building Success" (2001), distributed when the building opened.

9. The distinctive, square, out-building known as a "buttery" in Bermuda has a steep-pitched roof of flat or lapped stone slates traditionally laid without any supporting frame. Butteries were used for a variety of storage and food-related activities. The form continues to be built today, incorporated into cottage extensions, or used as boathouses or garages. See S. Shorto, "Butteries," in P. Oliver, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Oxford: Blackwell's, 1997).

10. Author's interview with Ted Wood, July 2004.

11. Because of XL's expansion, including the acquisition of Mid Ocean Re in 1998, the number of its employees jumped from 85 to almost 300.

12. This echoes W.J.T. Mitchell's suggestion that we think of landscape as "a process by which social and subjective identities are formed." Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition, 2002)

13. At the discretion of the Department of Planning, an additional "penthouse" story might be allowed if it contains services rather than offices. Tower One has 205,000 sq.ft. of space, and Tower Two has 141,000 sq.ft.

14. The natural metaphor was emphasized when the building was opened and XL gave away indigenous cedar tree seedlings to the public.

15. Author's interview with Brian Duperreault, July 2004.

16. "The Traditional Building Guide," Bermuda National Trust and the Bermuda Government Department of Planning, 2002.

17. The island's distinctive architecture, including its scale and detailing, were officially inscribed in the Development and Planning Act of 1965.

18. For the history of Bermuda, see H.C. Wilkinson, *Adventurers of Bermuda: a History of the Island from the Discovery till the Dissolution of the Somers Islands Company in 1684* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933); *Bermuda in the Old Empire: A History of the Islands from the Dissolution of the Somers Islands Company till the End of the American Revolutionary War, 1684–1784*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950); and *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: A History of the Island from 1784 till 1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973). See also W.S. Zuill, *The Story of Bermuda and Her People* (London: MacMillan, 1978).

19. S. Shorto, "Bermuda," in Oliver, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World.*

20. "A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity" (London, 1724). Because of its mid-Atlantic location, Berkeley had proposed a college in Bermuda for the education of Protestant clergy for the American colonies.

21. Connections can be read particularly plainly in furniture styles. For example, there is an almost identical cedar highboy in Verdmont Museum in Bermuda and in the St. George Tucker House at Colonial Williamsburg. For an illustrated survey of Bermudian furniture, see B.B. Hyde, *Bermuda's Antique Furniture and Silver* (Hamilton: The Bermuda National Trust, 1988).

22. Emancipation in Bermuda was in 1833/4.

23. D. McDowell, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism* (London: Macmillan Education, Ltd., 1999), p.20.

24. I. MacDonald-Smith and S. Shorto, *Bermuda Gardens and Houses* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), p.21.

25. The Tucker's Town development, spearheaded by the Furness Withy Steamship Company, comprised a residential community, a club, two golf courses, and a luxury hotel on a rough spit of farmland with spectacular waterfront on either side. To acquire the land meant ousting a small black Bermudian community — a highly unpopular action that is remembered today. See McDowell, *Another World*, pp.81–85.

26. J.S. Humphreys, *Bermuda Houses* (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923). It is not surprising that Bermudian houses were also built in Palm Beach, Florida. Bermuda and Florida were then rivals for the same layer of the tourist business. For the Bermuda style in Palm Beach as an alternative to the Spanish colonial style, see S. Shorto, "Palm Beach: Designs on Bermuda," *Bermudian Magazine*, October 2000.

27. See S. Shorto, "Vincent Astor's Place," *Bermudian Magazine*, February 1999.

28. For example, Harrison's Round House (1936), now destroyed, was built for David Milton.

29. For example, SKB Roofing, designed to withstand hurricanes and to look like a stone slate Bermuda roof. SKB is light and can be insulated to make air conditioning more economical.

30. The materials used in XL House, for example, are only guaranteed for up to twenty years.

31. This was designed by architects Anderson, Beckwith and Haible of Cambridge, MA, with OBM of Bermuda.

32. The cottages were restored in 1996 for the use of the company by a local developer, Villa Properties, following the example of Fidelity International, which had set a precedent by moving its offices into a nearby National Trust-owned house. Renaissance Re has subsequently found it necessary to build a large new block on adjacent property.

33. See "The City of Hamilton Plan," Bermuda Government Department of Planning, 2001. The plan also anticipates expanding the residential facilities in the city. Though more than 50 percent of Bermudians work in the city, very few actually live there.

34. For recent histories of Bermuda's insurance industry, see R. Stewart, *A Guide to the Economy of Bermuda* (Boulton: Oakwell, 2003); and C.R. Duffy, *Held Captive: A History of International Business in Bermuda* (Boulton: Toronto, 2004).

35. In addition to the sources cited above, I am most grateful for discussions with Roger Crombie, CA, insurance journalist and editor of *Bermuda Reinsurance Magazine*.

36. Bermuda, regulated by the Bermuda Monetary Authority, is considered to be ". . . one of the more mature territories in terms of regulatory structure and culture." Http://www.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm48/4855/4855.htm. Cited by Roger Crombie, "Reviewing her Subjects" (February 12, 2004), http://www.bermudianbusiness.com/biz/b0101b03.html.

37. D.K. Newman, "Bermuda's Stride Toward the Twenty-First Century," Bermuda Statistical Department, November 1994.

38. Author's interview with Brian Duperreault, July 2004.

39. I am grateful to Roger Crombie for providing these figures.

40. R. Crombie, "100 Days to Save the World," *Bermudian Business*, April 2002.

41. XL, for example, had a bumper year in 2004, with a profit of $815,773,000 in the first six months alone.

42. According to the year 2000 census, the overall population was static at a little over 62,000 people. Of these, blacks (Bermudian and non-Bermudian) comprise 55 percent of the population, and whites (Bermudian and non-Bermudian) comprise 34 percent. The remaining 11 percent consists primarily of Asians and people who choose to describe themselves as being of mixed race. The percentage of Bermuda-born blacks, however, is 69 percent, while of whites the number is only 21 percent, indicating a far higher percentage of recent white immigrants. "Report on the 2000 Census of Population and Housing," Bermuda Government Department of Statistics, 2001.

43. Ibid.

44. While the law restricts foreign workers if a Bermudian can fill the job, insurance companies are often able to make a case for specialist workers to be allowed onto the island.

45. Based on data from the population census, this survey will compare Bermudian adult literacy and life skills statistics with those of Canada and five other nations.

46. Author's interviews with members of the public in the city of Hamilton, July and August 2004.

47. Cited in Newman, "Bermuda's Stride Toward the Twenty-First Century," p.16.

48. Author's interview with the Premier of Bermuda, the Honorable Alex Scott, August 2004.

49. Guest workers are controlled by the Bermuda Immigration and Protection Act (1956) and subsequent revisions. See www.bermudalaws.bm/home.html.

50. Annual rental values (ARVs) range from about $3,000 to more than $1 million. The number of rent-controlled dwelling units is approximately 3,600 out of an island-wide total of about 25,000. Figures provided by the Rent Commissioners Office and the "Report on the 2000 Census of Population and Housing," Bermuda Government Department of Statistics, 2001. ARVs are purely notional values and have no relation to actual rents paid.

51. At the time of writing, the figure was being reappraised by the government.

52. *The Royal Gazette*, July 22, 2004, p.1. The statistics were compiled between June 25 and 29, 2004, and are part of a quarterly independent survey of 401 representative residents of Bermuda, conducted by Corporate Research Associates.

53. Alert to the political implications of the growing divide between rich and poor, government is now developing a social agenda to investigate ways that people left out of the current boom might be drawn into a more direct stake-hold, to improve the quality of their lives. Author's interview with the Premier of Bermuda, the Honorable Alex Scott, August 2004.

54. Author's interview with Kelly Miller, Secretary to the Corporation of Hamilton, July, 2004.

55. M.P. Smith, *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization* (Oxford: Blackwell's, 2001).

56. ACE would not reveal the cost of their building.

57. Author's interview with Brian O'Hara, August 2004, during which O'Hara speculated that the island had reached saturation point. See also *The Royal Gazette*, May 4, 2004.

58. ACE recently bought advertising space at Cup Match, the historically significant annual two-day cricket match between parishes at the opposite ends of the island, an event that remembers slavery and commemorates Emancipation.

59. Mark Twain, a frequent visitor to Bermuda in the late nineteenth century, referred to them as "the stranded gentry."

60. Analysis of faunal and ceramic remains from digs conducted by archaeological teams from Colonial Williamsburg in St. George's and elsewhere in Bermuda, has demonstrated a higher standard of living in general.

61. N. Hertz, *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001/2003).

All photos and drawings are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Modeling Citizenship in Turkey's Miniature Park

İPEK TÜRELİ

This article discusses the design and wider political significance of Miniaturk, a nonprofit cultural heritage site that opened in Istanbul in 2003. It analyzes how image, publicity, and architectural form have come together to rework memory to conform to a new perceived relationship between citizens and the Turkish state. As a site of architectural miniatures, Miniaturk provides an escape from the experience of the everyday. But it also must be understood in dialectic relation to gigantic new sites of global capital around the city. Miniature parks are a global type with a long history. The article seeks to understand why a miniature Turkey has only just appeared, and why it has been received with such enthusiasm in the context of contemporary Turkish politics. How can its appeal be interpreted in relation to comparable sites? As a cultural "showcase," how does it represent Istanbul, Turkey, and the concept of Turkish citizenship?

The Municipality of Istanbul has aroused great controversy recently by its willingness to play host to the giant building proposals of global capital. As the city acquires transparent new buildings of steel and glass, immense public debate has been excited by an ironic lack of transparency in the web of international investment behind them.

Yet, only three years ago, the Istanbul Municipality was applauded for its new miniature "heritage" park, Miniaturk. The park exhibits scale models of architectural showpieces chosen for their significance in the city's and Turkey's collective memory (FIG.1). In comparison to the recent gigantic projects, Miniaturk was praised as a locally conceived and financed project that enabled visitors' identification with a shared culture.

Similar miniature parks abound around the world and often reveal much about the contexts in which they are situated. Private enterprises like Disneyland (1955) can become hallmarks of national experience. Other, state-controlled examples may more explicitly attempt to reconfigure the relationship between a nation and its citizens.

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Ultimately, the tradition of such open-air cultural parks may be traced to the international exhibitions that provided a venue for expressions of national identity in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, the building of grand capital cities such as Ankara, independence monuments, and monumental promenades also aimed to display and legitimize the authority of new nation-states. Using gigantic scale and nationalist narrative, such architectural interventions called on citizens to place their faith in the state. As if to reproduce the child's faith in his parents, they attempted to present the state as having the best interests of its citizens at heart.[1]

Miniaturk, too, invites citizens to believe in the benevolence of the state. But by selecting miniaturization and simulation, it adopts a different palette of spatial techniques. The goal is comparable, however — to appeal to citizens to imagine the nation in its entirety, and to promote a new understanding of citizenship based on a shared culture.

Since its opening in 2003, Miniaturk's success has been enormous. It has found a place in the city's popular historical landscape, and Istanbul's guided tours and printed guides now incorporate it next to well-known historical sites. As the press gave it keen and enduring support, the total number of visitors rose to more than two million by the end of its first two years. Other cities have now begun to follow Istanbul's lead and build their own mini-cities.[2]

As a utopian site, Miniaturk has been particularly welcome in a Turkey disturbed through the 1990s by the rise of ethnic and religious identities. It has presented the tantalizing case of a cultural attraction that could be appreciated across the social and political spectrum. In particular, Miniaturk has offered visitors participation in a naturalized and inclusive past — and perhaps the possibility of an imagined unified future. Translating the miniature park typology into a viable substitute for the gigantic expressions of state and global capital, Miniaturk has also created a new national pilgrimage site that recognizes the rise of Istanbul as Turkey's vehicle of globalization.[3]

In contrast to the threats that other global-city projects seemed to pose for Istanbul and the country, however, Miniaturk has not triggered any visible opposition.[4] It was built on publicly owned land by a nonprofit corporation (Kültür A.Ş.) owned by the local government (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality). And even though its estimated construction cost of around $10 million was reportedly acquired from corporate sponsors, it did not appear to represent any particular private interest. Instead, it has been presented as a public service — not a free-to-access public space such as an urban park, but a semipublic space more akin to a museum. Once visitors pay the entry fee, their activities are regulated only by the gaze of security personnel and other visitors. They are free to wander the grounds as long as they like, and as long as they look at the models from a distance, without touching them.

It is my supposition here that understanding the place and significance of Miniaturk in the popular historical landscape can shed light on the public reaction to other building projects in Istanbul. The park can also be seen as expounding a turning point in Turkish politics, as Islamism has moved to the political center from its previous position of opposition. Finally, Miniaturk illuminates changing notions of citizenship and national identity in a globalizing city.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

National unity has long been a source of collective paranoia in Turkey. Following World War II, fears for national sovereignty were fuelled by Cold War politics. Since the early 1990s, separatist movements and violent developments in the Balkans and the Middle East have again exacerbated such fears. As a result, the rise of Islamism and Kurdish nationalism at home have been regarded as threats to national sovereignty, rather than a call for social justice and democracy.

The decision to build a bounded miniature park where the nation could be viewed in its entirety may partially be seen as a response to anxieties about Turkey's future. Two principal observations reinforce such a suggestion. At the level of image, Miniaturk stage-manages history by painting a misleading picture of societal harmony. And at the level of production, it attempts to provide a showcase for both the quality and effectiveness of local government and the central government's political vision for the country.[5]

Interestingly, as I will explain, the version of history presented at the park is open to different readings according to a visitor's subject position, condition of viewing, and knowledge of Turkish history and politics. Those involved in creating the park may also have interpreted its purpose dissimilarly. Ultimately, its form has embodied negotiation between a range of politicians, administrators, designers, engineers, builders, consultants and sponsors. Yet, despite these interpretive ambiguities, Miniaturk has been successfully promoted through advertising and word of mouth. Stories have been written in local magazines and newspapers; write-ups have appeared in tourist and architectural guides to the city; and images of the park have been posted on billboards (managed by the company that built the park).

With so much coverage and so many actors, it is understandable that certain discrepancies have surfaced in terms of credit for its design. One of the figures involved in these disputes has been Istanbul's ex-Mayor Müfit Gürtuna, who has insisted on tying Miniaturk to commemorations of the historic conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman Empire in 1453.[6] Gürtuna was elected from the Justice and Development Party (AKP), an offshoot of the Welfare Party (RP) which turned such commemorations into major spectacles in Istanbul in the 1990s. In numerous interviews, Gürtuna has boasted that Miniaturk was merely one of 550 projects with which he planned to celebrate the 550th anniversary of this event.

By contrast, Miniaturk's administrator, Cengiz Özdemir, has consistently presented Miniaturk as a product of his own personal vision. To confuse matters, in the local press Özdemir has repeatedly been characterized as Miniaturk's architect. Meanwhile, the real architect, Murat Uluğ, has been excluded from the Municipality's official publications and publicity efforts. In return, Uluğ has described the project in the architectural press as a result of his own autonomous design decisions.[7]

Among those officially credited with the project — including the mayor, the model makers, and history professors recruited for consultations — Özdemir has made the most of it in terms of publicity. As he tells it, he first visited and was impressed by the Dutch miniature city of Madurodam (1952) during a stay in the Netherlands from 1979 to 1993. Upon returning to Turkey, Özdemir started working at the Municipality's "Corporation for Culture" (Kültür A.Ş.), set up in 1989 to manage the city's cultural activities. Then, in 1999, after being promoted to Kültür A.Ş.'s chairman, he personally

oversaw the construction of Miniaturk, turning it into Kültür A.Ş.'s key project — and thereby fulfilling a personal dream, according to official Miniaturk publicity.

Özdemir's public visibility as a result of Miniaturk eventually catapulted him into a high-paying job in the private sector. In February 2005 he was appointed chairperson of a media conglomerate (Star Media) that had recently changed hands as a result of government intervention. The transfer from the Uzan Group to the Doğan Group also had political implications, since the Uzan group had been a major supporter of a rival party to the AKP in the 2002 elections. Apparently, Özdemir's experience chairing Kültür A.Ş. between 1999–2005 and the public visibility he achieved primarily through Miniaturk were sufficient credentials to qualify him as chair of a media group that owned radio and TV stations, newspapers, and numerous other companies.

In contrast, Mayor Gürtuna was demoted by his own party from candidacy in the following local elections, and was succeeded in office by Kadir Topbaş. In the meantime, however, he fulfilled a rumor that began while he was Istanbul's popular mayor, and has become a potential political rival/threat to the Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan. Gürtuna is presently working to establish his own political party.[8]

These complexities in part explain why Miniaturk was opened three times: first, on April 23, 2003; second, by Prime Minister Erdoğan on May 2, 2003; and finally, by Mayor Gürtuna on May 29, 2003, for the 550th anniversary conquest commemoration.[9]

Significantly, the first opening coincided in the official calendar of the Republic with "National Sovereignty and Children's Day." By conflating national sovereignty with a celebration of the child, the date not only implies that the preservation of sovereignty should be a concern of children, but casts adult citizens in the role of children in relationship to the state. By comparison, Istanbul's conquest commemoration date, May 29, is not listed on the official calendar of the Republic.[10] Instead, the marketing of Miniaturk as a conquest-commemoration project must be viewed in relation to the rise of Islamism and its strategies to challenge and appropriate national history. As Republican history is stage-managed via days such as April 23, May 19 (Atatürk Commemoration, Youth and Sports Day), and October 29 (Republic Day), the Islamists felt a need to establish alternative days commemorating important events from Turkey's Ottoman past.

The backdrop for such competing programs of commemoration involves the reluctance of official nationalist history to recognize the accomplishments of the Ottomans. For years the Republic has attempted to establish itself as a secular, West-oriented nation-state, in historic opposition to the old, Islamic, "Eastern" Ottoman Empire. And by downplaying conquest-commemoration festivities, the Republic has also sought to avoid upsetting the "European club" by conjuring memories of a past when the Ottoman Turks were a rival power in Europe.[11]

For their part, Islamists have turned to Ottoman nostalgia precisely because of, and as a reaction to, the secular Turkish establishment. The Ottomans had self-consciously promoted a multicultural society as well as claiming the leadership of Islam. In contrast, the early Republic (1923–50) disrupted the public display of religion.

The state promoted civic nationalism manufacturing a homogeneous national identity out of a very diverse population, and ended up imposing the language (Turkish) and the religion (Sunni Islam) of the majority.[12] Accordingly, citizenship emphasized the individual's duties to the nation state rather than his or her rights.[13] However, market reforms in the 1980s, political liberalization in the 1990s, and the E.U. membership process at the beginning of 2000s have all contributed to a reevaluation to accepted norms of citizenship, national identity, and the assumed correspondence between them. As Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu have explained:

> . . . while giving the masses political rights, [the Republic] demanded at the same time that they accord normative primacy to the national interest over individual freedoms, to duties over rights, and to state sovereignty over individual autonomy. Thus, the making of modern Turkey involved the transformation of masses into citizens, but prevented the language of rights from entering into the process of the construction of a secular national identity.[14]

This relationship between the state and the citizen is perhaps nowhere more spatially expressed than in the siting and design of the Mausoleum (Anıtkabir, 1941–53) of the first leader of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938). Upon Atatürk's death, the Mausoleum was constructed on an imposing hill in the new capital city of Ankara. According to Sibel Bozdoğan, its architecture is "a monumental and abstract version of the classical temple incorporating numerous prehistoric Anatolian references in its decorative program."[15] Various features of the building also seek to embody and define early Republican ideals about the correct relationship between citizen and nation state. Michael Meeker has observed:

> The citizen stands before the Hall of Honor in the presence of the leader and founder in order to pay his respects. The three written communications announce the framework within which this interpersonal exchange takes place. Citizen and founder interact within a framework of constraints imposed by nationhood. In exchange for individual sacrifice there is the promise of the sublime. . . .[16]

These communications warn the citizen of external threats, the urgency of protecting sovereignty, and the sacrifice needed — rather than "the democratic principle of popular representation."[17]

In the years since it was built, the Mausoleum has served as Turkey's official nationalist pilgrimage site. It is where state ceremonies are held, and private and public associations gather there to pay their respects to Atatürk and display their commitment to protect the nation. In the 1990s protests also took place there against such perceived threats to the secular establishment as the headscarf.

One result of the rise of Islamism in the public sphere in the 1990s has been to challenge the state-sanctioned narrative of national identity, and the need to give physical representation to these forces has resulted in efforts to rediscover Istanbul's urban history as the former Ottoman capital. Alev Çınar has argued that the substitute narratives of nationhood produced by the Islamists seek to cast Istanbul as a "victim" (of the Republic) — thus, the reenactment of its conquest symbolically serves to "save" it from the Republic.[18]

In 1994, Çınar explained, the Islamist Municipality and an Islamist nongovernmental organization (the National Youth Foundation) jointly organized the conquest celebration as an event which would rival national commemoration days in scope and scale.[19] Among other things, this drew public and academic attention to Islamist claims to public spaces in the city. The victory of the RP in the local elections in major cities, and specifically Tayyip Erdoğan's in Istanbul, raised further alarms. And when RP leader Necmettin Erbakan became Turkey's first Islamist Prime Minister in 1996 concerns mounted even further. Some even asked if Turkey was set to turn into a new Iran. However, in 1997, the army, which sees itself as the protector of the secular Republic, intervened and ousted the RP.[20] The constitutional court then closed down both the RP and its successor, the Virtue Party. These moves by a coalition of the army and other secular elites to block the rise of Islamists swayed electoral support to a reformist faction within the RP.

In 2002 this faction, now represented by the AKP, won the general elections under the leadership of Istanbul's prominent former mayor Erdoğan, in part by promoting an economic program of "communitarian-liberal synthesis."[21] In response to questions regarding his new, "reformed," position, Erdoğan defined himself not as an Islamist but as a "conservative democrat." Although he used Islamist devices in his daily performance as prime minister, he made it clear that he considered religion a private issue and that the AKP would not conflate religion and government, Islam and democracy.[22]

The AKP subsequently used the European Union membership process to negotiate potential threats to it from the secularist establishment. It advocated a much milder adherence to religion than the RP, and it recognized a need for societal plurality. In defining its conservative stance, Ahmet İnsel has written that the AKP "considers 'the historical experience and cultural wealth of our nation a solid ground for our future.'"[23]

A GROUND FOR CONVERSATION?

The differences between the RP and the AKP can also understood through the different kinds of representations they have produced of the city and the nation. Miniaturk is a prime example. In representing cultural "wealth," the park does not single out the Islamic Ottoman past, as RP's conquest-commemoration reenactments do. But it still privileges Istanbul over Ankara, the capital built to showcase nation-building in the early Republican era. Thus, while it incorporates sites from Anatolia in line with Republican history writing, it constrains those *from* Republican history. Further, the models in Miniaturk aim to represent major religious communities that cohabited the land — in line with what is today perceived as Ottoman cosmopolitanism.

The contradictions in design credits and inaugural dates withstanding, Miniaturk's embrace by the Municipality, the visiting public, and the news media all suggest that the park does facilitate a ground for conversation.

In a meeting with one of Miniaturk's model makers and a public relations representative, I was intrigued to discover how the two identified with different versions of national history, even while working together. One of my questions was directed at the model maker. When I asked specifically which was his favorite model, he replied that it was the Mağlova Aqueduct (1554–62), and gave the following reasons:

Model Maker: *Not because it is a good model; in fact, it was one of our first. . . . I like it because of the work itself. It shows they had the determination, the belief, and the will to work. I am not saying this because of indoctrination: "Ottomans, Oh! Ottomans. . . ." However, every society, like an organism, has a period in which it is alive. . . . For example, if we bring the first and last decades of the Republic together. . . . [Laughs.]*

Public Relations Representative: *Not even bringing the last century together would suffice. . . . Once, I was leading a group of journalists [in Miniaturk]. One asked why there aren't many examples from the Republic. And I pointed to the squatter settlements [overlooking the park] and said, "There!" He started exclaiming, "You are indeed Ottomanists," you are this . . . and you are that. . . . His own cameraman reacted. "Hold on a minute," he interrupted: "[as if] we have them [Republican landmarks worthy of display], and it is Miniaturk that does not* display *them?"*

Model Maker: *But they [squatter settlements] are not the result of the Republic. They exist because of globalization, because of the conjuncture, because of the Cold War. . . .*

Public Relations Representative: *They are the result of a homogenizing world. Look at a plaza. Is this building in New York, Paris, in Istanbul, or in Tokyo? One cannot tell. All look the same. But look at a structure from the Middle Ages, and you can tell at a glance where it's from. If one is more equipped, then one can even identify the country it's from. But plazas do not allow this.*[24]

In this partial exchange, the model maker conflates the copy (model aqueduct) with the original (real aqueduct). He does not refer to the original as a functional architectural object or space, but as a symbol of technological superiority. The model in Miniaturk, therefore, is a symbol of the second order.

The model maker also suggests that society is an organism, and that architecture is its reflection. Thus, when an organism reaches maturity, it produces monumental architecture and engineering. The Republic, in such a narrative, becomes a period of delayed replenishment that has been terminated by more powerful processes such as internationalization and globalization that have come from without.

For the public relations representative, however, the organism analogy does not work. Her understanding evolves more along an axis of tradition versus modernity. Once there was a time of heterogeneity, but this was defeated by modernization (started with the Ottoman Reformations in the nineteenth century, but pursued forcefully under the Republic through the twentieth). She thus externalizes the Republic as an agent of top-down modernization.

In this analysis, processes of modernization ultimately dictate cultural homogeneity, and Miniaturk becomes a project of resistance because it reinstates heterogeneity. Her untroubled repetition of the story in which she suggested that the informal-looking housing overlooking the park was a monument of the present era speaks to a particular (popular and academic) attitude that blames the Republic, as if it were a person, for everything that has gone wrong in Turkey.

Clearly, the model maker and the public relations representative exhibit different ideas about Ottoman/Turkish history and how the present built environment has come into being. But they parallel each other in their understanding that architecture is an outcome (rather than, for instance, a cause or an agent) of social processes. Thus, while they do not agree at an ideological level, they have been able to work together to produce representations of architecture that not only display, but prove Turkey's exceptionality. In essence, then, Miniaturk offers a consensus ground for two people who do not share the same conception of history, but who have similar anxieties of cultural homogenization and decline. And the exchange between them illustrates the park's potential to reveal political differences, just as it facilitates their concealment.

In order to fully understand this conversation, one needs also to understand that sometimes even words have different local connotations. "Plaza," for instance, does not indicate a space derived from the Italian *piazza*. In its Turkish use, the word has evolved to refer equivocally to commercial highrises in an architectural idiom of steel and glass. "Plazas" came into the discussion because they are

public symbols of globalization. In particular, Prime Minister Erdoğan and his senior aides in the Istanbul Municipality, including the current mayor, are eager to shoulder the global-city project, and have been proud to construct such buildings to "market" Istanbul on a global stage.

Ironically, Miniaturk has also been used to market the city, but its design and status as a "heritage" site seem to set it in a different orbit. Thus, when the public relations representative refers to the homogenization of the built environment via "plazas," she assumes that Miniaturk somehow resists this process. What she chooses not to see is that all projects involving prime sites offered to global capital or leisure environments such as Miniaturk are characteristic of globalization. Both are domestic translations of global types; both entail the rerouting of public sources into private or privatized services; and both are designed to demonstrate Turkey's competitiveness in the global marketplace.

Nevertheless, the specific ways in which they evolve, and are received, may be unique to the context of Istanbul and Turkey. Looking from within a miniature Turkey, gigantic projects of global capital appear external and threatening. By contrast, Miniaturk reflects a desire to imagine a Turkey that displays its cultural wealth while being clearly bounded and secured. As "Turkey's Showcase," it becomes a key site in which contemporary Turkish national identity can be projected.

RESTORING A DREAM

Miniaturk is located in Sütlüce on the north shore of the Golden Horn, the estuary dividing the old Istanbul from the new.[25] This area long suffered from industrialization-induced pollution and illegal housing widely regarded as eyesores. Its pollution had become an issue as early as the 1960s. In the second half of the 1980s, the city's mayor, Bedrettin Dalan, carried out a major cleansing effort that concentrated on the beautification of the estuary rather than its environmental ecology or historic character. He demolished buildings, displaced residents, and replaced estuary banks with parks.

Miniaturk is part of continuing efforts to cleanse the estuary **(FIG.2)**. In the words of ex-Mayor Gürtuna, who officially approved and opened Miniaturk, this will "bring back the old magnificence of the area."[26] Of course, such "old magnificence" refers to its appearance during the preindustrial Ottoman period, when it featured public leisure gardens.[27]

In addition to being part of a local urban-renewal campaign that concentrates on the Golden Horn, Miniaturk can also be understood as participating in a larger process that seeks to establish Istanbul as a "global brand."[28] Other highlights of this urban renewal include the launching of two private universities, a museum, a cultural center, and a congress center. The first such investment was by the Koç Corporation, which renovated a former anchor factory in Hasköy as a museum of transport in 1991. Nearby Miniaturk, the old Sütlüce Slaughterhouse is now being transformed into a congress center. Across the estuary, the Imperial Fez Factory in Defterdar is being turned into a cultural center. Other projects include the renovations of the Silahtarağa Electricity Plant by the private Bilgi University as an arts center and faculty, and the Cibali Tobacco Factor into faculty buildings by the private Kadir Has University. This concentration of cultural investment around the Golden Horn reflects a reappraisal of land values and access, history and heritage. But it also mirrors a worldwide trend to revitalize abandoned industrial buildings, and in addition to cleansing the area of unwanted sights, these projects will inevitably bring gentrification.

In terms of its design, Miniaturk aims to abstract itself from its surroundings **(FIG.3)**. In the words of Uluğ, the park deliberately seeks to create a "tale-like environment."[29] A tall fence blocks off all external views of the interior, and the entrance complex containing administrative and commercial functions, a restaurant, and a shop faces a parking lot rather than the street. From here a carefully controlled entry sequence reinforces the sense of separation. First, a ramp takes visitors to a large raised terrace over a mini-botanical park. And it is only after paying their fees and passing through the entry gates that visitors arrive at a vantage point where Miniaturk is revealed to them **(FIGS.4,5)**.
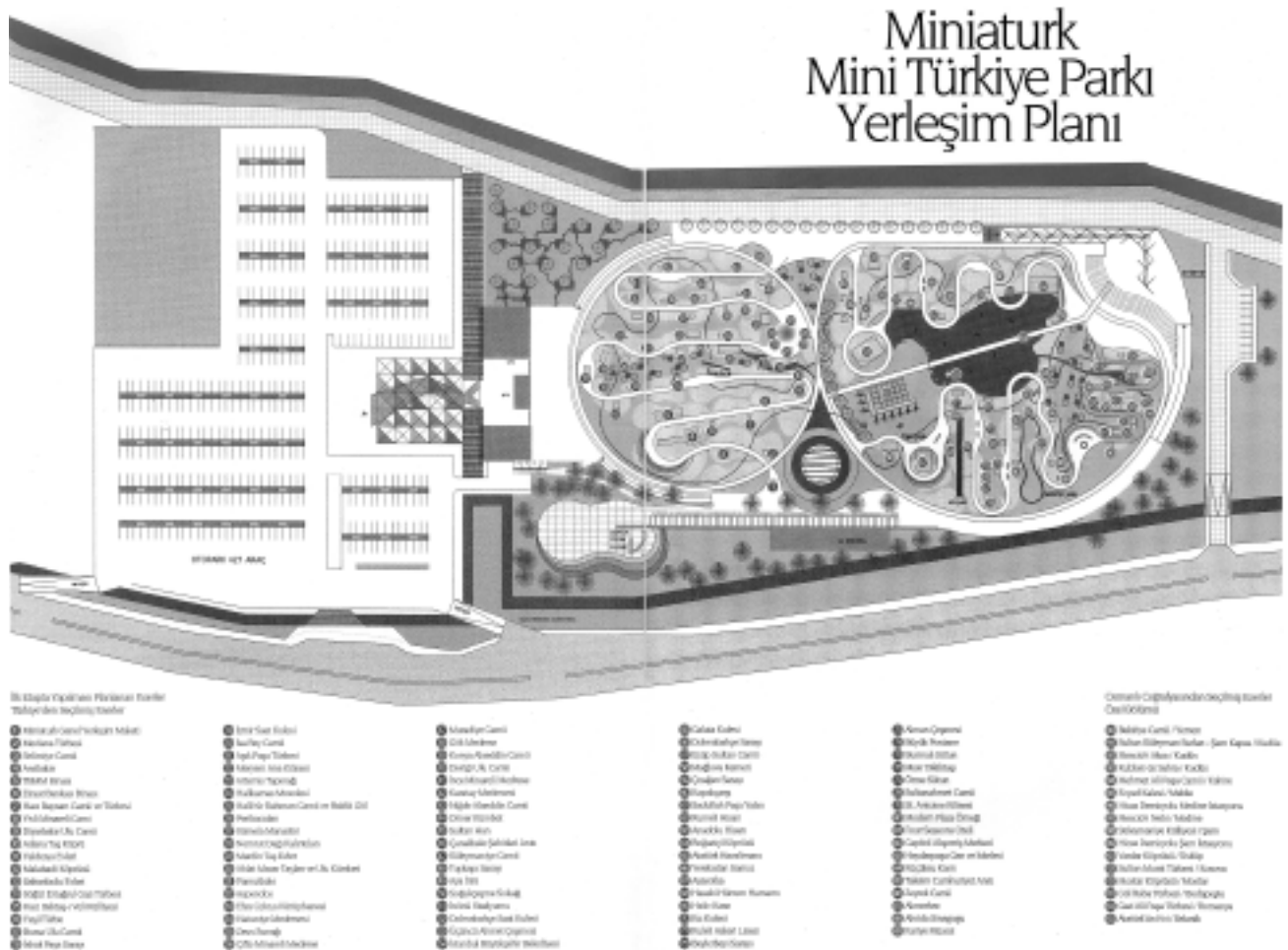
Miniaturk
Mini Türkiye Parkı
Yerleşim Planı

FIGURE 3. *Plan published by Miniaturk to solicit models from model makers. (North is down.) Source:* Miniaturk Mini Türkiye Parkı Sponsorluk Rehberi *(Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., July 2002).*

From this elevated location, visitors can enjoy a view of the entire park from behind a long balustrade, or they can take one of two symmetrical ramps down to the ground-level walkways that traverse the park. The ramp to the right provides immediate access to an outdoor café and children's playground to the north of the central area. When it meets the exhibition level, visitors encounter the first model, Mevlana's Mausoleum (1274, Konya). According to the printed guide, this ". . . bears witness to the multi-cultural nature of Anatolia."[30] The second model is of the Selimiye Mosque (1568–75, Edirne). The third is of Atatürk's Mausoleum.

Only 75 models were listed in the park's 2003 visitor's guide (36 from Istanbul, 31 from Anatolia, and 8 from "abroad"). Additions, now underway, will increase the total number and density of the models, and will transform the spatial experience of the exhibition space. However, the overall boundaries and thematic groupings of the park will remain.[31] The exhibition space is organized into two main circular areas. The one closer to the entrance terrace (to the east) contains Anatolian sites; the other (to the west) contains Istanbul sites, and is organized around a pond that stands in for the Bosphorus. A model bridge connects across the pond to a raised café at the park's western end. Outside the central areas, at the south edge of the park, a third group of models presents a curious lineup of buildings dubbed "Ottoman Geography." The buildings here were selected, publications state, because they were "built or renovated during the Ottoman Empire."

According to renown history professors İlber Ortaylı and Haluk Dursun, who created the list of sites to be modeled in the park, the criteria for selection were originality and representativeness.[32] But the final list also overtly attempts to demonstrate how Turks have respected and valued the cultural achievements of other peoples who have lived in their lands, even under "invasion, war and destruction."[33] Such a statement can be seen as problematic, however, in light of a history with counter claims.[34]

Both Ortaylı and Dursun are specialists in Ottoman history. The third group clearly also aims to enhance the idea

FIGURE 6. (LEFT) *The models do not all replicate their originals in the same way. In the foreground is the model of Hacı Bektaş Veli Dervish Lodge near the city of Nevşehir. In the immediate background is the model of The Church of Virgin Mary near the city of Izmir. The printed guide explains of the latter building that "only its apse stands today." Nevertheless, the complete church was modeled in Miniaturk on the basis of references and other resources. This photograph also shows the audio-information panel that is activated by each visitor's smart ticket. Photo by author.*

FIGURE 7. (RIGHT) *Some models are of originals in which communities presently live, while others are of abandoned sites. There is even one "natural formation" (Pamukkale). This image shows how that model seamlessly conflates the exhibition of the "Fairy Chimneys," rock formations, and subterranean dwellings of Cappadocia in Central Anatolia (dark conical forms in the foreground) with a representation of the naturally formed terraced (white) pools of Pamukkale in Western Anatolia. Photo by Ömer Faruk Şen.*

very different readings. According to one, the Mausoleum, the symbol of Republican nationalism, is clearly foregrounded. But the position of the Mausoleum model on flat ground can alternatively be seen as negating its elevated position in relation to the capital city and the nation. The photograph also shows a few spectators giving a passing glance to the Mausoleum while many more crowd around the mosque. The implication of this second reading is that Atatürk's Republican ideals lie buried at a time when the Ottoman past is becoming increasingly attractive. The angle of view in the image further contributes to this reading by locating the mosque above the Mausoleum on the printed page.

Of course, the embodied experience of the park does not privilege any such static point of view. The layout of routes through the park is based on an assumption that visitors will stay for two hours.[39] During this time, security personnel and visual and audio messages repeatedly remind them to avoid walking on the grass or touching the models. Meanwhile, a specially commissioned musical composition, by Fahir Atakoğlu (known for his patriotic works) is broadcast from disguised speakers, and detailed information on individual landmarks is provided in a booklet, as well as through an audio information system activated by the individual user (and again heard through disguised speakers).

FIGURE 8. *This photograph was used in several of Miniaturk's publications. The framing foregrounds the Mausoleum, yet establishes the imperial mosque as the center of attraction. Source:* Miniaturk: Turkey's Showcase *(Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003).*

The lack of shade, lack of seating, narrow width of paths, and admonishments against touching the models (or even getting close to them) all lead visitors to view the models while in motion. Only on the model of the Bosphorus Bridge are visitors treated somewhat differently. The actual suspension bridge connects Asia and Europe and is traversed only by motor vehicles. But here it serves as a finale of sorts, raising visitors from the ground level to the elevated café on the Western edge of the park, from where they can look back over the park and contemplate the image of the nation that has just been presented to them (FIG.9).

Even though the design of the park aims to abstract itself from its surroundings, the surrounding topography impinges in the form of nearby hillside apartment buildings that create an unavoidable backdrop to the models (the source of the public relations representative's disturbance) (FIG.10). To supplant the visual prominence of these structures from within the park, however, visitors may choose to take a ride on the Golden Horn in a life-size model of an imperial boat — and so conclude their experience by imagining the present-day city through the eyes of an Ottoman sultan. In this way, representations do not end at the boundary of the theme park. Instead, the city becomes an object of contemplation, and perhaps, an inverted extension of Miniaturk.

FIGURE 10. *The "excess" of the city clearly protrudes into the park. However, this publicity photo "airbrushed" out the apartment buildings in the background. Source: Miniaturk: Turkey's Showcase (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003).*

FROM WORLDS IN MINIATURE TO MINIATURE WORLDS

Miniaturk's form is an interpretation of a specific type of exhibit, examples of which can be found around the world, including several contemporary "mini-nations." Two other particularly well-known state-owned miniature parks are Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park) and Jinxiu Zhonghua (Splendid China) in Shenzhen.[40] Miniaturk's administrators, however, point specifically to Madurodam in the Netherlands as the model they admired most.[41]

Madurodam's official history claims that it was modeled on the example of Bekonscot (1929 in Beaconsfield, U.K.).[42]

While various forms of miniature parks can be found across the world, as a group, their genealogy can be traced to the world exhibitions of the nineteenth century. According to Timothy Mitchell, the exhibitions were designed to offer Europeans a picture of the world in miniature.[43] There is exhaustive literature on them, but their importance as a precedent for miniature environments such as Miniaturk remains relatively unexplored. The exhibitions did not only contrast the industrial products of the West with the traditional crafts of the East, but also the present modernity of the West with its preindustrial past. Such historical re-creations began at the 1867 Paris Exhibition.[44] A notable example was the Austrian-sponsored "Old Vienna" at Chicago's 1893 Exhibition; and, not to be outdone, the Germans re-created an "Old Berlin" of the 1650s at the Berlin Industrial Exhibition of 1896.[45] The entertainment created in such installations confirmed the modernity of these late industrializing European cities.

Tony Bennett's oft-quoted argument in the *Birth of the Museum* is that these exhibitions formed part of a nineteenth-century exhibitionary complex, which allowed visitors, particularly from the working class, to emulate middle-class manners and interiorize an ideal of national citizenship.[46] The typology of the open-air museum which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century may be regarded as an effort to turn the temporary environments of the exhibitions into permanent installations. Open-air museums also created permanent spaces where supposed national folkways could be frozen in time.

Stockholm's Skansen (1891) is generally cited as the first such open-air museum. It contained real farmhouses, dislocated and reassembled from different parts of Sweden. Supposedly representative not only of different regions but of different time periods, the houses were brought to the capital city and placed next to each other to create the image of a timeless, static folk life.[47] To sell the idea of a graspable, nostalgic national identity, Skansen was advertised as "Sweden in miniature." According to Bennett an important difference between nineteenth-century museums and such open-air museums was that the former excluded the lower classes from its represented narratives, while the latter "work[ed] on the ground of popular memory and restyle[d] it."[48]

Today's miniature parks go one step further because the objects they present are newly made, with no claim to authenticity. Moreover, while open-air museums like Skansen seek to simulate a lived environment (generally a disappearing, rural one), the miniature park merely present artifacts as symbols. Ownership and management, scale, materiality, organization, and the layout of objects are other aspects that inform the visitor's experience of a miniature park.[49] In the guise of entertainment, these may be used both to advance a particular political view and inculcate citizens with a sense of national identity.

As already mentioned, the officially declared model for Miniaturk was Madurodam in the Netherlands (FIGS.11,12). A comparison, however, reveals that the only real similarity between the two is that both display building models at 1/25 scale. Madurodam's major claim is to present a complete built history of the Netherlands. To accomplish this, it takes the form of a city that has grown outward radially from a medieval core. Such a comprehensive, integrative urban program is missing at Miniaturk. But there are other differences that clearly have been determined by differences in institutional framework and socio-political context.

For instance, since Madurodam is established and managed by a charitable foundation, it is unrestrained by direct political influence. This means that it can also turn politics into an object of display. Thus, Madurodam has a mayor and a city council, whose members are chosen from nearby schools, and who attend and receive any new models added to the park in "official" ceremonies.[50]

Madurodam also sets miniature people in its representative tableaux with the stated aim of portraying the Dutch way of life. In contrast, the models in Miniaturk are devoid of social life, isolated from any urban context, and laid out in a seemingly arbitrary manner.[51] Instead of trying to depict an overt normative Turkish or Islamic-Turkish character, the park's main rhetorical purpose thus seems to be to indicate the tolerance of Turkey to multiple cultures and ways of life.

A third difference is that while the Dutch miniature city is laid out according to a pseudo-realistic plan, which might allow infinite extension, Miniaturk's final size has been predetermined.[52] Such a condition seems subliminally to relate to the histories of the two countries: a miniature Netherlands must be able to expand, but the border of a miniature Turkey must be properly secured.

Finally, Madurodam uses the concept of a city to represent the nation, whereas Miniaturk differentiates between city and nation. Moreover, it privileges one specific city, Istanbul, giving it almost equal space in its representation as the rest of the national territory.

To understand Miniaturk, it is also helpful to look at Indonesia's Taman Mini.[53] Taman Mini was initiated in the early 1970s by the wife of Indonesian President Suharto, following an inspiring tour of Disneyland in the U.S.[54] Like Miniaturk, Taman Mini has been portrayed as the result of a single visionary individual's quest to import a Western type of institution. In both cases the central idea has also been to create a national image in miniature.

Taman Mini differs from Miniaturk in several important respects. Perhaps most significantly, it orders its imaginary nation according to official geographical divisions. Thus, each Indonesian province is represented by a pavilion around a central artificial pond that represents the Indonesian Archipelago.[55] In practice, therefore, Taman Mini pavilions serve as showrooms — full-scale ideal representations that mix the typical architectural characteristics of each geographical region. By

Madurodam in the Netherlands uses miniature people in its tableaux. Source: Madurodam, The Hague.

Madurodam's surface area has increased three times since it first opened in 1952. Its conceptual planning allows for expansion. Source: Madurodam, The Hague.

contrast, the simulated geography of Miniaturk is divided into three, largely conceptual, categories — the city (Istanbul), the country (Anatolia), and "abroad" — and the element of water represents not the three real seas that surround the country, but the Bosphorus, the narrow strait on which Istanbul stretches.

According to its promotional book: "Taman Mini 'Indonesia Indah' is created to show the whole of Indonesia on a small scale, in order to enable people to 'tour' Indonesia without actually having to visit the 27 provinces, which of course would take up much time and money."[56] The logic here not only involves

the re-creation of Indonesia as a graspable object for the tourist gaze, but it implies an expectation that citizens will learn the national territory, or at least enact this duty, by visiting the park.

Indeed, both Taman Mini and Miniaturk promote citizenship based on an appreciation of diversity ("Unity in Diversity"). Yet, under the appearance of preserving it in the former, and in simulating culture by copying architectural showpieces in the latter, both end up effacing diversity.

What remains further peculiar about Miniaturk is that half the original structures modeled in it may still be found in Istanbul. Why would Istanbul be the locus for such a collection of representations when visitors could just as easily visit the originals? This condition suggests that while Istanbul seeks to be a center of cultural imagination, it is a center detached from the imaginary of the nation. Likewise, the nation is left with a displaced center. In trying to re-present an ideal of Istanbul, the park also tries to detach itself from the reality of the city around it.

Finally, in interviews with visitors at Miniaturk, I found that different conditions of viewing and subject positions allowed different readings. One visitor, a middle-aged, middle-class woman from Zonguldak, a city in northern Turkey, suggested that real geographical representation would have made the display more truthful. She also commented on the absence of any building from her city from a supposed national display.

Another visitor, an older middle-class man from Istanbul, praised the park for its educational value and suggested that all primary-school students should be brought to it. When I mentioned that many primary schools are already organizing tours there, he expressed concern about the lack of chronology and the possible effect on children of such an "incomprehensible" history.

Clearly, visitors understand and judge the park according to their personal reference systems. They may also understand Miniaturk's inclusivity as a form of nostalgia. But, in the end, their appreciation of the park reflects a yearning for alternative modes in which to imagine the nation.

As the ethos of Republican nationalism fades away, other sites have emerged to challenge Atatürk's Mausoleum as a center of national symbolism. Miniaturk is clearly the latest of these. And since it is a miniature, it offers the possibility to grasp the entire nation as if it were an island separated from everyday reality and history.

SEARCH FOR A GLOBAL SYMBOLISM

In their use of scale as a representational strategy, miniature parks paradoxically work in tandem with the promenades of national capitals. In resorting to the miniature and the gigantic, both disrupt the real and the experience of the everyday. The national promenade may present progress-oriented spaces in accordance with an official narrative. In contrast, the national miniature park may level history through the use of seemingly arbitrary layouts. Yet by bringing the lived spaces of the past into the present as precious objects to be looked at, or by removing living spaces from their present contexts, the miniature park may provide an illusionary field on which to imagine a common future.

If one remembers the ceremonial practice at the Mausoleum, where the citizen "stands . . . in the presence of the leader," one is able to comprehend the appeal of Miniaturk better. At Miniaturk citizens join together to consume culture voluntarily, without obligation. Miniaturk is further popular precisely because it flattens histories and geographies to bring them together without apparent hierarchy or conflict. Yet, while doing do, it also speaks to an imaginary that seeks to attach to a global world via Istanbul.

As the progressivism and secularism of the early Republican nation-building project is increasingly criticized from within and a new plurality emerges in its place, the national symbolic, the archive of official objects and narratives, is due for renovation through additions that cater to a new national polity. There are many, potentially conflicting aspects of this new polity: the recognition of religion; a renewed interest in Istanbul as the potential gateway through which Turkey will join the multicultural European Union; a nostalgia for Ottoman cosmopolitanism; a drive for the bourgeois beautification of the city; and finally, a reconfiguring of the relationship between the state and its citizens in the midst of growing dissent toward the representational quality of the democratic process.

Because Miniaturk seeks to fulfill all these criteria in a Turkey striving to reassert itself as one among equals in a globalizing world, it has potentially become a new nationalist pilgrimage site. It is in this context that discrepancies between people are willingly suppressed, and memory is accordingly stylized.

REFERENCE NOTES

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1. I make this suggestion with Lauren Berlant's discussion of "infantile citizenship" and the "pilgrimage to Washington" in mind. However, I acknowledge that her argument is more complex than merely identification with an architectural narrative, and rather focuses on a particular form of political agency. L. Berlant, "The Theory of

Infantile Citizenship," in *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), pp.25–53.
2. For example, the Minicity in Antalya opened in May 2004 (viewed on www.arkitera.com, May 31, 2004); and Batman announced plans for its own miniature park (viewed on www.arkitera.com, July 19, 2003).

3. In considering global-city projects under neoliberalism (and the Mausoleum under Republican nation-building later in this paper) as phases of the "gigantic," and Miniaturk as their counterpart, I was influenced by Susan Stewart's discussion of the two concepts. According to Stewart, miniature is usually associated with the private collection, while the gigantic with the public. The latter symbolizes authority — i.e., the state, masculinity, and exteriority; and is experienced partially while on the move. The miniature, on the other hand, presents popularity, femininity, and interiority, and is experienced as a transcendental space frozen in time. Because the miniature is an "island," Stewart suggests it feeds fantasies and yearning for an imagined past, including a pure childhood state. S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).
4. Recent global-city projects, such as the Haydarpaşa Port, Galataport, and the Dubai Towers, in which publicly owned prime sites in Istanbul are to be privatized, were all met with criticism in the media and have been resisted by civil-society organizations. All three projects were announced in 2005, and there has been extensive coverage of them in Turkish media. By contrast, there were only a few voices raised against public spending on a "new" site such as Miniaturk, while "real" heritage nearby awaits reinvestment in decrepitude. See O. Ekinci, "Dünya Mirasında 'Miniaturk'! . . . ," *Istanbul'un "Islambol" On Yılı* (Istanbul: Anahtar Yayınları, 2004), pp.53–55.
5. Technically, the park was launched by the Municipality of Istanbul, which has a certain autonomy from the central government in Ankara. However, the top officers of the Municipality are elected in the nationally held local elections from amongst politicians.
6. C. Dila interview with Müfit Gürtuna, "Değişen Dünya ve Istanbul," *Gezinti*, (Summer 2003), pp.20–23.
7. M. Uluğ, "Miniaturk," *Arredamento Mimarlık* (September 2001), pp.38–39. Also, M. Uluğ, "Miniaturk," *Yapı*, No.262 (September 2003), pp.71–74. Among other things, Uluğ claims he decided on the site after consultations involving several alternative locations in the city (personal interview

by author, Nov. 2, 2005).
8. "Ali Müfit Gürtuna yeni parti kurma hazırlığını anlattı." Viewed on *AA News*, Nov. 18, 2005, on www.nethaber.com.
9. *Faaliyet Raporu* [Activity Report] *2002* (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003), p.13.
10. A. Çınar, "National History as a Contested Site: The Conquest of Istanbul and Islamist Negotiations of the Nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.43 No.2 (April 2001), p.365. Also see A. Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
11. The first conquest commemoration festivities were held in its 500th anniversary in 1953. A dedicated association was set up to guide the festivities. The preparations were initiated officially; however, Turkey's President and Prime Minister at the time abstained from attending because, according to the general interpretation today, Turkey had just entered NATO and wished to keep its relations with its Western allies. Since 1953, the Commemoration Festivities have been repeated in different scales but with minimal state representation.
12. T. W. Smith, "Civic Nationalism and Ethnocultural Justice in Turkey," *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol.27 No.2 (May 2005), pp.436–470. There is extensive literature on nationalism in Turkey. Smith's recent article is a useful review.
13. A. Kadıoğlu, "Citizenship and Individuation in Turkey: The Triumph of Will over Reason," *Cemoti*, No.26, viewed on March 28, 2006, on http://cemoti.revues.org/.
14. F. Keyman and A. İçduygu, eds., *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences* (London: Routledge, 2005), p.6.
15. Bozdoğan further explains, "As its architects stated in their explanation of the design, it was a built manifesto to the prevailing nationalist history theories that connected the history of the Mediterranean and world civilization to the history of the Turkik peoples." S. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p.289.
16. M. Meeker, "Once There Was, Once

There Wasn't: National Monuments and Interpersonal Exchange," in R. Kasaba and S. Bozdoğan, eds., *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp.157–91.
17. Ibid.
18. Çınar, "National History as a Contested Site," p.383.
19. Ibid., p.366.
20. This process is commonly referred as the "February 28 process." See Ü. Cizre and M. Çınar, "Turkey 2002: Kemalism, Islamism, and Politics in the Light of the February 28 Process," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol.102 No.2/3 (2003), pp.309–32.
21. As Keyman and İçduygu explain, this synthesis had three principles: "an effective and post-developmental state"; "a regulated free market"; and "social justice." See Keyman and İçduygu, eds., *Citizenship in a Global World*, p.16.
22. Smith, "Civic Nationalism. . . ."
23. İnsel explains: "The AKP states that it considers 'the historical experience and cultural wealth of our nation a solid ground for our future' and defines itself as conservative. It compares society to a 'living organism that survives by replenishing itself in the cultural environment constituted by such entrenched institutions as the family, education, property, religion, and morality.' It describes the development of this organism by means of an anticonstructivist argument in the style of Hayek, thus clearly marking its distance from the Kemalist project of modernization: 'The local culture and institutions that are produced and unified within their own natural processes without external intervention do not conflict with universal values.'" A. İnsel, "The AKP and Normalizing Democracy in Turkey," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol.102 No.2/3 (2003), p.304.
24. Interview with a Miniaturk public relations representative and model maker, Nov. 4, 2005.
25. The Golden Horn (Haliç in Turkish) is an estuary off the Bosphorus, the strait that connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara.
26. Viewed Oct. 10, 2004, on www.miniaturk.com.
27. Miniaturk's publications elaborate on this notion of a lost time. See A.E. Erbaş, "Kimliğimizin Eski ve Yeni Adresi: Sa'dabad'dan Bugüne Haliç," *Gezi*(Summer

2003), pp.14–19.

28. C. Özdemir, *Faaliyet Raporu 2002* (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003), p.8.

29. M. Uluğ, "Miniaturk," *Yapı* 262 (September 2003), p.71.

30. *Miniaturk Guide* (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003), p.3.

31. The administration also aims to supplement the park with reenactments and other cultural events, so that repeated visits to the park can offer different experiences.

32. The official explanation regarding the selection of landmarks represented in the park states: "Works that found a place in Miniaturk were ones that displayed peculiarities of the era in which they were built, ones that reflected the culture and art of a land that had witnessed thousands of years of heavy invasion, war and destruction, works that had not been destroyed simply because they had been created by those who came before, works that were protected, repaired and enjoyed." "The Selection of Models," *The Showcase of Turkey, Miniaturk, The Story of How it Came to Be* (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2003), p.27.

33. Ibid.

34. Turkey has been criticized for present and past human-rights abuses.

35. Interview by author with Miniaturk public relations representative, Nov. 4, 2005.

36. For example, *Mimarlık*, the publication of the Chamber of Turkish Architects, surveyed prominent architects and architectural historians to determine the twenty most significant buildings in Turkey in 2003. From this list, only Atatürk's Mausoleum, designed by Emin Onat ve Orhan Arda, is represented in Miniaturk's 2003 printed guide. *Mimarlık* No.311, viewed Nov. 28, 2005, on http://www.mimarlarodasi.org.tr.

37. For more nuanced discussions of artistic sources, see J. Erzen and A. Balamir, "Case study IV: Turkey," in I. Serageldin and J. Steele, eds., *Architecture of the Contemporary Mosque* (London: Academy Editions, 1996), pp.100–16. Also see Şebnem Yücel, "The City and its Minarets," paper presented at the IASTE 2004 conference, Sharjah, U.A.E.

38. Meeker, "Once There Was, Once There Wasn't."

39. Kültür A.Ş., *Faaliyet Raporu* [Activity Report], 2003, p.17.

40. For a discussion of Taman Mini, see M. Hitchcock, "Tourism, Taman Mini, and National Identity," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol.26 No.75 (1998), pp.124–35; J. Pemberton, "Recollections from 'Beautiful Indonesia': Somewhere Beyond the Post-Modern," *Public Culture*, Vol.6 No.2 (1994), pp.241–62; J.T. Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp.3–5; and S. Errington, *The Death of the Authentic Primitive Art: And Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp.194–98. For a discussion of Splendid China, see A. Anagnost, *National Past-Times: Narrative, Representation, and Power in Modern China* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 1997).

41. Administrators of Madurodam served as consultants to the creators of Miniaturk. See Musa Ceylan interview with Peter Verdaaddank, "Miniaturk Excites Us," *Gezinti*, (Summer 2003), pp.28–31.

42. For information on Bekonscot, see http://www.bekonscot.com.

43. Drawing on Martin Heidegger's essay "The Age of the World Picture," Mitchell argued that the effect of spectacles, in general, in the West was "to set the world up as a picture," and so objectify it. The World Exhibition had a particular place within such a regime of spectacle. It combined "authentic" reproductions of the environments of colonized lands with the real bodies of indigenous residents of those lands in an island-like environment separate from the everyday life of the places where they were staged. Mitchell also pointed out that despite attempts to construct the exhibition as a copy, the real world always "presented itself as an extension of the exhibition." T. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp.1–33.

44. Z. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp.142–43.

45. K. Zelljadt, "Presenting and Consuming the Past, Old Berlin at the Industrial Exhibition of 1896," *Journal of Urban History*, (March 2005), pp.306–33.

46. T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.59–88.

47. Official website of the "Open Air Museum." Viewed Nov. 29, 2005, on http://www.skansen.se/eng/. Also see M. Sandberg, *Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2003).

48. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p.118.

49. Errington, *The Death of the Authentic Primitive Art*, p.199.

50. According to Madurodam's official history, Princess Beatrix acted as mayor until becoming Queen of the Netherlands in 1980. As mayor, she governed a youth city council, members of which were elected from nearby schools. Today, Madurodam's mayor is selected from among the members of the youth council.

51. Kültür A.Ş.'s *Faaliyet Raporu* [Activity Report] *2002*, p.14, states that some ten thousand human figures were inserted to enliven the park. However, I have not come across any model human figures except in the panoramic museum that reenacts the independence war in an indoor space beneath the amphitheater to the west of the park.

52. Madurodam's surface area has tripled from 21,234 sq.m. in 1952 when the park opened, to 62,626 sq.m. today. "Background Information Madurodam" provided by Madurodam Marketing and Communication Representative Marloes Peeters via personal communication, Nov. 29, 2004.

53. I do not have firsthand experience of Skansen, Madurodam, or Taman Mini. The discussion of Skansen is based on its website and the work of Mark Sandberg. In the case of Madurodam, I have relied on the website and on personal communication with its marketing representative. In the case of Taman Mini, I have relied on the anthropological studies listed in note 41.

54. See Pemberton, "Recollections from 'Beautiful Indonesia'"; and Hitchcock, "Tourism, Taman Mini, and National Identity," p.126.

55. Since its opening, numerous new facilities and buildings such as museums have been added to Taman Mini, dramatically altering its experience. Here, I am referring only to the original 1975 core of the park.

56. *Taman Mini "Indonesia Indah"* (Jakarta: Tim Penerbitan Buku HUT ke-17 Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, 1992), p.84.

Field Report

Changing Zuluness: Capturing the Mercurial Indigenous Vernacular Architecture of the Eastern Seaboard of Southern Africa

DEBORAH WHELAN

Many consider the beehive grass *iqhugwana* archetypically Zulu. Along with the shield and *assegai*, it is iconic in the tourism culture of "the Zulu Kingdom," representing the mainte-nance of an exotic "tradition."[1] I argue that this is not necessarily so, as historical material shows evidence of a continual adaptation and evolution of this form. Furthermore, using the more contemporary example of the decorated buildings of Msinga, I suggest that the recent vernacular environment is a result of a postglobal Africanization, in a geographic area that, due to its circumstances, may have missed out on the globalization phenomenon completely.[2]

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South Africa's nine provinces, home to more than 40 million people, exhibit great diver-sity of landscape, climate, heritage, language, and cultural affinity. Of them, however, KwaZulu-Natal, situated on the country's eastern seaboard, is the only one named after a predominant population group. A densely populated area, ranging from high mountains to open savannah, with tropical to subtropical coastal areas, it is named after its most sig-nificant population group, the Zulu, members of the Southern Nguni who speak a Bantu language (FIG.1).[3]

    Although the Zulu predominate in KwaZulu-Natal, the cultural profile of the province is more complex, and it is inhabited by a cosmopolitan aggregation of nationalities. For generations, the Zulu have rubbed shoulders and overlapped geographically with many people of seSotho descent, a different language group with vastly different traditions and

worldviews. KwaZulu-Natal also boasts the largest population of people of Indian descent outside the subcontinent. Among its European population, people of English and Afrikaans heritage are prominent.[4] But there are also large groups of Germans, Poles, Norwegians, Italians, Portuguese and Greeks, often descended from missionaries and traders. In addition, new African immigrants, such as Nigerians, Malians, Tanzanians, Zimbabweans, Congolese and Malawians, most of whom are economic or political refugees, have created their own niches in local societies. This cosmopolitan hot-pot has created a plethora of influences that extend through the vernacular culture, from language to dress, architecture, craft, transport and food.

In predominantly rural regions of South Africa such influences have recently created an *African* globalization that has, in many ways, subverted Western influence and created a dynamic and rich environment for growth. It has also supported the national initiative of the African Renaissance, promoted by President Thabo Mbeki.[5] Such belief in things African was reinforced by the disintegration of the

Organization of African Unity, which was replaced by the African Union in 2000.[6] In addition, the recent resurgence in international strife, particularly between the United States and the Middle Eastern countries, and the large presence of Muslim people on the African continent, has produced a more inward focus, and become necessary in the absence of international aid and support.

The present cultural resurgence in South Africa has also partly resulted from political circumstances. In the 1990s South Africa emerged from a well-known period of oppression, during which the people most directly affected were often those who occupied "traditional" and rural spaces. For the major portion of the twentieth century Apartheid mechanisms stultified growth in these areas through notions of separate development based on "Bantustans" and "townships."[7] In some cases this spatial system did, however, serve to entrench the notion of a common good. In particular, ideas of appropriateness and traditionality were to some extent perpetuated by association and involvement in local affairs, politics, and a familiar cultural environment.[8]

Due in part to its longstanding dependent colonial connections with Great Britain, as well as reaction to sanctions imposed through the Apartheid years (where the unattainable was regarded as prestigious), South Africa has certainly been subject to what is widely known as "Coca–Colarization." Such global influence has manifest itself broadly across the material-cultural spectrum — in music, dress, and building styles.[9] But more recently, with the "opening up" of the country since the first democratic elections in 1994, there has been a counter movement to promote the African Renaissance. Within the Zulu nation this has resulted in the revival of such "traditional practices" as the First Fruits ceremony by King Goodwill Zwelethini. In the broader context of a country with perhaps the highest HIV/AIDS infection rate in the world, King Goodwill has also reinstated a virginity testing ceremony among Zulu maidens.

The ideas and observations about the living, changeable quality of Zulu vernacular architecture I present here reflect this complex interaction between global and local circumstances. My conclusions also derive from the fact I have lived the bulk of my life in KwaZulu-Natal. My research in this area, composed of both field and archival work, originally led to my Master's dissertation in Architecture, completed in 2001. Since then I have been involved in ongoing project work and in teaching mainly Zulu-speaking students at the tertiary level. These activities, as well as being involved in Zulu heritage issues from an anthropological perspective, now form the gist of my Ph.D. research.

THE ZULU NATION, IN BROAD PERSPECTIVE

The Zulu people provide the largest segment of South Africa's black population, residing mostly in KwaZulu-Natal but also around the large city of Johannesburg, where employment in gold mines once provided income for many thousands of migrant workers. The social structure of the Zulu people today is hierarchical, with the head of the nation being King Goodwill Zwelethini.[10] Subservient to King Goodwill are a legion of chiefs, known as *amaKhosi*, responsible for the different clan groups which historically occupied specific lands. These areas are in turn broken into wards, supervised by *induna*. The smallest social group is ultimately a polygamous homestead, whose heads are known as *umnumzane*.

Such hierarchical grouping is relatively new among the Zulu, having been instituted only in the 1820s though a series of internal conquests by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Prior to this the Zulu were formed as clan groups which traced their ancestry in the area back some five generations.[11] As such, they coexisted with other clan groups, settled in family lineages, as either pastoralists keeping cattle and goats, or as agrarians growing sorghum and millet.

As a nation under the successive reigns of the Kings Dingane, Mpande, Cetswayo and Dinizulu, the Zulu people displayed the military discipline originally instilled by Shaka against the British and the Boers on a number of well-publicized and closely documented occasions.[12] The proliferation of traders and missionaries in KwaZulu-Natal from 1823 onward also meant that a corpus of drawings, photographs, colonial records, and written documentation exists that describes the ethnographic history of the Zulu in detail.

Most significantly, such ethnographies, both recent and historic, demonstrate the important role that cattle play in Zulu life. Not only does the cattle byre, or *isibaya*, occupy the center of the Zulu homestead, but notional perceptions of cattle provide a focus for Zulu cognition. Evers has suggested that the cognitive and spatial role the animals play in the culture can be described as a "central cattle pattern."[13]

Allocated to the *umnumzane*, each Zulu homestead occupies a space distinct from its neighbors. The land, granted by the king, can neither be bought nor traded. Preferably on a north-facing slope, the homestead takes the form of a large stockaded circle with the *isibaya* at its center and the *umnumzane's* hut at its zenith. One enters the homestead from below, enforcing a sense of humility. Inside, individual huts hug the perimeter wall in strict hierarchy, with the hut of the *umnumzane's* mother occupying the place adjacent to his. If the *umnumzane's* mother has passed away, or lives elsewhere, a ritual hut called the *gogo* (grandmother's hut) will occupy this space. In descending order around both sides of the circle are then located huts belonging to each of the headman's wives. Children sleep in groups according to age and sex cohort, youths usually occupying the hut immediately adjacent to the homestead entrance. In this scenario, a reasonably sized homestead might consist of many units, including ancillary structures such as chicken coops, beer huts, and pantries.

In the mind of the Zulu, important connections exist between these spaces and the cosmos, the earth, and the ancestors (*amadlozi*). As a grassland-dwelling people, Zulu huts were traditionally built in the shape of elaborate thatched beehive domes. In other areas, however, a thatched cone-on-stone-cylinder form also came into being.[14] Today, in light of recent political violence, famine, and high unemployment, many Zulus have moved to cities in search of work. Here they occupy huge informal settlements that have grown incrementally, placed a strain on public resources and inner-city land, and led to increasing demands for subsidized government housing. This diaspora has increased the influence of globalization among Zulus. It has also greatly influenced architecture in the rural and periurban areas, increasing the potential for manipulation of the "traditional" norms of homesteads into new indigenous vernaculars that are ephemeral, evolving, and that respond to a plethora of new materials and cosmopolitan influences.[15]

THE GRASS BEEHIVE DOME — *IQHUGHWANA*

As mentioned at the outset, the identification of the Zulu grass dome (*iqhughqana*) as an icon of tradition and Zuluness is ultimately limited in both a temporal and physical sense.[16] The major Zulu area of habitation was the southern littoral grasslands, and grass domes were the typical Zulu dwelling in this particular area.[17] But the iconic nature of the form is not fully justified, and to a certain extent was reinforced by cultural parallels. The northern and southern neighbors that fall within the same broad language groups, the Swazi and Xhosa, built grass domes, though they had distinctly different characteristics. Some of the Ngoni people, further up the coast in Malawi and Tanzania, also built grass domes, as did those followers of Mzilikazi who settled at Bulawayo in Western Zimbabwe.[18] Both groups were refugees from the Mfecane, the wars that were created by the manic militarism of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona in the 1820s, which resulted in the diaspora of people, ideas and influence that substantially altered the face of the southern tip of Africa.

In simple terms, the *iqhugwana* was built from a series of concentric half circles of lath set into the ground to form a dome of the required diameter (**FIG.2**). The lath was tied with grass, and then the whole was thatched from the bottom up, leaving space for a low doorway. Following a gender division of labor, the lath was cut and put into position by men, while the cutting of grass and subsequent thatching of the structure was carried out by women.[19] A point to note here is that in general the buildings were not decorated. Zulu people decorated other aspects of their material culture such as ceramics and beadwork, both of which have achieved international recognition; but the historic record contains no mention of house decoration.[20]

The *iqhugwana* had several other distinctive physical features. A series of posts (*isigodi*) might exist in the center for support, depending on the size of the structure. Toward the center was a fireplace, the hearth built out of mud and termite mound. Smoke from the fire was important in limiting insect activity, since infestation by woodborer beetles or termites could spell the death of a structure. In some cases, the rear of the space was reserved for *amadlozi*, the ancestors, and offerings would be placed here. Atop the structure was a grass top-knot known as *inqhongwane*. This sealed this vulnerable location against rain and was often supplemented with protective "lightning sticks." The door, *omnyango*, was built by specialists, and consisted of a mat of interwoven withies. This could be braced shut from the outside or latched from within with a cross stick. The door was deliberately low, ensuring that people would bend their knees when entering, thus paying appropriate respect to those inside.

In terms of use, a strict spatial arrangement existed in the occupation of the dwelling. Women occupied designated places to the left of the posts depending on their role in the homestead, while men occupied similarly determined spaces on the right.[21]
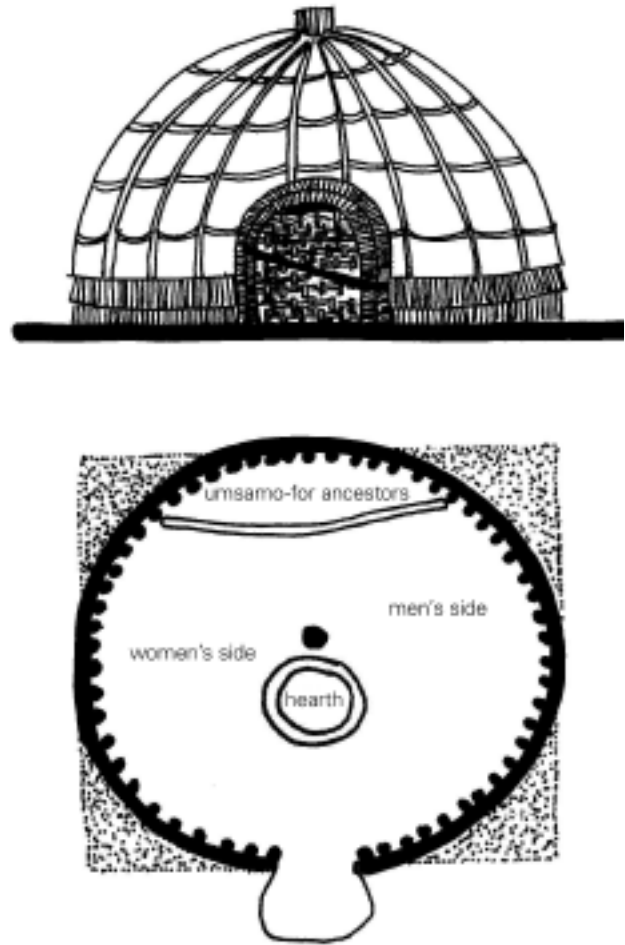
FIGURE 2. *A diagrammatic representation of the elevation and plan of the* iqhughwana, *or beehive hut. Drawing by author.*

Although the Zulu people were closely documented in the past (albeit on an ad-hoc basis), little research was carried out on their dwellings. Drawings by George Angas in the 1830s, a number of descriptions, and some early photographs depict what were sometimes disheveled-looking structures, bulging at their edges for about a meter above the ground. One reason for this bulge was that such early buildings were constructed with a framework of *sekelbos*, or *dichrostachys* (a scrubby thorn), which was pliable but had little longitudinal strength. However, in the last decade of the nineteenth century a local settler brought back some seeds of the black wattle from Australia. This tree now grows prolifically and, although outlawed in many areas, is today the standard material for construction of beehive dwellings (when they are made), informal houses, and *rondawels*, the circular building with a conical roof that characterizes much residential construction in the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape.

Perhaps pressures of the Apartheid regime are ultimately to blame for the lack of detailed study of such buildings.

Today, Barrie Biermann and James Walton are recognized as pioneers in their documentation.[22] Biermann once described the sophistication of their structure and the process of their construction as having the same level of complexity as a Boeing aircraft.[23] In the mid-1970s the most groundbreaking published work on these topics was compiled by Knuffel, who noted the number of different types of grass used in the thatch and the various processes by which it was harvested to promote environmental stability.[24]

THE MSINGA CASE

The Msinga district is a desolate tract of leftover land that lies at the confluence of three major rivers on the escarpment rising from the KwaZulu-Natal coastal belt. Surrounded by European-owned farmlands, it is an enclave of Zuluness that has prevailed in the face of political adversity. Despite the proximity of water, the local climate, geological conditions, and the fact these rivers run in deep valleys (as much as 1,000 meters below the hilltops) mean the landscape is arid, largely devoid of natural vegetation save *aloe Marlothii* and a variety of invasive acacia species.[25] The level of development is similarly low, with most formal activity focused on the small towns of Tugela Ferry in the middle, Keates Drift in the south, and Pomeroy in the north. These towns provide foci for a large population of rural people who walk or catch public transport to shop there or travel onward to larger cities.

A number of factors have contributed to the underdeveloped nature of the Msinga district in contemporary times, including drought and famine and a tenacious adherence to tribal law. But perhaps the most enduring factor preventing development is Msinga's reputation for violence, whether political, internecine, or as a manifestation of crime. In his paper "Isibuya Isidumbu, Bringing Back the Body," Jonathon Clegg described the particular state of the Msinga culture of violence, connecting it to a traditionally performed stick fight among age-grade warriors of the Zulu nation.[26]

Historically, Msinga also suffered acutely due to the partition of Zululand in 1879, a mechanism instituted by the Colonial Government to break the might of the Zulu nation. At that time its residents were separated from the rest of the Zulu people, who lived on the other side of the Tugela and Buffalo rivers (which then geographically defined the Zululand border). Being Zulus outside of Zululand, such isolation forced Msinga residents to develop a number of cultural coping mechanisms.[27]

Politically, Msinga came to form an historical colonial magistracy of the same name, governed from Pomeroy, a small town on the northern border. The area straddled the old wagon route between Greytown, Pietermaritzburg and Dundee, which today forms the route of regional road R66. As such, Msinga featured prominently in military and political historical anecdotes (particularly where the rivers were forded by ferries), as well as in the accounts of traders and missionaries. Proximity to water also led to development of such colonial outposts as police posts, mission stations, and a local Church of Scotland hospital based at Tugela Ferry.

Today, Msinga is densely populated, home to a population of around 160,000 people, who are relatively evenly spread across the area, despite the intense changes in gradient. Most people live below the poverty line, with, in many cases, the menfolk working as migrant laborers in the cities.[28] From 1880 onward, this was one of the main areas from which Zulu laborers were drawn to work in the gold mines in Johannesburg. This resulted in a culture of male absenteeism, with men returning to their homes annually during the Christmas break. This situation continued until the 1980s, when there was a large-scale closure of the mines. Today, HIV/AIDS and the unnaturally high death rate as a result of factional fighting have slowed population growth in the area, although it remains high considering the dearth of public facilities. Among these, the Church of Scotland Hospital acts as the secondary health-care facility, once people have visited badly staffed local clinics. Each tribal district also has a courthouse complex and sports arena. However, many schools provide only the basics of education and are understaffed.[29]

Apart from this seeming adversity, this district is particularly noted for its craft and art production. Nesta Nala, an internationally exhibited potter, came from here.[30] Msinga beadwork is also renowned and distinctive, usually worn on special days, when the full gamut of traditional dress is displayed.[31] The *isidwaba*, the married woman's cowhide skirt, is worn as a matter of course, although the *isicolo*, her headdress, is more ceremonial. I mention this because there are few areas remaining in the Zulu nation where traditional dress is worn every day. Such clothing is an indicator of the innate conservatism of the people in Msinga. Not only do older people dress in this manner, but many young, newlywed girls also wear *isidwaba*.

THE EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE MSINGA AREA AND ITS PAINTED WALL DECORATIONS

Despite the difficult social and economic conditions of the area, the homesteads of Msinga are unique in the Zulu context in that many are decorated. Indeed, they appear to subscribe to a decorative tradition that includes painted door surrounds, dado bands, and shadow lines at the eaves. Many would liken the decoration to the colorful and well-known work of the Ndebele people north of Johannesburg. But the Msinga Zulu decorations are unlike the Ndebele in its subject matter, its color choices, and general composition.

In the past, people of this area lived largely in beehive huts, or *iqhughwana*. As described earlier, their construction was a gendered activity: the wattle frame was cut and constructed by men of the household, while the thatch was cut

and placed by the women. Their arrangement within the *umuzi*, or homestead, also reflected hierarchy and gender.

Today, the buildings are largely in the cone-on-cylinder *rondawel* style. The thatched roof will normally have an apical cap which is either traditionally made of woven grass or manufactured from a variety of materials such as galvanized steel or cement. Often, a motorcar tire will be placed on the apex, acting as a lightning conductor. Sometimes an enterprising metal worker will fashion an apical cap that has a crowing cockerel or a knight on a charger. Wall openings apart from the single door are very rare, as in this traditional society windows are perceived as inappropriate by elders.

The layout of the homestead centers in typical fashion on a central cattle byre. Rules of hierarchical layout are observed in the positioning of huts for the headman, his mother, his wives, and children of various ages and sexes. However, due to the topography and the impossibility of building on steep slopes, the homestead may sit on a series of excavated terraces. The formal entrance remains at the lower end of the complex, near the cattle byre. This is still where one may shout "*nqo nqo*" to announce one's arrival.

Inconsistencies may exist in this prescribed layout in some homesteads. Some homesteads also display a variety of decorative elements on different huts, showing the development of styles over time. On the other hand, there are many homesteads that are not decorated. A brief "windscreen" survey indicates this practice is mostly characteristic of the kwaMthembu and kwaMchunu areas, two of the six tribal districts.[32]

Much of the decorative work appears to be carried out in the weeks leading up to Christmas. One is tempted to hypothesize that it has some connection with the return of the absent menfolk from the cities during the "builders holiday" which begins on December 16 each year. It may also be linked to the seasonal round of activates related to the production of houses, according to which specific times of year are devoted to the cutting/acquisition of the poles, application of mud and plaster, building of the frame, and cutting, drying and laying of the thatched roof.

In my original research, carried out between 2000 and 2001, I identified at least six separate forms of decoration.[33] Type 1 is characteristic of functional buildings such as kitchens and generally involves the monochromatic painting of mud plaster. The application of mud and color is reminiscent of Sotho building practice, where only the dado (lower walls) and packed panels on each side of the door are painted **(FIG.3)**. This practice is one of the areas of cultural overlap between Zulus and the Sotho-speaking Hlubi people of the area.

This simple application appears to have been refined in the Type 2 examples, a style prevalent in buildings constructed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This style was noted by Frescura and Hartley, and was referred to by the former as consisting of "chevrons," basic geometric painted patterns flanking the door **(FIG.4)**.[34] This style has long since died

FIGURE 3. *Type 1 Hlubi style building showing the open, packed eaves and painted, plastered walls. Photo by author, 2000.*

out, and other "later" styles are not documented photographically nor in written form at this time.

The Type 2 chevron style appears to have been superseded by Type 3, known colloquially as *isimodeni*, literally "modern." *Isimodeni* painting is characterized by the banded paintings that flank the doors, architecturally reflecting the banded coloring systems of the beadwork of the same name. The bands consist of carefully regimented proportions, color
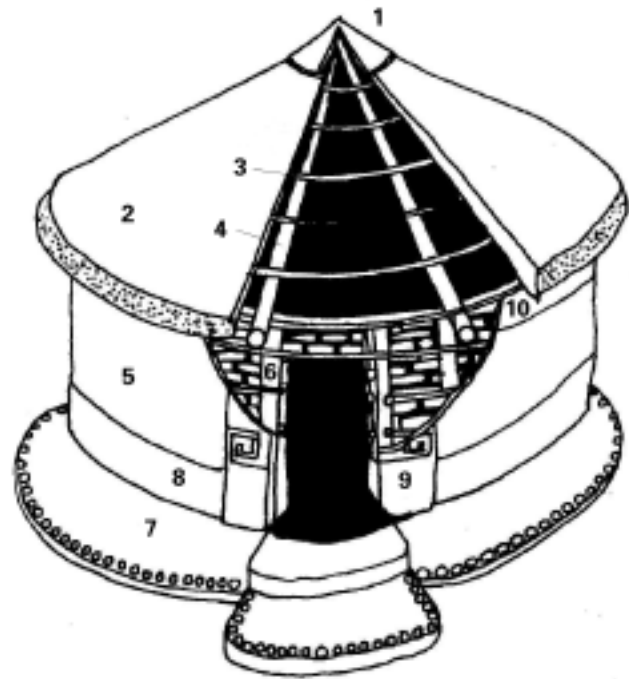

FIGURE 4. *Diagrammatic representation of the basic elements of the* isimodeni *Msinga building. 1)* Isicolo sigarondi-*apical cap. 2) Thatched roof. 3) Wattle purlins. 4) Wattle/gum rafters. 5) Plastered wall. 6) Structural post/gum 7) External stoep. 8) Painted dado. 9) Plastered decorative band. 10) Open/plastered & painted eave shadow detail. Drawing by author.*

Type 4 is also characterized by a breakaway in color choices from the conservative and regimented isimodeni black, white, red and green, to maize, brown, bay blue, carmine and black. Generally, the wall colors are chosen by the women of the homestead, who also execute the designs. One lady whose homestead formed part of the survey, had molded the plaster using a teaspoon as a plastering tool. However, following the economic slump in the big cities, men trained in the building trade have also assumed some of this work, and will contract themselves to individuals, despite the traditional perception that the application of decoration was "women's work."

Today, a new development in the "decoration of the whole" principle has taken Type 4 to new heights. Figurative patterning depicting birds, palm trees, and lacy geometric patterns, characterizes Type 5. Such huts are generally built by contractors to specific criteria, and are usually painted and plastered by a contractor as well. Type 5 has extended the range of colors further, with brown and olive green now being common. Again, the whole house is used as a backdrop for creativity.

FIGURE 5. *Example of* isimodeni *style (Type 3) building. Photo by author, 2000.*

choices, and patterning systems. Painted in red, black, white, green and occasionally blue, they construct a series of repeated harmonics, as pointed out by Jolles.[35] The huts in a homestead may also be decorated as a whole in the context, and often have *isitupa* (aprons) and intricately molded steps picked out with pebbles **(FIG.5)**.

Today many *isimodeni* decorated huts remain, sitting on platforms cut prior to recent densification, and there are still some being decorated in this fashion. A great number of the *isimodeni* buildings still existing, however, are kitchen huts. These have lasted longer in part because smoke from the cooking fires inside has deterred infestation by insects.

More recently, the *isimodeni* style has been superseded by Type 4, which differs in the sense that the whole house is considered a field for decoration, instead of only the areas flanking the door **(FIG.6)**. In this type, relief plasterwork is often applied symmetrically to the entire hut. There may also be careful consideration of a hut's context within a homestead, demonstrating the *ukuvelwa umuzi*, as described by Mack, Maggs and Oswald.[36]

FIGURE 6. *A woman in commonly worn traditional dress in the entrance of a Type 4 building. Photo by author, 2000.*

A common characteristic of both Types 4 and 5 is the raised plaster relief which forms a basis for painted designs. The technique generally means that a painter/plasterer inscribes a particular decoration that will last the lifetime of the building. Overpainting or alteration has not been observed.

The last type I observed in my research is more understated, and does not really fit into an evolutionary timeline, as the other examples do. Type 6 collects a variety of simple plastered buildings together, where a single color background has figurative motifs to each side of the door. Other types of simple decoration do exist, but not in sufficient numbers to justify categorization as a style. Where Type 6 lies in any temporal scale in unsure, its existence at this point is worthy of mention. Reticence to discuss it by informants could arise either out of lack of knowledge or another more esoteric reason.

The characteristics of all the types are shown in the accompanying table (**FIG.7**).

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE DECORATED BUILDINGS

Within homesteads the extent of variation in design types can be great. Such variation is a strong marker that there has been a breaking free from the bounds of accepted tribal norms, however, allowing expression of personal philosophy. As I wrote in 2003:

A homestead with an isicolo sikarondi *(apical cap) purchased in Johannesburg and typical of an informal street-side merchants wares depicting a knight on a charger on the apex of the roof could not be more incongruous in its remote African valley context, yet it works as part of the eclectic decorative language of the homestead whilst enriching the total perception of the man and his status in the community.*[37]

Comparative Structural Features

	CONSTRUCTION	ROOF PITCH	WINDOW	STEPS	DOOR
TYPE 1 early	frame and infill	greater than 20°	none	simple	usually stable type, SA pine
TYPE 2 circa 1975	frame and infill	greater than 20°	none	simple	usually stable type, SA pine
TYPE 3 circa 1985	frame and infill	greater than 20°	none	simple or decorated	usually stable type, SA pine
TYPE 4 circa 1999	frame and infill or concrete block	often less than 20°	none; blind or painted steel	simple or decorated	usually standard hardwood (*meranti*) with additional SA pine; stable lower half
TYPE 5 circa 2000	concrete block	often less than 20°	none; blind or painted steel	simple or decorated	usually standard hardwood with additional SA pine; stable lower half
TYPE 6 undated	frame and infill or concrete block	greater than 20°	no specific standard	no specific standard	standard hardwood or stable type

Comparative Decorative Features

	PLASTER	ANNULAR SHOULDER	DADO	APRON	DECORATIVE TRADITION
TYPE 1 early	none, excluding the dado	open	plastered and painted	simple	simple
TYPE 2 circa 1975		open	plastered and painted	simple	simple
TYPE 3 circa 1985	yes, to door head height	open	painted	simple or decorated	more complex forms in standard patterns on sides of doors only
TYPE 4 circa 2000	relief, full	painted	relief plastered and painted	simple or decorated	whole building painted with geometric patterns at openings

FIGURE 7. *Charts showing differences between the decorative types as described.*

As part of the recent development of a decorative tradition there has been a clear evolution of types and styles. In terms of wall painting, the more recent break from the early geometric influence of beadwork to something more expressive has created a unique evolutionary path for contemporary indigenous vernacular design in South Africa. In addition, the integration of plaster, paint and materials, all of which have a monetary value in a poor community, shows a conviction and commitment. Once the relief plasterwork is executed, the design is final, and variation can only happen in the choice of paint colors applied after the fact. At the same time, the biodegradable nature of the buildings means that the lifespan of the decoration is tied to the lifespan of the building. And given the high incidence of pest infestation and the rapid natural decay of materials in a humid climate, this is comparatively brief. There is not much of a maintenance ethic to support repair.

Despite such temporal limitations, the intricate details of the plastered designs are informed by a holistic approach to residential design. Factors such as the choice of door, how the entrance threshold is tackled, and the ways a homestead may be sited on an extreme physical gradient all reveal conceptual richness. With varying degrees of success, the building in its landscape is seen as single design problem, involving wall decoration, choice of door and windows, symmetrical positioning, the integration of ventilator bricks, and how decorative elements interact with necessary elements such as steps.

Perhaps as a result of the complexity of the task, decorative contractors have recently emerged who execute the designs in plaster and paint to the whims of the wife of the homestead. This shift in building practice from the women of the homestead to contractors is notable, although not much information has been gleaned about it. Such a level of specialization reflects both the perceived need in the community for such buildings and the need to establish a limit to variety within a set of basic design types. Mr. Sithole, a local decorator, admits to the existence of "catalogue" for the Type 5 buildings, and choices are made from this.[38] He was reticent to elucidate on this catalogue, however.

The integrity of artistic conviction among the builders and painters of Msinga is high. One finds that individuals make decisions based on what they perceive to be correct, despite approaches that may have been used at neighboring houses. During the experimentation process with new styles and material, this is particularly obvious. Thus, some designs emerge from specific, tried-and-tested approaches, while others result from creative experimentation. The *isicolo* atop the roof provides a good example. The standard manner of finishing off the *iqhugwana* was with a grass top-knot known as *ingqongwana*. But with the mutation in form and structural material from beehive dome to cone and cylinder, this apical resolution had to be rethought. Should builders stay with the conservative and original solution, or change it both for the sake of efficiency and aesthetics, and to embrace current fashion?[39]

In this and similar instances, tradition and the indigenous knowledge system that taught and perpetuated the construction of the beehive hut for generations has been challenged, leading to the variety of approaches to rural shelter today. The high level of artistic conviction has sped up the possibilities for local assimilation, adaptation and innovation. Such change is not restricted to construction materials, but is embodied in new and varied approaches to the possibilities of paint and sculptural elaboration.

Today, the opinion of Msinga residents as to the constituents of a proper house is varied. Often, builders have learned the urban formal building code working in the cities. This is then combined with the traditional needs and aesthetic interpretations of the homesteader. Part of this shift of influence has involved the availability of local building contractors since the closing of the mines on the Witwatersrand. But the high proportion of constantly returning men who work in urban areas may also be a factor. Often the result is a literal copying or integration of elements of "proper" buildings, such as ventilation units (airbricks). But many of these attributes taken from houses subscribing to the regulations of 1960s suburbia appear in merely symbolic form.

In this regard, one source told me that houses are painted and built to be similar to those in the cities. The imitation of perceived grandeur, taught by an imported set of values and cultures, however, does not necessarily extend through the catalogue of appropriate building forms or materials. It is noteworthy, for example, that the comfort with which the plasterer Mr. Sithole's family regards thatch is totally different from the attitude of urban Zulus. Certainly, the people in Msinga realize its shortcomings.[40] But their view is clearly different from that of city dwellers, who live in formal or informal housing, and who see thatch as both impractical and old-fashioned.

A real house in the eyes of many Msinga residents is not a two-roomed "cottage," as with many other emerging economic groups around the world.[41] The Msinga people do use two-roomed dwellings occasionally. It does, for example, serve as the bachelor's quarters in some homesteads. But bachelors are perceived as more worldly-wise, and they have more claim to a rectangular building since they are on the brink of joining the absentee male population.

POSTGLOBALIZATION: THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

The phenomenon of globalization is very much alive in the South African context, particularly through ideals of modernization submitted by the government in its Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). Such subscription to Western ideals in terms of what housing should be is often a way to placate recently moneyed cultures as well as the sometimes locally inappropriate demands of donor agencies. However, the influence of Western societies has also been strengthened through television access, education, non-

governmental organizational networks, and human-rights activities, particularly since the atrocities of the last few decades under the Apartheid government. In addition, since the country has a relatively strong economy within an African context, it has become a draw for other Africans, providing work, security and education, and adding things African to global influences on popular forms of material culture.

However, much of the uniqueness of Msinga as a cultural case is that the area has largely ignored the influences of the globalized Western world. In its isolation, it has quietly forged ahead, creating a new and fresh vernacular using influences both internal and external that respond directly to the local environment. In this case, the needs of "now" are being addressed. But the mercurial, nonstatic nature of these buildings cannot be underestimated, and given the fragile nature of their organic structure, their design has change quickly over time.

The buildings are a uniquely regional response to a variety of different influences that cover the spiritual, cultural and material realms. Their adherence to the definition of vernacular is combined with the traditional nature of the society and the method of transference of knowledge, creating an "indigenous vernacular." The reality of Africanization on the subcontinent, and the oft-forced encouragement of an African Renaissance at a national level is modestly and unconsciously represented in these Msinga examples, where people have used their own aesthetic and cultural toolkits to create something new.

As a final note, it is important to point out the error of statutory or forced methods of preserving such building types.[42] Part of the charm and essence of such indigenous vernacular architecture is its temporary nature. Its preservation would likewise imply that its creators should remain content in such an environment forever. In the way that notions of Zuluness have evolved over the last two centuries, so have their dwellings.

I suggest that the case for preservation of a temporally stunted and historically assumed vernacular is both inappropriate and short-sighted. The ephemeral nature of these environments is much of what gives them their appeal, and as such, the buildings and the homesteads should be documented, and left to change, alter and evolve.

REFERENCE NOTES

Much of this particular research was completed while I was working as an architect for Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali. I would like to dedicate this report to the memory of Dieter Reusch, who was shot dead in Tugela Ferry in July 2003 where he had been carrying out anthropological research for over a decade.

1. The *assegai* is a short stabbing spear made famous in the days of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona.
2. In this work I rely on the definition of the vernacular developed by Paul Oliver: "Vernacular architecture comprises the dwellings and all other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental contexts and available resources they are customarily owner or community built utilising traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them." P. Oliver, *The Dictionary of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.xxiii.
3. In this case, the language spoken is isiZulu.

4. Afrikaans is a polyglot language spoken by people claiming early Dutch and Huguenot descent, comprised of words from Dutch, German, Malay and Zulu/Xhosa. One of South Africa's eleven official languages, it was that of the National Party that supported and initiated Apartheid.
5. The concept of an African Renaissance, supported by a publication of the same name, arose out of a conference held in 1998. It originally emanated from an address President Thabo Mbeki made to the Corporate Council on Africa in the United States. During these remarks, he noted that "Those who have eyes to see, let them see. The African Renaissance is upon us." M. Makgoba, ed., *African Renaissance* (Cape Town: Mafube Publishing, 1999).
6. Http://africa-union.org/ciad/HOME-EN.HTM, accessed August 17, 2004.
7. Apartheid was a series of Acts of Parliament promulgated nationally from 1913 onward which served to promote the good of the nationals of European descent, and suppress indigenous peoples belonging to a variety of different nationalities and language groups, as well as people of Indian descent who had arrived in the country as indentured laborers from 1869 onward.

8. Tradition is here accepted to refer to custom, manner, form or idea carried through generations through practice or orality. Such traditionality is open to interpretation and change through time and space.
9. In building form, this can be seen, for instance, in the spread of the "American Flat." As described by Harber, this is an articulated building where a single room, or a pair of adjoining rooms, has been added to with incongruent roof forms. R. Harber, "The American Flat in Africa," *SA Architect* (March 1998), pp.37–40.
10. A hereditary title theoretically dating back to King Shaka, who formed the Zulu nation through military prowess in the 1820s.
11. Named after the progenitor, Zulu, whose name meant "the heavens." Thus, *amaZulu* means "people of the heavens."
12. The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 was particularly well documented. So were a variety of skirmishes between the Boers (descendants of the Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope) and the Zulus from 1838 onward.
13. T. Evers, "The Recognition of Groups in the Iron Age in Southern Africa," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988.

14. Photographic and drawn documentation largely shows the domical grass *iqhughwana*. However, archaeological evidence shows hearths and some stone-walling. See, for example, K. Mack, T. Maggs, and D. Oswald, "Homesteads in Two Rural Zulu Communities: An Ethnoarchaeological Investigation," *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities*, 1991, Pietermaritzburg, pp.79–129. Quite when the cone-on-cylinder *rondawel* came into being, or whether it existed in this region concurrently, is difficult to prove, and is a matter of debate.

15. In the last ten years, rapid urbanization has brought a cross-pollination of ideas and influences, which has sometimes taken the form of First World materials being subsumed into the grit of a cognitively transformed rural dwelling. This may manifest itself, for example, in a beehive hut frame of wattle withies being covered by white roofing plastic.

16. This is also often referred to as an *indlu* in texts by Biermann and Claude. See, for example, B. Biermann, "Indlu, the Domed Dwelling of the Zulu," in P. Oliver, ed., *Shelter in Africa* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1971); and D. Claude, "Space and Symbols in Rural KwaZulu: Steps towards a Valid New Architecture," paper presented at the Africa 2000 Conference, Cape Town, 1995. However, Doke et al. note that although an *indlu* refers to a hut, the *iqhughwana* refers specifically to a beehive dwelling. See C. Doke, D. McMalcolm, J. Sikakana, and B. Vilikazi, *English Zulu Dictionary* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1999), p.541. Discussion with Zulu-speaking people always results in the beehive being identified as the *iqhughwana*.

17. The use of the cone-on-cylinder form in less grassed areas exists, although its influence and spread is difficult to prove. The definition of the Zulu nation as a group of lineages that were assimilated after 1820 also means that a variety of building forms thus turn out to be definably Zulu.

18. S. Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture* (London: Heinemann, 1978), pp.129–30. Swazi structures — and those examined so thoroughly by W. Knuffel in *The Construction of the Bantu Grass Hut* (Graz: Akademische Drück, 1975) — are decorated by strands of grass rope in geometric forms added to the final thatch.

19. Knuffel, *The Construction of the Bantu Grass Hut*.

20. It is known, however, that King Dingane decorated the posts of his hut with elaborate beadwork. Also see W. Lord and T. Baines, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life: Travel and Exploration* (Johannesburg: Africana Reprint Library, 1975).

21. J. Argyle and F. Buthelezi, "Zulu Symbolism of Right and Left in the Use of Domestic and Public Space," in the conference proceedings, ASAA, University of Durban Westville, 1992. Also see the seminal work by E. Krige, *The Social System of the Zulus* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1962).

22. See, for example, Biermann, "Indlu, the Domed Dwelling of the Zulu"; and "Family Life and Community Structure: Its Effect on Housing Forms," in M. Lazenby, ed., *Housing People: The Proceedings from the Housing 75 Conference* (Johannesburg: AD Donker, 1977). And see, for example, J. Walton, *African Village* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, DATE); and "Art and Magic in the Southern Bantu Vernacular Architecture," in P. Oliver, ed., *Shelter, Sign and Symbol* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1977).

23. C. Polwarth, "A Study of the Influence of Barrie Biermann on the Architectural Culture of Southern Africa," unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1994.

24. Knuffel, *The Construction of the Bantu Grass Hut*.

25. On plant life, see D. Edwards, *A Plant Ecological Survey of the Tugela River Basin* (Pietermaritzburg: Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1967). On soil structures, see J. Van Der Eyk, C. Macvicar, and J. De Villiers, *Soils of The Tugela Basin, Natal Province* (Pietermaritzburg: Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1969).

26. J. Clegg, "Ukubuyisa isiDumbu: Bringing Back the Body," from P. Bonner, ed., *Working Papers in African Studies* (2) (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981), pp.164–99.

27. Among other things, this divided the might of the Zulu king Cetswayo, limiting his ability to commit acts of war against the British colonial government. Such power had resulted in the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, and, in particular, the battles of Isandlwana and Rorkes Drift, both of which took place relatively close by.

28. Marijuana is grown extensively in this area as a cash crop. Although illegal, it provides a means of survival where poverty is paramount. There was much documentation of police raids on the "*dagga*" fields during the Apartheid years, as this formed an excuse for invasion. See also A. Van Zuydam-Reynolds, "Illicit Trade," *Indicator SA*, Vol.7 No.2 (1990), pp.68–69.

29. J. Argall, "*Writing Around the Edge of Experience: Genre and Style in the CAP Farm Trust Newsletters by Creina Alcock*," unpublished M.A thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1994); R. Jaster and S. Jaster, *South Africa's Other Whites: Voices for Change* (London: Macmillan Press, 1993); G. Jennings, "*A Study of Socioeconomic Conditions in Msinga*," report prepared for ISER and the Urban Foundation, Durban, 1993; D. Houghton, *The Tomlinson Report, A Summary of Findings and Recommendations in the Tomlinson Commission Report* (Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations, 1956); E. Brookes and N. Hurwitz, *The Natives Reserves of Natal. Natal Regional Survey* (7) (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957); C. Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town: David Philip and Sons, 1988); J. Chatterton, *The Return of the Drums* (South Africa: Central News Agency, 1956); L. Schlemmer, *Msinga, A Challenge to Development in Kwazulu* (Durban: Inkatha Institute For South Africa, 1983); Thorrington-Smith, *Towards a Plan for The Tugela Basin* (Pietermaritzburg: Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1960; N. Ramdhani, "*Financing Colonial Rule: The Hut Tax System in Natal, 1847–1898*," M.A. thesis (History) University of Natal, Durban, 1985; D. Reusch, "*Reflections Concerning the Pottery from Kwamabaso, Msinga*," in *Zulu Treasures* (Durban: Kwazulu Cultural Museum and Local History Museums, 1996); D. Robbins, *Into the Last Outpost* (Pietermaritzburg: Shooter & Shuter, 1985), pp.80–115; D. Robbins, "*What's the Matter with Msinga?*" paper presented at the Fifth Annual Carnegie Conference on Poverty, 1984; R. Russell, *Natal, The Land and Its Story* (Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons, 1911); J. May, P. Trompeter, and A. Stavrou, "*A Study of Income and Expenditure and Other Socio-Economic Patterns in the Urban and Rural Area of Kwazulu*," report prepared for KFIC

(Durban: Data Research Africa, 1992); A. Mckay, "*Planning For Reclamation and Settlement of Bantu Areas in Natal and Zululand,*" Bantu, December 1960, pp.44–52; and R. Mtshali, "*Annual Agricultural Show at Msinga,*" Bantu, October 1969, pp.65–70.

30. J. Armstrong and I. Calder, "Traditional Zulu Pottery," in *Zulu Treasures*, exhibition catalogue (Durban: Kwazulu Cultural Museum and Local History Museums, 1996).

31. F. Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area," African Arts, Vol.xxvi No.1 (1993), pp.142–43; L. Hooper, "Domestic Arts: Carved Wooden Objects in the Home," in *Zulu Treasures*; F. Jolles, "Zulu Earplugs," in *Zulu Treasures*; S. Klopper, "The Art of Traditionalists in Zululand-Natal," in *Catalogue: Ten Years Of Collecting (1979–1989)* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 1989); and C. Newman and M. Hillebrand, *Zulu Headrests of the Msinga District in Kwazulu-Natal* (Port Elizabeth: King George V Art Gallery, 1999).

32. D. Whelan, "Decorated Architecture as Material Culture: A Preliminary Look at the Vernacular Architecture of the Msinga Area," *Southern African Humanities*, Vol.15 (December 2003) pp.129–41.

33. D. Whelan, "The Recent Transmutation of the Indigenous Vernacular Architecture of the People at KwaMthembu and KwaMchunu, Msinga District, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa," unpublished Master of Architecture thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 2001. In arriving at these types I have also used information from J. Beinart, "Patterns of Change in an African Environment," in P. Oliver, *Shelter, Sign and Symbol*; J. Fitch, Primitive Architecture and Climate," *Scientific American*, December 1960, pp.134–44; F. Frescura, *Rural Shelter in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981); F. Frescura, *A Glossary Of Southern African Architectural Terms* (Pretoria: Archetype Press, 1987); C. Hamilton, "Traditional Building Forms and Evolution, Amangwane," occasional paper, University of Natal, Durban, 1980; and B. Van Der Walt, "The Zulu Hut and Kraal," *Bantu*, March 1974, p.7.

34. Frescura, *Rural Shelter in Southern Africa*, p.66. Photograph one of a series of the area taken by Wyndham Hartley in 1983.

35. F. Jolles, Personal communication, 2000.

36. Mack, Maggs, and Oswald, "Homesteads in Two Rural Zulu Communities," pp.79–129.

37. Whelan, "Decorated Architecture as Material Culture," p.139.

38. personal communication, 2001.

39. These problems of resolution have been addressed in a variety of ways that vary from the interpretation of the traditional top-knot to the wonderfully anomalous knight on a charger.

40. For example, they are aware of its incendiary properties as a result of arson and lightning strikes. They are also painfully aware of its cost: of finding, cutting and conveying it; or buying it, somehow, locally.

41. The notion of "cottage" in this case also implies a single front door and two flanking windows, often the pattern used in the construction of the *iminjondolo* (shack), and also the pattern for many of the less salubrious Reconstruction and Development Mass Housing programs since 1994.

42. In a number of instances, statutory departments such as Tourism KwaZulu-Natal have been tempted to preserve these structures and life to promote tourism through gentrification. In addition, places exists in the Provincial Heritage Act No. 10 of 1997, where these structures are to be protected.

Book Reviews

Chinese Houses: The Architectural Heritage of a Nation. Ronald Knapp, with a foreword by Jonathan Spence and photography by A. Chester Ong. Singapore: Tuttle Publishing, 2005. 288 pp., ill.

Ronald Knapp's *Chinese Houses* is an important work, not only because of its comprehensive collection of texts and photographs, but also because it demonstrates the strengths of Knapp's lifetime of research. Ronald Knapp has been at the forefront of his field for nearly four decades, and his experiences shape this handsomely produced book. The volume presents a list of China's dwellings, varying from multigenerational residential complexes of wealthy families to small-scale houses and former residences of major Chinese political figures. Knapp's examination of each dwelling, together with the strikingly beautiful photographs by A. Chester Ong, present a variety of images of China seen through the subject of "Chinese houses."

Knapp mentions that this book was originally written for general audience, yet the final product is far more sophisticated than a simple coffee-table compilation. To begin, the definition of "Chinese houses" has provided a longstanding challenge to scholars of Chinese architecture. Knapp himself states, "the houses within which Chinese families live their lives encompass a remarkable variety of styles." Hence, "there is no single building style that can be called 'Chinese,' thus no typical Chinese house" (p.13).

What, then, are "Chinese houses"? Knapp argues that, although no typical Chinese house exists, there are nonetheless sets of architectural features shared by dwellings in various regions of China. These features are not to be understood strictly within the context of formalist studies; on the contrary, they must be addressed through the interconnection between architectural design and social practices. Furthermore, because social practices vary from region to region and cover a broad array of subjects, they require a research approach that examines both macro and micro levels.

Knapp's approach is demonstrated throughout the book's three main parts: Architecture of the Chinese House; Chinese House as Living Space; and China's Fine Heritage Houses. The first part addresses both the shared features of buildings found in disparate geographical areas and the uniqueness of each region's design. The uniqueness, Knapp argues, is the result of local customs and socio-cultural contexts, as well as varying topographical conditions. Shared features, meanwhile, are the effect of standardized construction methods, ranging from fundamental techniques like mortise-and-tenon joinery to more complex roof-support designs. Each study of a residential complex may therefore reveal its particular characteristics, as well as commonalities among techniques at the macro level.

Knapp refers to his study of Chinese houses as a research on "China's rural material culture" (p.287). This concept is central to the second and third parts of the book. According to Knapp's examination, forms of dwellings in rural areas have tended to evolve organically (from minor modifications of interior space to more formal alterations

of building sites) to reflect changes in each family/village and the particular patterns of the inhabitants' daily life. And, as the patterns of daily life shape physical spaces, these spaces in turn direct the living pattern of the inhabitants. Knapp shows this reciprocal process through case studies of dwellings as varied as the Jiangnan canal houses and the multistory building complexes of Fujian. The regional variety of the "samples" underscores Knapp's emphasis on the diversity of China's topography — and, hence, the various social practices of Chinese people.

This emphasis on topographical and sociocultural diversity distinguishes this book from others written on similar topics. As the plural noun "houses" implies, the key issue in Chinese material culture is not the revelation of a singularized, unified national identity, but recognition of the richness of sociocultural practices and the diversity of the country's built environment. This is a strong statement, voiced against the accepted view of a uniform Chinese culture. More importantly, it raises a critical issue regarding the field's future direction.

From a historiographical point of view, the subject of Chinese houses has always been fundamental to the study of Chinese vernacular architecture. However, since the publication of Liu Dunzhen's *Zhongguo Zhuzhai Gaishuo* (1957), research in the field, which spans more than half a century, has expanded in many directions. No true equivalence of Chinese and English concepts of vernacular architecture exists. Hence, there is a certain typical theoretical incompatibility between various Chinese connotations and their English approximations. These connotations include, for example, *Zhongguo zhuzhai* (Chinese residences), *Zhongguo minju* (Chinese common dwellings), *Zhongguo xiangtu jianzhu* (countryside architecture of China, rural architecture of China), and *Zhongguo minzu jianzhu* (indigenous architecture of China, often with references to minority tribes — *shaoshu minzu*). These terms are sometimes used interchangeably, and in several instances have been deployed to refer to the same sites/buildings. Yet each has its own historical uniqueness and theoretical position.

In China today, one of the most common connotations of Chinese vernacular architecture is *Zhongguo xiangtu jianzhu*, which stresses the necessity of studying architecture in its own physical and social locality. That is, a house must be studied in relation to its location (a village, or a town), while the lifestyle of the house's inhabitants must be read in relation to their neighbors' social practices and the village's preexisting customs.[1] This approach grew out of a longstanding attempt, initiated over a decade earlier by both Chinese and foreign scholars, to incorporate anthropological aspects in reading built forms.[2] The approach's strong emphasis on sociocultural context also marks a clear differentiation between the study of vernacular architecture China and the study of canonical Chinese architecture — the latter of which is known for its focus on forms and structures of "monu-

mental buildings" or "official-style buildings" (which were principally addressed by imperial manuals of construction such as *Yingzao Fashi* and *Gongcheng Zuofa Zeli*.)

Given the historiography of Chinese vernacular architecture, it is no surprise why Knapp's four-decade scholarship is one the field's rare cornerstones. Not only does the publication of *Chinese Houses* add a rich entry to the magna corpus of Chinese vernacular architecture, but it reveals the latest stage of the field's methodological development. Knapp's reference to his research as the work on rural material culture speaks directly of his attempt to intercept the prevailing formalist method with an interdisciplinary approach. Chinese Houses is one of the latest results of his mission.[3] ∎

1. See, for example, Chen Zhihua, *Lao Fangzi: Zhejiang Minju* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Meishu Chubanshe, 2000); Chen Zhihua and Lou Qingxi, *Zhangbi Cun* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2002); and Lou Qingxi, Xiwenxing Cun (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2003).
2. In regard to Ronald Knapp's contribution, see, for example, Ronald Knapp, *China's Traditional Rural Architecture: A Cultural Geography of the Common House* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). See also Ronald Knapp, *China's Vernacular Architecture: House Form and Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).
3. See also, Ronald Knapp and Kai-Yin Lo, eds., *House Home Family: Living and Being Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2005).

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Landlords and Lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community. Deborah Pellow. Westport and London: Praeger, 2003. 261 pages, illustrated with 57 maps, drawings and plates.

Deborah Pellow has conducted fieldwork in the Ghanaian capital of Accra since 1970. *Landlords and Lodgers* is the culmination of this research, focusing on the dominantly Muslim quarter of Sabon Zongo where the author commenced a long-term project in the early 1980s. The book contains previously published material, but Pellow's synthesis of the data provides a more comprehensive analysis of the history, social politics, and evolution of Sabon Zango's vibrant urban space. In closely considering the genealogical foundations of the community, the book's central aim is to describe the spatialization of changing social relations over the past century and the ways in which cultural values and practices become manifest in the built environment.
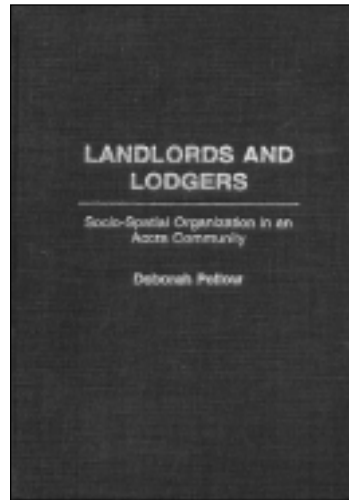
Pellow introduces her urban study with a scholarly account of "the political and economic incursions and interactions of foreign colonial powers, indigenous peoples and migrants" that produced Accra's geography. Britain established Accra as a nodal point in its colonial export-based economy, and administrators introduced planning measures that efficiently segregated ethnicities, social classes, and modes of production. Following independence, lasting colonial patterns continued to inform the city's expansion and the spatialization of its increasing migrant population. An influx of Muslim "northerners" were settled in Accra's ghetto-like *zongos*. These "strangers' quarters" are today characterized by municipal neglect and a certain degree of insularity in comparison to the progressive and Western outlook of the city's other, mainly Christian neighborhoods. Each of the eleven or so *zongos* has its own chief, mosques and imams, but the recognition of Accra's central mosque and chief imam as their spiritual center promotes citywide interaction between Muslims.

This historic overview of Accra provides the backdrop for the book's focus on Sabon Zongo. This "new" *zongo* was founded in 1910 by a local Hausa leader, Malam Bako, for his fellow migrants from northern Nigeria. Many of these Hausa newcomers were part of a trading diaspora whose movements linked West African economies and introduced Islam to regions south of the Sahel. Bako's ambitions to separate his Muslim community from Accra's Christian majority suited British policies of social and spatial segregation. In its early years the village settlement was situated outside Accra's city limits, and its social structure was defined by Islamic principles and traditional Hausa customs and practices. Characteristic of Hausa social structure is the ranking of people implemented through relations of clientage, claims to agnatic descent, gender segregation, and the seclusion of married women. These are core issues of Pellow's investigation. Despite the circulation of ideals that buttress cultural unity and homogeneity, Pellow's data demonstrates that ethnic diversity has existed since Sabon Zongo's inception, and that typical Hausa practices, such as seclusion and polygyny, are not actually the norm.

The book's middle chapters describe the physical layout and organization of Sabon Zongo, the social and economic factors that constitute the communal glue, and the everyday life of its residents. Accounts of the quarter's physical and cultural distinctiveness are balanced throughout with examinations of its connections to Accra's wider economy. Sabon Zongo's gradual incorporation into the city's geography has transformed its cultural practices and increased the diversity of its population, but Pellow cogently argues that a strong sense of *zongo*-ness (*zongwanci*) and a distinct sense of place have been maintained. Genealogical charters and corporate ties of kinship, an imagined overarching Hausa identity, dominant Islamic principles, and enduring patron-client relations all serve to demarcate the quarter's boundaries and anchor its residents and their activities with a sense of place and security. Pellow examines the complex relations between landlords and lodgers, and demonstrates how metaphors of kinship are regularly employed to frame interactions and forge communal ties that transcend Hausa ethnicity.

An especially interesting subject covered in the later chapters is the evolving form of Sabon Zongo's typical extended-family compounds. Pellow describes how pressure on available space, as well as peculiarities of kinship, inheritance, and building practices have resulted in the incorporation of nonkin residents in the family house and the "involution" of the courtyard space. The courtyard, traditionally the heart of private domestic life and the domain of women, has given way to narrow corridor-like spaces connecting new buildings that house members of the expanding family and rent-paying lodgers. These spatial changes have forced domestic activities outdoors, transforming the quarter's streets into new common spaces that serve larger and more loosely connected groups of people. Within the residual space of the cramped courtyards, residents manage to negotiate their own areas for preparing food, eating, and conducting other semiprivate functions. Numerous kinship diagrams and house plans illustrate the changing socio-spatial order of nineteen surveyed compounds. Pellow's thesis is that the daily interactions, negotiations and exchanges that unfold in the quarter's domestic and urban spaces effectively socialize residents into new roles and relationships.

In sum, *Landlords and Lodgers* presents a valuable study of the interconnectedness between the built environment, social practices, and changing identity. Pellow's intimate familiarity with the setting, history and people of Sabon Zongo has enabled her to produce a rare urban ethnography that does justice to the macro structures and functions of the city without losing sight of the individual actors who inhabit and reproduce Accra's physicality and meaning. The book makes a significant contribution not only to studies of West Africa's postcolonial cities but also to the body of anthropological studies about the Hausa. Pellow conveys the profound influence this itinerant population of traders has had on societies well beyond the frontiers of northern Nigeria, and in turn how the Hausa diaspora accommodates local practices within its own set of enduring customs and beliefs. This book should be a welcome addition to undergraduate and graduate course reading lists in the anthropology of space and place, West African ethnography, and urban planning. ∎

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Solar Architecture in Cool Climates. Colin Porteous with Kerr MacGregor. London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan, 2005. 266 pp., ill.

This book presents a compendium of solar-heating techniques used in buildings located far from the equator in Europe and North America. Of the 130-plus buildings mentioned, more than 70 are of residential use. The author seems to have visited and photographed most of them. His personal connection provides occasional and welcome warmth to the text. Larger buildings are also described, with an emphasis on daylight and ventilation.

This is not primarily a "how-to" book for the design of solar-heated buildings in northern climates, with guidelines for ratios of south glass to floor area, or thermal mass to south glass. It assumes that design software is available for such component sizing. Rather, it chooses to discuss various solar-heating approaches at length, giving a variety of examples to accompany each topic. Frequent historical references place these buildings in their architectural context, a welcome feature in discussions of solar approaches to design.

A particularly effective section deals with the use of conservatories (sunspaces). Given the extreme temperature swings such rooms afford relative to the conventionally occupied spaces they serve, they provide interesting choices as to when and how to use them. Chapters on human control and machine control also provide detailed examples of how designers face the issue of controlling comfort, having to mitigate the sometimes conflicting roles of the occupants and the thermal controls.

Porteous deals with the significant question of how the weak northern sun manages to provide useful heat. He explains that the farther north, the longer the heating season lasts, well past the spring and fall equinoxes. This allows the stronger sun in the spring and fall to do considerable work, even if the weaker sun of winter fails to contribute much around the solstice. Less clear is whether this strong potential for solar gain in the spring and fall might suggest a need for large glass areas facing southeast and southwest, not just south.

A few other far-north questions are also largely ignored. How seriously does the lower altitude of northern winter sun affect solar access? In a dense urban environment, obstructions outside south windows are frequent. Does this encourage upper floor, rather than lower floor, solar apertures? What legal measures have been taken to assure solar access?

Another question: What strategies can be used to shield building occupants from the inevitable glare of the sun when it is low in the sky? The book gives some examples of users pulling down shades in south windows — whether to block glare or unwanted heat is not entirely clear. The issue of summer-sun protection gets scant treatment, perhaps because rather cool air temperatures are assumed to be the norm.

And another question: The farther from the equator, the more distinct the difference between spring and fall. On the last day of summer (first day of fall) most northerners can expect warm weather with little need for space heat. Yet on the last day of winter (first day of spring) space heating may still be very necessary. Despite these different conditions, the sun enters a building the same way at both equinoxes. What are some shading strategies that respond to this unequal condition? How might the landscape, almost ignored in this book, assist through plantings of deciduous trees and vines?

Many of the 130-plus buildings examined here by Porteous are presented as "case histories," including some images, performance data, and observations (or reports) of occupant behavior. Those parts of the case history best described by words — stories of the unexpected, in particular — work very well. Porteous obviously enjoys writing, and he treats us to occasional gems of sentences that perfectly summarize salient points.

The graphic content is sadly lacking. It seems that Porteous is more interested in describing a plan or a section than showing one, and the substitution of many words for clean architectural drawings soon becomes tedious. Knowledgeable readers can deduce a great deal from plans and sections; to deny these opportunities is to control access to information — and for what reason? Further, usually only one photograph is shown for each building — and rarely an overall view. It is not a question of insufficient space for images; pages with empty sidebars are typical.

The solar heating performance data suffers in a similar way. This information is always presented in a sidebar, in much smaller font and lighter gray type. This acts as a disincentive to dwell on the data. Even worse, the data are always presented as numbers, never as graphs. To discern trends or grasp relationships, we are left with numbers scattered within sentences, except for a very few tables.

Despite the graphic omissions, this book is a reassuring collection of far-northern buildings that reach successfully for the sun. The experiences and observations of occupants were for me the most appealing feature, and demonstrate Porteous's lengthy career in solar architectural education and performance analysis.　　■

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Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space. Wu Hung. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005. 272 pp., ill.

The reopening of China to the West since 1979 has allowed scholars access to archival materials on the Chinese mainland, and a number of studies on China's urban culture during the first half of the twentieth century are now available. Yet, few research efforts have focused on the period after the founding of the Republic in 1949. Furthermore, most architectural historians working on China have been concerned exclusively with the construction and stylistic changes of urban artifacts, without situating them within their socio-political contexts. This may due to the evolution of architectural historiography in modern China, which began in the 1930s when the returned architect Liang Sicheng re-created the history of imperial Chinese architecture by careful verification of remaining ancient structures. Liang's method, however, privileged stylistic analysis of architectural elements like roof systems, timber brackets, and ornament over contextual analysis of where and when structures were built, and ultimately influenced later development of the field.

Wu Hung's new book *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* is an effort to break with these conventions of Chinese architectural historiography. Wu attempts to reconstruct the urban history and transformation of Beijing after the city became the capital of the Chinese Republic in 1949. In contrast to conventional accounts that treat the construction of Tiananmen Square and other monumental structures in Beijing as part of the victorious and revolutionary history, Wu underscores through stunning visual images the political agenda behind the constructions.

The first chapter of the book describes Tiananmen Square in its entirety as an architectural site that provides a locus of coalescence for political expression, collective memory, identity, and history. It highlights how Beijing's point of reference has shifted from the Imperial Palace to the Monuments of the People's Heroes that sit at the center of the square.

The second chapter analyzes the composite images formed by the giant portrait of Mao on the facade of the Tiananmen tower. It narrates the political implications behind the hanging of the portrait by underscoring how it represented an image of the chairman meeting and overseeing his people.

The third chapter highlights Tiananmen Square and the Ten Great Buildings that were constructed in Beijing to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic. Using his own memories on National Day parades, Wu reflects on how personal experiences of the city became situated within this gigantic exhibitional architecture.

The fourth chapter investigates the relationship between political time and political space. It links the installation of the Hong Kong Clock with the daily practices of the ancient Drum Tower. Both these objects have served a political purpose, governing the life of the people by imposing a programmed schedule on them.

The last chapter investigates new artistic responses to the city that have gone beyond representation of Tiananmen Square to interaction with it. It illustrates how the unofficial art in post-Mao China has turned the square into a combat zone where new views challenge the authority of official designations of place.

Throughout the book, Wu discusses Tiananmen Square, the most significant construction in the capital, in relation to three sets of issues and problems. The first relates to the square's physical and contextual transformation; the second concerns its role as a site of public activity and expression; the third relates to the issue of representation — the use of images of the square and of Mao as official propaganda. He demonstrates an interdisciplinary approach that brings discussion of urban artifacts to broader discussions of monumentality, politics, and cultural representation. Altogether, this provides a new perspective in understanding the changing cityscape of Beijing.

Collective memory is a theme that runs through the entire book. It is not a new idea; Halbwachs was first to point out how all personal memories are formed and organized within collective contexts. Nevertheless, few scholars have seriously situated the issue in a Chinese context, as Wu has done in this book. As Wu argues, the notion of collective memory is particularly crucial to a country like China, where public and personal events are consistently intertwined, and where the concept of privacy virtually did not exist in the years the book covers. Therefore, Wu's story of Tiananmen Square involves two parallel narratives — an historical one and an autobiographical one. The former investigates the square as an external entity and observes its changing form and meaning; the latter gives a first-person account of the author's encounter with the square, and reflects on his own changing perception of the place. This experimental weaving of the author's memory into a reconstruction of history allows the reader to grasp the urban experience and perception of the city. In effect, it allows the reader to share the collective memories associated with the city.

My final comment on this book relates to its discussion of the recent depoliticization of Beijing. With regard to Tiananmen Square, Wu points out that this depoliticization has been initiated by the state from the top down. Yet not enough discussion is given to this phenomenon. What are the reasons for it? How can we read today's Tiananmen Square within the current development trends in Beijing? The story on Tiananmen Square would have been more compelling if Wu had discussed this phenomenon as it relates to recent political and economic events of China. ∎

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Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism.
Jyoti Hosagrahar. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
234 pp., illustrated with 100 maps, photos, and drawings.

Following the first nationalist uprising of 1857, Mumani Jan
— an elite woman residing in Delhi — watched as her
immediate geography changed quickly and irrevocably. Over
the next few decades, the *haveli* (mansion) that she had come
to live in as a young bride was transformed from a residence
of the urban elite to a subdivided tenement, housing several
families, eventually resembling a squatter settlement for poor
migrants. It is this story of Mumani Jan and the changing
geography of a house and a city — their fates tied to a new
index of political power and cultural capital — that is told in
Jyoti Hosagrahar's *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating
Architecture and Urbanism.* Focusing on a fairly recent histor-
ical period (starting with the 1857 revolt and ending in the
1930s), the book takes as its intellectual project the concept
of urban modernity in its conflicted essence.

At the heart of the book is the claim that modernity was
the prerogative domain of the colonizer — that the colonized
could only participate in modernity on the terms of the colo-
nizer. In fact, the book claims this view was repeatedly con-
tested, appropriated and shaped according to local praxes,
thus setting into motion varying permutations of the mod-
ern. "Indigenous modernities" refers, then, to those sets of
transformations that destabilized and threatened the premise
of unbreachable difference upon which the colonial project
was based. Thus, even as Hosagrahar chronicles the slow
transformation of the formerly opulent *haveli* as the British
consolidated hold over the city, she reminds us that the *haveli*
was also remade according to the tastes and aspirations of a
new mercantile class.

The notion of urban modernity as a linear process is fur-
ther complicated when Hosagrahar explores the construction
of a deliberately "civic" realm in Delhi by the colonial author-
ities and its unexpected appropriation by the native popula-
tion as a space of nationalist performance and anti-colonial
protest. Similarly, the implementation of large programs of
public health through urban sanitization and privatization of
real estate — and the manner in which these metanarratives
of urban modernity were reshaped on the ground — bring
home the ambivalences and disjunctures within the mod-
ernist project. The incompleteness of modernity as a totaliz-
ing project is particularly illustrated in Chapter Six, in which
Hosagrahar talks about the vernacularization of the pristine
landscape of New Delhi (imagined as the urban ideal of
modernity) by the more "informal" residential enclaves that
grew around it and often harbored the vital but ordinary
functions left out of its planned landscape.

The book concludes with an exegesis on the gap
between the idealized imaginary of modernity — implement-
ed as a tool of colonial domination — and its end product as
a filtration, an inevitable plurality that was seized by various

agents, producing multiple, often unexpected results.
Ultimately, this led not to a unified city, bounded by reason,
but to a fractured landscape of contested meanings.

There are cities in the world that serve as minefields for
historians, inviting their intellectual gaze while seducing
them to structure their numinous histories as clean narra-
tives of architectural prowess, imperial triumph and decline,
colonial intervention, and postcolonial rebirth. Like Cairo
and Jerusalem, Delhi has piqued the interest of scholars for
some time, prompting steady historical investigation and rep-
resentation. One could argue that through hagiographic
accounts of Mughal emperors, travelogues, picturesque
depictions, literary novels, and surveys of historic monu-
ments, this protean city has repeatedly been built and rebuilt
through historical narration.

Indigenous Modernities, however, stands out from this
already rich body of work not least because it pulls Delhi out
of a historically stagnated gaze, embodied in clichéd repre-
sentations of it as a glorious imperial capital that fell into
decline due to its inability to cope with modernity. With the
exception of Narayani Gupta's *Delhi Between two Empires,
1803–1931* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981), the story of
the city has labored too long under the weight of a glorious
antiquity (which could only lead to inevitable decline).
Hosagrahar's book thus should be commended because it
moves away from this discursive paralysis. In doing so, it
benefits much from the fact that it is not just a multisited
investigation, but also explores the city at multiple scales,
leaving the reader with a richer sense of space and the actors
of urban modernity who inhabited it.

By way of critique, it should be mentioned that even as
it unravels the notions of indigeneity and modernity in the
spaces of Delhi, the book seems to place a cultural premium
on the former, allowing the indigenous to be presented as a
naturalized logic outside any quotients or hierarchies of
power. For example, in Chapter Four Hosagrahar speaks of
the "indigenous" mechanisms of urban sanitation that were
in place before the intervention of colonial authorities. In
fact, the labor for this indigenous economy of cleanliness
was provided by the sweeper community — people relegated
to the most menial tasks by virtue of their position within the
caste system. Yet Hosagrahar narrates the introduction of
modern, formal systems of municipal hygiene as the end of
an era in which the sweepers "enjoyed a monopoly over the
night-soil of the city," which she presents as their "birth-
right." Equally puzzling is the author's assertion that in the
indigenous landscape of Delhi, the sweepers "enjoyed free
entry to all households — through the back entrance." In
fact, this was a system of urban and domestic segregation
that was seen to prevent the pollution of upper-caste space by
members of the lower caste, and it continues to be prevalent
in many parts of India to this day.

The depoliticization of these brutal mechanisms of
caste- and gender-based oppression renders the "indigenous"

as a neutral time-space construct and does little more than perpetuate the nostalgia for the precolonial as a benevolent historical category. The reader is left to ask the obvious question that if scholars have been able to deconstruct modernity as a system of both liberation as well as brutal domination, should the notion of the "indigenous" not also be subject to critical questioning?

For those unfamiliar with discussions of modernity and its intersection with the urban realm the book will be a refreshing read, and it most certainly offers a new perspective on Delhi. However, for students and academics, by now saturated with similar investigations of urban modernity in Brasilia, Shanghai, Singapore, Chandigarh and Calcutta, this book may seem predictable in its intellectual inquiry. It replicates the familiar template of the "where" and "how" of urban modernity — i.e., public space, sanitation reform, dwelling units, urban rituals and processions — in order to make its case. Indeed, since the book holds out the promise of modernity as an indigenous process that manifested itself through site-specific modalities rather than a universal unchanging logic, the reader is left wanting to hear more about those sites and agents unique to Delhi that were active in the production and representation of modernity.   ■

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Conferences and Events

UPCOMING CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

"Second China International Exhibition and Forum on Urban Planning and Architecture,"
Beijing, China: May 10–12, 2006. This event provides comprehensive exhibits on archi-
tecture and design in China offered by design institutes, developers, and planning agen-
cies. For more information, visit http://www.planning.org/APAinChina/events/
2ndchinaexhibition.htm.

"Art and the City: A Conference on Postwar Interactions with the Urban Realm," Amsterdam,
Netherlands: May 11–12, 2006. This conference focuses on how artists, filmmakers,
designers and writers have dealt with the singularity, complexity and diversity of metrop-
olises that constitute their surroundings; how the metropolis contributes to their work;
how have they absorbed and transformed their various environments, and related issues.
For more information, visit http://artandthecity.nl/.

"True Urbanism and Healthy Communities: 44th Annual Making Cities Livable Conference,"
Santa Fe, New Mexico: May 18–22, 2006. The 2006 Making Cities Livable Conference
is focused on principles of true urbanism, the built environment, and physical and men-
tal health; the urban square and the spirit of democracy; and other ideas. For more
information, visit http://www.livablecities.org/Conferences_Forthcoming.htm.

"International Symposium on Architecture and Human Rights," Bangkok, Thailand: May
31–June 3, 2006. This symposium focuses on reframing design and development
through the inclusion of human rights, and the implications of this on the teaching and
practice of these activities. For more information, visit http://www.architecture-
humanrights.org/.

"City Building," New York, New York: June 14–17, 2006. The 2006 Annual Meeting of the
Vernacular Architecture Forum will focus on all aspects of vernacular architecture and
the cultural landscape from any geographic region worldwide that relates to the confer-
ence theme. Topics include vernacular architectures of the nineteenth and twentieth
centuries, speculative development in urban places, place making, and more. For more
information, visit http://www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org/.

"Photography and the City," Dublin, Ireland: June 29–July 1, 2006. The Clinton Institute
for American Studies is hosting a three-day international conference examining the rela-
tionship between the city and photography. Themes include the technologization of
urban vision, photography and urban change, urban surveillance, and more. For more
information, visit http://www.ucd.ie/amerstud/ConferenceNames/photography_and_
the_city.html.

"Constituting Globalization: Actors, Arenas, and Outcomes," Trier, Germany: June 30–July 2, 2006. Contrary to views that global-ization constitutes an unstoppable force, immune to intervention, the 18th Annual Meeting on Socio-Economics conference foregrounds the role of such actors as MNCs, states, international institutions, nongovernmental and interest organizations, and social movements in both the creation and further shaping of the globalization process. Such actors are seen to influence the dynamics and direction of this process in many arenas and at multiple levels. For more information, visit http://www.sase.org/homepage.html.

"Eyes on the City: 2006 Conference of the International Visual Sociology Association," Urbino, Italy: July 2–5, 2006. The theme of the 2006 IVSA conference is the city in its multiple facets: how urban spaces are shaped by human action and at the same time shape our lives. For more information, visit http://visualsociology.org/conference.html.

"Making Space: Leisure, Tourism, and Renewal," Bristol, England: July 11–13, 2006. The 2006 Conference of the Leisure Studies Association will focus on the relationships between leisure, tourism and the environment; the ways in which leisure and tourism, in addition to being social and cultural practices, play a role in creating and re-creating social and cultural spaces from the macro-level of global culture to the micro-level of local communities; the changing role of leisure, sport and tourism in promoting economic development related to urban and rural regeneration; and critical evaluation of theoretical, method-ological, and pedagogical developments within the subject field of leisure studies For more information, visit http://www.leisure-studies-association.info/lsaweb/2006/Main.html.

"The Sustainable City 2006," Tallinn, Estonia: July 17–19, 2006. The Fourth International Conference on Urban Regeneration and Sustainability will address the many interrelated aspects of the urban environment, from transport and mobility to social exclusion and crime prevention. For more information, visit http://www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2006/city06/.

"Angkor — Landscape, City, and Temple," Sydney, Australia: July 18–23, 2006. Sponsored by the Archaeological Computing Laboratory, this conference will provide an opportunity for the international community of researchers to contribute to a defin-itive overview of recent and ongoing research on Angkor, to discuss future directions and collaboration, and to participate in specialist workshops and training sessions. For more information, visit http://conferences.arts.usyd.edu.au/index.php?cf=9.

"Urbanism, Urbanity, and the Nineteenth-Century Novel," Santa Cruz, California: August 3–6, 2006. The Dickens Project of the University of California invites scholars from a range of disciplines to its annual adjunct scholarly conference addressing wider issues in Victorian literature and culture. For more information, visit http://humwww.ucsc.edu/dickens/universe/weekend2006.html.

"Urban Europe in Comparative Perspective," Stockholm, Sweden: August 30–September 2, 2006. The Eighth International Conference on Urban History will provide a multidisciplinary forum hosted by the European Association for Urban History for historians, sociologists, geographers, anthropologists, art and architectural historians, economists, ecologists, planners, and all others working on different aspects of urban history. For more information, visit http://www.historia.su.se/urbanhistory/eauh/invitation.htm.

"'Of Asian Origin': Rethinking Tourism in Contemporary Asia," Singapore: September 7–9, 2006. Hosted by the Asia Research Institute, this workshop sets out to address the social, cultural and political implications of Asia's transformation from mere host destination into a region of mobile consumers by offering the first sustained examination of tourism in Asia by Asian tourists. For more information, visit http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/tourism.htm.

"Environment, Health, and Sustainable Development," Cairo, Egypt: September 11–16, 2006. Co-hosted by the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and the International Association for People-Environment Studies, this conference encourages an interdisciplinary exchange among scholars around the world interested in the issues of environment, health, and sustainable development. For more information, visit http://www.iaps19-bibalex.com/index.htm.

"Boundaries and Connections in a Changing Europe," Roskilde, Denmark: September 21–24, 2006. Continuing the tradition of previous European Union and Regional Studies meetings, the Sixth Annual EURS Conference will provide a forum for discussion of the relationships between economic, political, and cultural processes in shaping the map of European cities and regions. For more information, visit http://www.geography.dur.ac.uk/conferences/Urban_Conference/.

"Surfacing Urbanisms: Recent Approaches to Metropolitan Design," Pasadena, California: October 12–15, 2006. The 2006 meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture West will focus on recent debates around urban and suburban growth and transformation, particularly as they engage various and competing urban design approaches, principles, and theories. For more information, visit https://www.acsa-arch.org/conferences/westregional.aspx.

"Homelands and Diasporas," Milwaukee, Wisconsin: October 18–22, 2006. The theme of the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society focuses on the imaginings of cities like Milwaukee in the Upper Midwest as cultural sites where both contending and congruent visions have long flourished, and where citizens have maintained active connections with their homelands. For more information, visit http://www.afsnet.org/annualmeet/index.cfm.

"Our Modern: Reappropriating Asia's Urban Heritage," Tokyo, Japan: November 1–6, 2006. The 6th International Conference of the Modern Asian Architecture Network seeks to engage various perspectives in the debates about the implications of "the modern" for urban spaces in Asia, particularly in light of the associations made by some scholars between modernization, colonization and Westernization. For more information, visit http://www.m-heritage.org/maan2006/.

"Changing Trends in Architectural Design Education: Sharing Experiences and Building Partnerships across the Mediterranean Rim," Rabat, Morocco: November 14–16, 2006. The First International Conference of the Study of Architecture in the Arab Region (CSAAR) will focus on all areas related to design education, particularly work addressing paradigm shifts in design education. Papers may reflect a wide spectrum of design disciplines such as architectural, landscape, interior, and urban design. For more information, visit http://aia.org/ev_intl_papers_morocco.

"Oasis: A Sustainable Tourism," Elche, Spain: November 30–December 2, 2006. Organized by the University of Alicante and the University of Elche with the support of Valencia's Ministry of Culture, the congress aims to explore issues of sustainable tourism in an oasis environment. For more information, please email Mercedes Aranzueque at alaus@telefonica.net.

"Cross National Themes of Planning Ideas and Local Identity," New Delhi, India: December 11–14, 2006. The 12th Annual Conference of the International Planning History Society seeks to provide an opportunity to share ideas related to global and traditional contemporary planning styles, national and international heritage policy, colonial planning, and other themes. For more information, visit: http://www.iitk.ac.in/infocell/announce/iphs/Organisation.htm.

CALL FOR ARTICLES/PAPERS FOR PUBLICATION

"Sustainable Development 2007," Algarve, Portugal: April 25–27, 2007. The Third International Conference on Sustainable Development and Planning addresses the subjects of regional development in an integrated way as well as in accordance with the principles of sustainability. Prospective authors may find guidelines for submission at http://www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2007/sustain07/index.html. Deadlines for articles are rolling.

"Crossing Jordan," Washington, D.C.: May 23–28, 2006. The 10th International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan will focus on the many peoples and their cultures who "crossed Jordan" from the earliest times to the present, and on the conservation of Jordan's heritage. The conference website is not yet complete. For more information, contact ACOR, PO Box 2470, Amman 11181; or ACOR, 656 Beacon Street, 5th Floor, Boston, MA, 02215-2010. Deadline for submissions is September 15, 2006.

"World Class Cities: Environmental Impacts, Planning Opportunities?" Bangkok, Thailand: January 3–5, 2007. The 7th International Conference on Urban Planning and the Environment brings together researchers, policymakers, professionals, and academics from different countries to discuss the latest developments on economic, social, and environmental issues of cities, as well as the methodologies that are being used to assess them. Prospective authors may find guidelines for submission at http://www.aesop-youngacademics.net/news.php?idnews=66&PHPSESSID=7e5ca4b2468764f0118e779bf0b136e6. Deadline for submission is June 1, 2006.

"IPS: International Political Sociology," Call for articles for the inaugural issue of *IPS: International Political Society*, a new interdisciplinary journal to be published beginning in 2007. Responding to the diversification of both scholarly interests and regional concerns in contemporary international studies, it will draw especially on traditions of historical, legal, economic, and political sociology, as well as on the burgeoning literatures on socio-political theory. Topics and running themes for the first year include a historical sociology of the discipline of International Relations; a discussion of the major works of various sociologists and their impact to the study of IR; global patterns of urbanization, international policing, and numerous other related themes. Prospective authors may find guidelines for submission at http://www.libertysecurity.org/article810.html. Deadlines for articles in English are May 2, 2006 (Issue 1); August 1, 2006 (Issue 2); November 2, 2006 (Issue 3); and February 1, 2007 (Issue 4).

RECENT CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

"From World Heritage to Your Heritage," Newport, Rhode Island: April 19–23, 2006. The Ninth Annual US/ICOMOS International Seminar addressed the protection and management of heritage sites with a particular focus on World Heritage cities. For more information, visit http://www.icomos.org/usicomos/Symposium/SYMP06/2006_Symposium.htm.

"Cosmopolitanism and Anthropology," Keele, United Kingdom: April 10–13, 2006. The Diamond Jubilee Conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the U.K. and Commonwealth consider the place and contribution of British and Commonwealth anthropology to current debates on cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitans to engage in a variety of themes such as normative cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan spaces, etc. For more information, visit http://www.theasa.org/asa06/index.html.

"Harmony in Culture and Nature," Jogjakarta, Indonesia: April 3–5, 2006. The Second Conference of the International Network for Tropical Architecture focused on providing an important forum to learn together, and share information for the architects, researchers, lecturers, and students from the tropical region and other countries around the world. For more information, visit http://www.into2006.org/.

"Imagine — Impacts2," Gold Coast, Queensland, Australia: April 2–5, 2006. The 2006 joint Congress of the New Zealand Planning Institute and the Planning Institute of Australia extended the theme of the first successful joint Congress, "Impacts," to another level, challenging the profession to imagine the possibilities in terms of innovative new approaches to urban design, sustainability, community, integration and implementation, and our relationship to the Pacific and beyond. For more information, visit http://www.astmanagement.com.au/nzpia6/Default.htm.

"Tourism and the Roots/Routes of Religious Festivity Journeys of Expression V," Belfast, United Kingdom: March 13–15, 2006. Hosted by the Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Sheffield Hallam University, and Celebrate Belfast, this conference sought to test the conceptual limitations of the religious and to relocate this concept in contemporary forms of social practice. For more information, visit http://www.tourism-culture.com, or www.belfastcity.gov.uk/celebratebelfast2006.

Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

1. GENERAL
   The editors invite readers to submit manuscripts. Please send three copies of each manuscript, with one copy to include all original illustrations. Place the title of the manuscript, the author's name and a 50-word biographical sketch on a separate cover page. The title only should appear again on the first page of text. Manuscripts are circulated for review without identifying the author. Manuscripts are evaluated by a blind peer-review process.

2. LENGTH AND FORMAT
   Manuscripts should not exceed 25 standard 8.5" x 11" [A4] double-spaced typewritten pages (about 7500 words). Leave generous margins.

3. APPROACH TO READER
   Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the journal, papers should be written for an academic audience that may have either a general or a specific interest in your topic. Papers should present a clear narrative structure. They should not be compendiums of field notes. Please define specialized or technical terminology where appropriate.

4. ABSTRACT AND INTRODUCTION
   Provide a one-paragraph abstract of no more than 100 words. This abstract should explain the content and structure of the paper and summarize its major findings. The abstract should be followed by a short introduction. The introduction will appear without a subheading at the beginning of the paper.

5. SUBHEADINGS
   Please divide the main body of the paper with a single progression of subheadings. There need be no more than four or five of these, but they should describe the paper's main sections and reinforce the reader's sense of progress through the text.
   Sample Progression: The Role of the Longhouse in Iban Culture. The Longhouse as a Building Form. Transformation of the Longhouse at the New Year. The Impact of Modern Technology. Conclusion: Endangered Form or Form in Transition?
   Do not use any numbering system in subheadings. Use secondary subheadings only when absolutely essential for format or clarity.

6. REFERENCES
   Do not use a general bibliography format. Use a system of numbered reference notes as indicated below.

   A condensed section of text might read as follows:
   > In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.[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 Stirs 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.

7. DIAGRAMS, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS
   Illustrations will be essential for most papers in the journal, however, each paper can only be accompanied by a maximum of 20 illustrations. For purposes of reproduction, please provide images as line drawings (velox, actual size), b&w photos (5" x 7" or 8"x 10" glossies), or digitized computer files. Color prints and drawings, slides, and photocopies are not acceptable.

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10. OTHER ISSUES OF STYLE
In special circumstances, or in circumstancesnot described above, follow conventions outlined in *A Manual for Writers* by Kate Turabian. In particular, note conventions for complex or unusual reference notes. For spelling, refer to *Webster's Dictionary*.

11. WORKS FOR HIRE
If you have done your work as the result of direct employment or as the result of a grant, it is essential that you acknowledge this support at the end of your paper. *Sample acknowledgement*: The initial research for this paper was made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts [NEA]. The author acknowledges NEA support and the support of the sabbatical reasearch program of the University of Waterloo.

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If you have prepared your paper using a word processor, include a floppy-disk version of it in addition to the printed versions. Please indicate the hardware and the software used. We prefer *Microsoft Word* on an IBM PC or a Macintosh.

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