ประเพณี เหนือจริง

HYPERTRADITIONS

The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) was established at the First International Symposium on Traditional Dwellings and Settlements held at Berkeley in April 1988. IASTE is an interdisciplinary forum where scholars from various disciplines and countries can exchange ideas, discuss methods and approaches, and share findings. As opposed to disciplinary associations, IASTE is a nonprofit organization concerned with the comparative and cross-cultural understanding of traditional habitat as an expression of informal cultural conventions. IASTE's purpose is to serve as an umbrella association for all scholars studying vernacular, indigenous, popular and traditional environments. Current activities of IASTE include the organization of biennial conferences on selected themes in traditional-environments research, the publication of edited books on selected themes, a public outreach program which includes supporting films and documentaries, and the publication of the Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series, which includes all papers presented at IASTE conferences and accepted for publication.

Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review is the official publication of IASTE. As a semi-annual refereed journal, *TDSR* acts as a forum for the exchange of ideas and a means to disseminate information and report on research activities. All articles submitted to *TDSR* are evaluated through a blind peer-review process. *TDSR* has been funded by grants from the Graham Foundation, the Getty Publication Program, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Center for Environmental Design Research, and the office of the Provost at the University of California at Berkeley.

IASTE membership is open to all who are interested in traditional environments and their related studies. In addition to receiving the Association's semi-annual journal, members are eligible to attend the biennial conference at reduced rates. Subscription to the journal is available only with membership in IASTE. Domstic annual order rates are as follows: Individual, $60; Institutional, $120; Corporations, $180. Foreign members add $15 for mailing. Libraries, museums, and academic organizations qualify as institutions. Subscriptions are payable in u.s. dollars only (by check drawn on a u.s. bank, u.s. money order, or international bank draft). Send inquiries to:
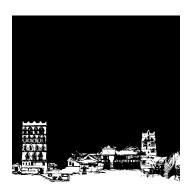
TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS
AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

Contents

Editor's Note

This special issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is devoted to IASTE's 2006 Conference in Bangkok, Thailand. As with past *TDSR* conference issues, it is intended to give individual and institutional members who may be unable to attend detailed information about the content of the event. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing all abstracts of papers accepted for presentation.

For scholars and researchers interested in the study of traditional environments, the far-reaching transformations brought by globalization require not only a recalibration of the idea of tradition but also a substantial repositioning within a shifting intellectual environment. While it is clear that contemporary forces of globalization have proven transformative, the transformations have largely defied prediction. Contrary to the expectations that globalization would act as a totalizing force, somehow erasing "tradition" and challenging "cultural coherence," investigations reveal that globalization may more accurately be said to have destabilized the idea of tradition as a repository of authentic ideas and customs. In this way, it has intensified the process of de-linking identity and place, and, by extension, intensified the deterritorialization of tradition. This process has challenged the idea of tradition as an authentic expression of a geographically specific, culturally homogeneous and coherent group of people. This process is not entirely new. Prior moments of globalization, such as colonialism, also brought about the deterritorialization of tradition, and they provide useful points of comparison to the present moment. Prior IASTE conferences have explored the effects of globalization on understandings of space and place; inquired into the post-traditional condition; analyzed the implications of migrations, diasporas, and emerging hybridities; and asked whether or not the millennium marked the "end of tradition." This year, participants were asked to investigate a new dimension of the transformation of tradition: hyper-traditions.

We use the term "hyper" to refer to social and cultural realms created and maintained through contemporary technologies of communication, transportation, and information transfer that have radically transformed notions of time and place, forever changing the meanings of distance and immediacy. Hyper-reality is just one of a repertoire of technologies that have altered time and space at different historical moments, including older technologies like world exhibitions. As one form of current time-space alteration, the hyper-real entails simulation; yet, in this realm, the simulation is a map that precedes the territory to which it refers, a map that effectively creates the territory and becomes the reality itself. In this way, perhaps as a response to the perceived "end of tradition" or "loss of heritage," hyper-traditions emerge in part as references to histories that did not happen, or practices de-linked from the culture and locations from which they were assumed to have originated. To the degree that they indicate a search for or reengagement with heritage conducted by those who perceive its loss, hyper-traditions raise fundamental questions about subjectivity in a globalized world. At the same time, many scholars have illustrated how these transformations of subjectivity offer radical and liberatory possibilities through emerging practices of mimesis, identity formation, and knowledge creation. How do these practices change our understanding of tradition?

There are countless contemporary examples of phenomena that can be seen as hyper-traditions: neotraditional towns whose history is invented by developers and then embraced by inhabitants; intensifying fundamentalisms that articulate a political agenda based on the perceived loss of heritage, customs, morality and/or identity in a globalized world; the political struggles over sites of varying religious and historical significance; and the rise of global tourism and the desire of the hyper-tourist to see and experience the "traditions" of particular destinations without the inconvenience that actual exposure may require. Indeed, hyper-traditions cannot be separated from the apparatus and relations of political economy. They circulate through global networks and circuits of capital exchange, which serve as mechanisms by which it is possible to encounter "traditions" from all over the world.

This is IASTE's tenth conference, and it brings together more than 140 speakers — scholars and practitioners from architecture, architectural history, art history, anthropology, folklore, geography, history, urban planning, sociology, urban studies, and other disciplines — to present papers in three main tracks: From Simulated Spaces to "Real Tradition" and Vice Versa; Hyper-Traditions in "Real" Places; and Identity, Heritage, and Migration.

We would like to thank our sponsors in Thailand: Thammasat University, and particularly our Local Conference Director, Dean Vimolsiddhi Horangkura. I hope all of you find the ideas explored in this issue intellectually challenging.

Nezar AlSayyad

KEYNOTE SPEECH

THE URBAN TRADITION
Michael Sorkin
City College of New York, U.S.A.

Traditions endure by consent. The importance of cities do not lie in their dumb instrumentality as necessary sites of production and exchange, but in their role as armatures of agreement, the physical register of accumulated compacts and memories. All cities are sited at the nexus of innumerable traditions, embodied in form, ritual and habit. Over time these traditions produce the specificity of both the city and its citizens. Without tradition the city is inconceivable.

Traditions are distinguished by their longevity and by the media by which they are transmitted and recorded. Tradition is inherently slow: its authenticity lies in the depth of assent that supports it, in the way it is learned and internalized, in the particularity of its institutions. In a globalizing culture rich with media of instantaneity and transportability, traditions predicated in slowness and locality are at obvious risk.

The contemporary context of exponential urban growth challenges urban traditions to account for the rights and relevance of long-standing morphologies and behaviors and to confront the demanding incorporation of the new. As cities are inevitably transformed by rapid cultural, technological and environmental shifts, what is to be the relationship between historic traditions and new ways of building and behaving? Is design obliged to make a choice between the defense of traditional patterns and the embrace of an annihilating new? Is there a style of invention that enhances both difference and assent? How far from their originating contexts of meaning can traditions stray and still claim their authority?

Using examples of my own work, I will discuss the future of the city as the premier site of both mutuality and individuation, and inquire into the transforming role of traditions old and new in securing a relevant space for both the plural and the familiar.

PLENARY SESSION
HYPER-TRADITIONS/
SIMULATED REALITIES

CINEMAREALITIES
Dietrich Neumann
Brown University, Providence, U.S.A.

GLOCALIZING JERUSALEM: HYPER-TRADITIONS AT THE FOOT OF TEMPLE MOUNT
Alona Nitzan-Shiftan
Technion, Israel

CINEMAREALITIES
Dietrich Neumann

The French cultural theorist and philosopher Paul Virilio noted in 1991: "After the age of architecture-sculpture we are now in the time of cinematographic factitiousness . . . from now on architecture is only a movie; . . . the city is no longer a theater (agora, forum) but the cinema of city lights."

My talk will concentrate on the relationship between the urban core and the perceived reality of the movie screen.

A brief historic survey will first examine the establishment through photography and motion pictures of Times Square and Piccadilly Circus as quintessential images of the nocturnal, spectacular centers of "world cities" and the dissemination of such imagery the world over. Remarkably, both in London and New York, the climax of spectacular advertising has not been located in the commercial center, but in the entertainment district near theaters and cinemas, thus merging entertainment and consumption in the public realm. The rich critical discourse surrounding this phenomenon has included Guy Debord's definition of a "Society of the Spectacle" and Jean Baudrillard's descriptions of the "hyper-real euphoria" produced by American advertising, which has effaced "streets . . . facades and all architecture," reabsorbing everything into the surface.

When film director Ridley Scott elevated such urban imagery into a dystopian spectacle of the future city in *Blade Runner*, the Japanese architect Toyo Ito answered shortly after by introducing the film's imagery into his architecture. But the distinction between actual urban space and the realm of displayed imagery has become increasingly liminal in recent years, thanks to a paradigm shift in advertising. Bright, giant media screens displaying moving images have begun to dominate urban centers, leaving critics to ask about the implications of this development. While the American architect Robert Venturi has enthusiastically celebrated the "facade as computer screen . . . the building as a

sparkling source of information . . . Viva iconography. . . ," MIT's media theorist William Mitchell has wondered: ". . . does the image a building is broadcasting simply swallow it whole? Do we judge the building by the content of its display or the mechanism that houses it? The medium or the message?"

Clearly, the hyper-tradition of luminous urban imagery has reached a new dimension when media screens turn urban spaces into realms for the cinematic gaze, and when architecture's surfaces and imagery constantly change. The implications are substantial. As the clairvoyant critic Adolf Behne already observed in 1920s Berlin: "The facade of the commercial building is not architecture anymore, but a drawing board. The street creates — an enormous collective — the new type of man. . . . Here, people are given their spiritual and personal outfit by some gigantic industrial trust, at lightning speed."

GLOCALIZING JERUSALEM: HYPER-TRADITIONS AT THE FOOT OF TEMPLE MOUNT
Alona Nitzan-Shiftan

If culture is "a domain through which the state naturalizes its ideology," it follows that tradition may be understood "as an active form through which the state articulates its narratives" (Lloyd and Thomas, 1998). Tradition had been suited to this task since the dawn of modern nationalism because, by invoking the forms seemingly most resistant to the modernity entailed in the foundation of a nation-state, it serves to legitimize the social change nationalists advance. Religious forms have been particularly vulnerable to such processes: divested of their original content they may be invested instead with secularized state narratives. But what happens when the state loses its power to articulate unified narratives? How is tradition politicized and consumed once local and global systems of signification eclipse the nation-state for and by which heritage was hitherto produced?

I argue that tradition may play a parallel role in instating and eclipsing nationalism. In similar fashion to the rise of nationalism, I discuss built tradition as the scaffolding that supports, and at the same time disguises, glocalized social forces. However, in order to naturalize the new ideology with techniques similar to those employed by the national system that preceded (and still competes with) it, this new tradition must be visually and spatially amplified. And once it is intensified to the extent of "hyper-tradition," it arguably reveals the change it wants to conceal.

What is the role of architecture and media in the formation of such glocalized "hyper-traditions"? Three archeological museums suggest venues for such inquiry. They are located at both ends of the Western Wall — the retaining wall of Temple Mount/al Haram al Sharif and the holiest site for Jews worldwide. The first of the museums is known as the Western Wall Heritage Tunnels. Opened in 1996, its aim is to recover a lost sense of authenticity. By offering a bodily, sensual experience of the "real" foundation of Temple Mount, the site articulates a Jewish myth of origin that bluntly disputes the Islamic present. The second

museum, the stylistically modernist and technologically virtual Davidson Center at Jerusalem Archeological Park, was opened in 2001, shortly after the eruption of the Al Aqsa Intifada. Boasting cutting-edge science, it presents a universal, transnational memory of the Temple as the lost ideal of the monotheistic world. Finally, the newly opened Chain of the Generations Museum, adjunct to the praying plaza, consists of an amplified spectacle of glass and light, which attempts to reinstate the state's narrative. However, by meshing antiquity, holocaust and statehood, this Disneyfied representation of national memory serves as an optional rather than inevitable interpretation of the site.

The three museums are "viscerally" integrated into the archeological site, and presumably share the state's narrative of a Jewish return to the biblical site of the Temple after two thousand years of exile. Yet, a careful analysis reveals that they offer different and highly politicized versions of memorizing its mythical past. The visual and spatial techniques their conceptual and architectural designers used reveal how they turned to the familiar national narrative of the Western Wall in order to frame an ideology that contested the unified narrative of the Israeli nation-state. In other words, these museums act on sentiments that weaken state authority by invoking its own traditions. Located in one of the most contested sites worldwide, I argue that the cultural politics of these museums directly intervene in the course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

PLENARY SESSION
"REAL" PLACES: DEATH OR BARE LIFE

A GHOST IN THE MACHINE: DEATH, MEMORY AND MODERNISM IN THE MEXICAN CITY
Gareth A. Jones
London School of Economics, U.K.

PROFESSIONALISM AS UNIVERSALISM, NEUTRALITY AS IDENTITY: ETHICS AND SOLIDARITIES AMONG ICRC WORKERS
Liisa Malkki
Stanford University, U.S.A.

A GHOST IN THE MACHINE: DEATH, MEMORY AND MODERNISM IN THE MEXICAN CITY
Gareth A. Jones

In Carlos Fuentes's novel *The Death of Artemio Cruz* a character declares, "At times it seems to me that the absence of bloodshed and death drives us desperate, as if we feel ourselves alive only when surrounded by firing squads and destruction." The trope of the "morbid Mexican" presents an essential condition of

humanity, the vitality of death — perhaps especially in relation to the instrumentality of sacrifice to the construction of identities for the living. As Foucault, Bauman, and more recently Agamben have argued, the organization of death (notably through massacres or exterminations) is a defining characteristic of modernity, predicated on the organization of space. Such spaces take on iconographic status in a series of ways, sometimes motivated by a drive to memorialization — "lest we forget" — but also raising the specter (no pun) of painful death as spectacle.

In this paper I want to consider how the spaces and histories of death relate to everyday life through a "reading" of Tlatelolco in Mexico City. On the site of the ancient Aztec killing grounds, the Conjunto Tlatelolco housing project was built in 1962 according to the designs of architect Mario Pani, a disciple of Le Corbusier. It intended to represent the highest principles of the modern "quality of life" — an optimistic vision underscored by the choice to use it in 1967 as a site for the signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty for Latin America. The next year, however, Tlatelolco became a site of student massacres, in which the army and secret services employed its open plazas and balconies to contain, isolate and kill protestors. In 1985 Tlatelolco was again a site of death, when an earthquake killed 20,000 people and created the most famous image related to it, the concertinaed Nuevo Leon building.

The deaths associated with both events are disputed, the subject of official and unofficial revisions, films and books, and calls for arrests on counts of genocide. But how do people live with the ghosts from this past? How do they relate to a site suffused with memorials to death? How do the residents relate to beliefs about death, such as the popular cult of Santa Muerte — with great appeal within a contemporary world of gang violence, kidnapping, and illness, but which also draws on a syncretic blurring of the modern distinctions between life/death, arranged and everyday celebration, and spectacle, horror and romance.

PROFESSIONALISM AS UNIVERSALISM, NEUTRALITY AS IDENTITY: ETHICS AND SOLIDARITIES AMONG ICRC WORKERS
Liisa Malkki

Recent scholarship on humanitarianism has perhaps been too quick to suppose that we know the nature of what we term the "humanitarian sensibility." Often this is supposed to be based on universal obligations to humanity and the claims of "bare life." However, fieldwork among International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) nurses and doctors in Helsinki reveals motivations and ethical sensibilities that are quite different. In fact, these turn out to be based not on the abstract obligation of any particular human to other humans, but of medical specialists to their professional obligations in an internationally conceived world. The fieldwork suggests the analytical importance of specific social and occupational solidarities for understanding actually-existing humanitarian practices, including the mandate of neutrality.

For ICRC medical professionals, political neutrality and impartiality have been core mandates, nonnegotiable traditions,

since the founding of the organization in Switzerland in 1859. These practices of neutrality are premised on a longstanding internationalization of identity and an insistence on translocal professional and occupational solidarities. In this sense, the core mandates of the ICRC, and of international humanitarian law more generally, could be thought of as "hyper-traditions" of a sort. These older, universalizing traditions sit uneasily with the newer hyper-traditions that have emerged and are emerging under the sign of globalization. Globalization and the militarization of politics, the use of civilians as cannon fodder, new technologies of both violence and security, and the brutalization of ever-new generations of children are indexes of some of the transformations and shifts of political terrain that daily change and complicate the standardized traditional practices of the ICRC.

Spaces of humanitarian practice are no longer sacrosanct; they, too, are increasingly being incorporated into complex global practices of war and violence. The universalisms of ICRC humanitarianism seem ever less secure. What, then, does it mean to claim neutrality as an identity? To insist on translocal, internationalist professionalism in the midst of violence, where other forms of identity, culture and place are the cause of struggle? Finally, is neutrality also a form of subjectivity in contemporary sites of humanitarian practice?

A.1 HYPER-ARCHITECTURE, VIRTUAL SPACES, AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

MINDSCAPES, "AFFORDANCE," AND VIRTUAL ECOSYSTEMS
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RECODING ARCHITECTURE: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY
Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah and Ali Abd Alraouf
Cairo University, Egypt and University of Bahrain, Bahrain

A NEW TYPE OF MEDICAL TOURISM EMERGES: REAL PHYSICAL CHANGE, NEITHER HYPER-VIRTUAL NOR TRADITIONAL-COLONIALIZING
Robert Mugerauer
University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.

WIRELESS SITES: BRITISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPACE OF RADIO (1927–1945)
Shundana Yusaf
Princeton University, U.S.A.

TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE ERA OF THE WEB 2.0: USING ONLINE PARTICIPATIVE TOOLS TO DEVELOP AN INTERNET DATABASE OF TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS
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MINDSCAPES, "AFFORDANCE," AND VIRTUAL ECOSYSTEMS
Maurizio Forte

Sense of place is also about sense of time, the difference between space and place, and the distinction between "global" and "local." Today, a worldwide process of globalization is removing places and multiplying spaces, reducing cultural difference. In particular, the dissemination of not-places — stations, hypermarkets, hotels, etc. — risks making uniform our perceptions, reducing what we perceive of the world to a few mental maps.

What we perceive of the world depends on the affordances/relations we are able to create with the environment. The term "affordance" was originally defined by the perceptual psychologist J.J. Gibson (1977, 1979) to describe actionable properties between the world and particular individuals; it is a property of an object or feature that indicates how we may interact with it. In a virtual environment, affordances may similarly be defined as all the possible relations between users, avatars and digital ecosys-

tems. An affordance is thus a possible mode of interaction or behavior linked to a particular object or piece of information.

In the present condition of globalization, the destruction and obliteration of collective processes of memory-transmission risk excluding local communities from the environments in which they live, rescinding previous relations/interrelations, or constructing false relations. Such conditions highlight the importance of re-creating historical environments in a virtual realm to retain collective memories. The self-organization, the autopoiesis of such mind landscapes — or, better, environments — can create additional places where spaces seem out of control, re-creating the "local" perception. This re-created local can in turn give rise to unplanned maps and feedback activities on the basis of the anthropological needs of the territory.

The theory of mindscape indicates that the use of virtual reality may be key to the reconstruction of ancient mental maps, because it involves the way we perceive information through time. In this scenario, a new virtual ecology, archaeology and anthropology can play a social role, allowing a new reading of territory and catalyzing the diachronic perception of the landscape. In this sense, virtual-reality systems, if supported by epistemological analysis, can help reconstruct the mental maps of the past, saving the transparency of data and meta-data used.

Toward these ends, the Virtual Heritage Lab of CNR (www.itabc.cnr.it/VHLab) has planned several multidisciplinary research projects aimed at reconstructing archaeological landscapes through digital technologies. Some of the sites being looked at are in Peru (Tambo Colorado), Syria (Tell-Mozan, the ancient Urkesh), Ethiopia (Aksum), and Rome ("Appia Antica, Flaminia Antica"). The main focus of these projects is to reconstruct spatial relations of the landscape and meta-data of territory in desktop virtual-reality systems in ways that are adequate to visually communicate both scientific research and the didactics of environmental and cultural knowledge. It is hoped such a new understanding will have a social impact on local people, tourists and visitors, who without such "maps" would not have an adequate mental code for environmental interaction.

In the long run, any process of sustainable development also cannot be accomplished without a correct perception of the archaeological and ancient landscape. In this regard, the present trend toward spatial anthropology and cybernetics, supported by immersive digital technologies, can help local communities reobtain power and sense of place, and guarantee their communication/transmission.

According to Bateson (1972), the "map is not the territory." In our cybernetic sense, this means that the recontextualization of cultural landscapes needs a new cognitive cartography to help redefine relations of difference in terms of mind, body, affordance and environment.

RECODING ARCHITECTURE: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY
Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah and Ali Abd Alraouf

The Internet is maturing, and as it does, so too are the ways that architects use it. In the mid- and late 1990s, firms scrambled to set up Web sites and e-mail systems for their practices. Since then, architects have come to rely heavily on the Internet to communicate with clients near and far, to thumb through virtual product catalogs, to present their projects to the general public, and to perform myriad other tasks, including the very one envisioned by the Internet's pioneers: building virtual communities. Architects and planners say that providing Web sites that solicit comments on proposed projects has enabled them to create interested communities where none existed before. "More and more, citizens expect to have a say in public and private investment decisions that impact the public domain," observes Berkeley-based urban designer Bruce Race, FAIA.

— *Jonathan Cohen, 2003*

Digital technologies and communications, developed through a gradual integration of computers into our daily lives, have become essential to many commercial architecture practices. With the use of AutoCAD and online facilities in nearly all offices, computer and network skills have become necessary for architects. As the interface with this new technology becomes more intuitive, digitization will evolve into a more effective design tool, opening new avenues of creativity.

In addition to having new project types to work on, architects will increasingly have to create new ways of working that address the changing marketplace. Better communication has both positive and negative implications. Positive results include the ability to create global joint ventures and the chance to compete globally. Yet, while video-conferencing and group-work applications make it easier to collaborate remotely on projects with the best specialists available, it also makes it easier for clients to exploit the cheapest sources of labor on the planet.

The possibility of electronic collaboration also means that developed-world designers have the opportunity to shape urban and regional growth in developing countries. But this will require both sensitivity and savvy. For example, in the Middle East, business relationships have traditionally been predicated on extended face-to-face interactions; but these are now being shaken up by the new possibilities. In places like the Middle East, cultural traditions will increasingly be challenged as business deals are made between people used to different sets of ground rules. For example, international architectural firms may be used to working on speculation to capture long-term contracts, while their local clients may initially be happy to enjoy the benefits without understanding the implied obligations.

Even without the additional layer of culture to negotiate, remote participants in group efforts will have to learn new ways to work together. For example, computer technology now provides integrated ways to manage and coordinate the great volume of information involved in shared building design and construction projects. Going beyond CAD visualization and production tools, architects can use database and project-management software to plan, monitor and correct resource and personnel allocations. The additional layer of company intranets or collaborative wide-area networks allows sharing and modification of this information with clients, builders, consultants and design partners. It will also allow development of new ways of interacting with local firms and clients.

The paper explores the creative potential of new design techniques derived from technological advancements. The validity of technology as an architectural stimulus is emphasized through an analysis of the effects of previous technological advances in design practice.

A NEW TYPE OF MEDICAL TOURISM EMERGES: REAL PHYSICAL CHANGE, NEITHER HYPER-VIRTUAL NOR TRADITIONAL-COLONIALIZING
Robert Mugerauer

Within the contexts of traditional tourism (including medical tourism) and recent virtual-hyper medical consultation, the paper argues that a newly emerging version of medical tourism constitutes an entirely distinctive type — one that rephysicalizes tourism, but noncolonialistically. Traditional tourists seek something "other" in a foreign place; virtual-hyper medical consultations remotely provide patients with expertise not locally available. In contrast to the latter, typical medical tourism involves physically moving elsewhere; in contrast to the former, travelers seek not something "other," but — opposite — what is identical to the already locally existing (though at a lower cost, and perhaps sooner).

Traditionally, many travelers visit foreign places to experience phenomena not otherwise available. Unfortunately, such tourism may colonialistically intrude into local ways of life, appropriating resources while demanding a "familiar" environmental enclave (Gayle and Goodrich, 1993; Judd, 1999). Profits also often go to the international tourism industry rather than the host. Today such traditional tourism incorporates the burgeoning market for medical treatments, especially surgical procedures, since travel elsewhere to be "healed" is an ancient, not new, phenomena.

In contrast, recent medical practice has benefited greatly from telecommunications. Better data transfer (for images such as x-rays) and teleconferencing allow consultations with distant specialists — virtual medical "travel." The resulting information-technology environments increasingly are formalized in dominant biomedical institutions — as hyper-real (Keen et al, 1998).

The newest, emerging type of medical tourism is not subsumed into the hyper-virtual because, unlike virtual distanced consultation, it involves actual physical transformation requiring bodily travel for operations and other procedures. The new form does not replace the ordinary with the hyper-real; it creates physical and social environments that are precisely the same as already-existing facilities and services. Nor is the emerging medical tourism a version of traditional tourism: whereas the latter seeks something different in the "other" place, the former intends to

offer what is specifically the "same" as what one obtains "here." The standard (for U.S. patients, for example) includes hospitals with operating theaters staffed by English-speaking, U.S.-trained and -certified physicians who carry out the identical procedures with the same expertise as "at home" (Phuket, 2006). The process's metric is the same "positive success" and "control and safety" as "here" (*ChinaBusiness*, 2004; Marcelo, 2006).

The difference? The "same" "over there" costs but a fraction of what it does "here" (with perhaps also entails a shorter wait) (*Med Retreat*, 2006; DeMicco and Cetron, 2005). The physical environments entered, the professionals directly encountered, and the physical transformations to be achieved "there" are to be identical with the norm "here." These places are not colonialistic because the goal is not to remain the same while appropriating the other's resources. To the contrary, the traveler's body changes significantly and resources are gladly given over to the host.

Further questions are raised. Is this another budding of global capitalism (Waldby and Mitchell, 2006; Rajan, 2006)? What about the hybridity developed when hosts promote the prospect that the patient, while there for the new medical tourism, can traditionally enjoy the exotic place as a "free" supplement (CBC News, 2006; *UDaily*, 2006)?

WIRELESS SITES: BRITISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPACE OF RADIO (1927–1945)
Shundana Yusaf

In the first nineteen years of its existence, from 1927 to 1945, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) aired an average of two radio programs a month on architecture. The programs brought together the most established authorities in architecture to provide expert opinion on important issues and demonstrate their relevance to average listeners who otherwise would not have had the cultural knowledge to appreciate such judgments.

Architecture was a peculiar choice for such sustained interest, given that it is not a subject that might be considered, *prima facie*, suited for radio. Radio is the preeminent nonvisual medium; while architecture is largely about spatiality, materiality and visuality. But the BBC considered it crucial to use radio for cultural education, and architectural programming was considered one way to contribute to the "improvement of knowledge, taste and manners" of the masses. The ultimate goal was to inculcate a common ethos in the political community as a means both of overcoming inherited inequalities and freeing public opinion from the (common/uncultured) values of the marketplace.

What happened when architecture, framed within the institutional vision of BBC (a state-supported monopoly), encountered the distinctive specificity of radio? I argue that early radio in Britain was not just another medium for the *representation* of architecture and ideas surrounding it. Instead, it *reinvented* the social identity of architecture through its powers of simulation.

Unlike older resources for the representation of architecture (drawings, models, photographs, inscriptions), radio transported the power of hearing to places without the rest of the body, yet at the same time retained the presentness of audition conventionally associated with sense perception. This produced a reality effect that, when compounded by the intent of the BBC to serve as a pedagogic rather than commercial tool, brought a legitimacy that only solidified the social recognition of the reality effect as reality.

By separating sound from sight, radio also delocalizes and disembodies the relation of the listener to the objects it represents. This certainly presents a challenge to its sense of "reality," and to its capacity to express a subject like architecture. Yet, in the case of the BBC architecture broadcasts, while this separation dissociated sense-perception (i.e., listening from sight), undermining the ability of listeners to validate received information, it also liberated architecture from its visually and spatially determinate situation. Radio, then, provided the BBC broadcasters with an unprecedented opportunity and power to present architecture afresh.

Opening a line of investigation foreclosed by simulacra's arch-theorist Jean Baudrillard, the paper probes the unacceptable gaps necessary to maintain the coherence of the BBC programs. And it examines the production of hyperreal simulations that were oriented toward radically different ends. I conclude that wireless sites produced new traditions in a variety of ways that could not have existed without the space- and time-altering powers of the medium — but without accepting either the illegitimacy imposed on them or the apocalypse attributed to them.

TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE ERA OF THE WEB 2.0: USING ONLINE PARTICIPATIVE TOOLS TO DEVELOP AN INTERNET DATABASE OF TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS
Gabriel Arboleda

This paper introduces and discusses an initiative to use the tools of what is referred to as "Web 2.0" — weblogs, wikis, commenting, tagging, etc. — to compile, in a participatory way, information on traditional architecture that is either scattered online, published in hard-to-access print sources, or remains unpublished. The database, available at http://www.ethnoarchitecture.com, is designed to be expanded by its users, and to be freely accessible to researchers, the general public, and the communities about which it compiles data.

Using the power of the Internet and the concurrent rise in online participatory tools, the project responds to both the increasing availability and growing necessity for information on traditional architecture. Information on traditional building types has grown tremendously in recent decades. When first published in the late 1960s, Amos Rapoport's seminal work referenced monographs on approximately 150 indigenous building types. Thirty years later, Paul Oliver's edited encyclopedia showcased entries on around 1,280 types. This project aims to compile information on the building types of 7,300 currently identified linguistic groups.

The proposed database would organize material according to a five-level hierarchy sequenced from general to particular: by country, by groups belonging to that country, by building types

related to each of the groups, by models or examples of each of those types, and finally by images of those models. Users will either be able to add or edit information on the listed types, or enter new ones. There will also be a complementary knowledge-database which users can concurrently assist in developing, dedicated to important concepts, book summaries, and current news on the topic of traditional architecture.

It can be argued that an initiative like this is tainted by issues related to participation and representation. In fact, there is an irony to gathering, via Internet, information about the architecture of communities that in many cases have little or no access to computers. As a result, participants in the database development could be criticized for merely reinterpreting and re-presenting reality. This situation, however, is perhaps not exclusive of the Internet, but inherent to any type of media. As Foucault has explained, no building is exempt from the representations that are made of it — either before, during or after its construction.

The social and technological context in which the production of knowledge takes place usually evolves to become a space in itself. The space in this case will not be necessarily, or uniquely, that of the communities who produce the traditional buildings. It will be that of an online community which will develop its own set of values, boundaries, rules and traditions in an imaginary, re-presented setting of traditional buildings from all around the world — assembled in one space, a hyper-real one.

B.1 HERITAGE SITES AND THEIR CONTESTED MEANINGS

HYPER-TRADITION AND WORLD HERITAGE: A QUESTION OF CULTURAL OR ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY?
Christine M. Landorf
University of Newcastle, Callaghan, Australia

HERITAGE OF DISAPPEARANCE? SHEKKIPMEI AND COLLECTIVE MEMORIES IN POST-HANDOVER HONG KONG
Cecilia Chu
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

HYPER-TRADITION VERSUS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION IN PHUKET TOWN
Yongtanit Pimonsanthean
Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand

RECONSTRUCTING CULTURAL HERITAGE: MEMORIES OF TWO GROUPS OF TIBETAN MONASTERIES IN CENTRAL CHINA
Liu Dan
Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

THE USE OF HINDU, BUDDHIST AND ANIMIST SYMBOLISM IN THE GLOBALIZATION OF CHIANG MAI CITY
Thosaporn Sodabunlu
King Mongkut's Institute of Technology, Ladkrabang, Thailand

HYPER-TRADITION AND WORLD HERITAGE: A QUESTION OF CULTURAL OR ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY?
Christine M. Landorf

There have been a number of recent developments in the nomination and reporting requirements for World Heritage properties. These developments indicate growing awareness of the need to incorporate sustainability principles into the management of World Heritage sites. As this paper shows, the developments also have the potential to affect the sense of hyper-reality a visitor may experience at some sites. The concept of sustainability is of particular interest within complex cultural heritage landscapes whose significance is linked as much to intangible heritage attributes as to the tangible built environment.

Issues associated with sustainability can be further differentiated between living cultural heritage landscapes, like Florence in Italy and Hoi An in Vietnam, and large industrial landscapes such as Ironbridge Gorge in England and Blaenavon in Wales. In Florence and Hoi An, contemporary culture, economic production, and place are inextricably intertwined with historic significance. By contrast, Ironbridge Gorge and Blaenavon rely on

commodified hyper-traditions linked to a particular, historically significant, temporal and spatial order of social interaction to generate contemporary economic activity. This has led to a contradictory adoption of virtual representation and interactive simulation at such sites to compensate for a relatively narrow cultural economy. The contradiction is two-fold. First, is the contradiction between the application of a modernist model of consumption that assumes visitors need a constantly changing entertainment experience, and a postmodernist model of history that assumes diverse groups in society should be recognized and celebrated. The second contradiction lies in the application of a management model of sustainability that emphasizes economic rather than cultural variables. This frequently leads to the increased use of hyper-real simulations to engage with a manufactured past so as to sustain the economic viability of the heritage assets.

This paper reflects on the problematic application of sustainability principles to the management of industrial heritage landscapes such as Ironbridge Gorge and Blaenavon. An initial literature review describes the relationship between the two key principles of sustainability — namely, the application of a strategic planning framework and stakeholder participation in the planning process. The concept of strategic planning is found to be well supported. However, the emphasis on quantifiable economic benefits rather than intangible cultural objectives raises concerns about potential impacts on the sustainability of heritage significance.

The paper then reports on an investigation into the strategic planning frameworks, stakeholder participation practices, and visitor experiences at five World Heritage-listed industrial properties in the United Kingdom. The paper argues that, under a management model of sustainability, a singular reliance on hyper-tradition leaves sites such as Ironbridge Gorge and Blaenavon vulnerable to the self-perpetuating excesses of hyper-realistic spectacle. Such practices may enhance the visitor experience, but at the expense of historical education. The paper concludes that hyper-traditions can be used to sustain and even enhance the significance of heritage sites. However, this requires a careful balance between cultural and economic sustainability objectives.

HERITAGE OF DISAPPEARANCE? SHEKKIPMEI AND COLLECTIVE MEMORIES IN POST-HANDOVER HONG KONG
Cecilia Chu

Since the years leading up to its handover to China, Hong Kong has seen a dramatic growth of interest in preserving, documenting and displaying local cultural heritage. Images of old Hong Kong (ranging from architecture to artifacts to daily scenes) have now become a familiar backdrop not only in museums and tourist brochures, but also in retail shops, commercials, and even in everyday objects such as clothing, housewares and accessories — which often have their surfaces imprinted with black-and-white images of the past.

While the "popularization of heritage" and the trend to celebrate the past have been widely interpreted as a positive sign —

one that indicates a collective, heightened awareness of history and growing sense of belonging to the city — the phenomenon has also been criticized as embodying artificial nostalgic sentiment with little "real" sense of history. As Ackbar Abbas has pointed out in his description of Hong Kong's culture of disappearance, the work of architectural preservation often ends up putting history in "brackets." The reintegration of selective fragments of the past into such familiar themes as "East versus West" or "tradition versus modernity" thus only reinforces a colonial narrative of "Hong Kong coming-of-age." In this view, preservation of the past, which is often carried out for narrow ideological and economic interests, has the effect of making history disappear.

Taking this criticism as a point of departure, this paper posits that while the growing obsession with preserving Hong Kong's past cannot be divorced from nostalgia, heritage preservation as a practice and process is not an uncontested domain. Indeed, new associations and understandings can potentially emerge, perhaps ironically, by attending to the negotiations and conflicts entailed in the process itself. By examining a recent government-led proposal to preserve a block of the Shekkipmei estate (a soon-to-be demolished 1950s public housing complex) and an accompanying on-site exhibition showcasing its history, I attempt to delineate the fissures in the narratives and responses to the project. By doing so I hope to reveal cracks and ambiguities in the heritage discourse and its associated collective memory. It is my contention that, by reflecting on the emergent effort to preserve the past, which arguably is itself mediated by a memory crisis, it is possible to develop a new understanding of history by rethinking the functions of preservation and the ways it strives to regulate the past in the present.

HYPER-TRADITION VERSUS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION IN PHUKET TOWN
Yongtanit Pimonsanthean

Globalization and international migration frequently bring drastic changes in local city form and architecture. This paper traces the impacts of two episodes of migration on the urban qualities of Phuket, a town which has recently become one of the most popular destinations for international tourism in Thailand, and which is also the site of one of the country's leading urban heritage conservation programs.

Phuket has experienced at least two moments of intense migration — one in the nineteenth century and the other in the 1990s. The first migration, caused by the flourishing tin trade, brought an influx of Chinese residents who introduced the so-called "Sino-Portuguese" architecture and "Peranakan" culture, which also included costumes, delicacies, beliefs and dialects. As a result of the first migration, Sino-Portuguese buildings were constructed throughout the center of the town, replacing the native timber huts. Today, no original vernacular huts exist, although a replica was recently reconstructed and used as a folk museum by a member of Phuket Cultural Council. However, many of the Sino-Portuguese buildings survive and are recognized as Phuket's heritage.

A preservation district was designated under the local initiatives program in 1997 to conserve this heritage. Preservation efforts to date have included architectural documentation, formulation of design guidelines, provision of public amenities, facade repair, and the staging of an annual festival. Such efforts have awakened people's awareness of heritage values, resulting in the rebirth of Sino-Portuguese architecture in new development projects, mostly located outside the conservation area.

The opportunity to re-create the Sino-Portuguese buildings has been significantly accelerated by the second migration to Phuket, caused by the booming tourist industry of the 1990s. The demand for new construction at the time was tremendous, and sometimes called for a touch of Phuket heritage. As a result, a number of examples emerged of new structures that more or less "copied" the architectural features of the Sino-Portuguese buildings. Such examples included both public and private development projects. Among the public projects were the city hall of a nearby town and the replacement of a postwar-styled clock tower with a Sino-Portuguese structure (which has drawn criticism locally for it slack of authenticity and design rationality). Examples of private development projects varied from overscaled mansions to shopping complexes and some beach resorts outside the town.

If one effect of immigration is the perceived loss of original identity and the invention of a new heritage, the impact of Phuket's first migration provides a good case example. The effect of the second migration is more complex because the earlier heritage has been well-preserved, but imitation of older styles has created issues of hyper-tradition with regard to new development. In particular, the newly-created heritage buildings could spoil the cultural value of the historic district — not in terms of physical destruction, but in terms of interpretation, particularly with respect to rarity and authenticity.

RECONSTRUCTING CULTURAL HERITAGE: MEMORIES OF TWO GROUPS OF TIBETAN MONASTERIES IN CENTRAL CHINA
Liu Dan

Two groups of Tibetan monasteries, very different in architectural form, were built by Chinese emperors in central China at almost the same time in the seventeenth century. One, in a complete Chinese traditional architectural style, was built in Beijing, the capital of China; the other, in a typical monastic architectural style popular in Tibet, and very different from the former, was built in Chengde, a city a short way north of Beijing. These two groups of Tibetan monasteries were constructed not only because the Chinese Manchu emperors believed in Tibetan Buddhism and took it as the national religion, but because the emperors wanted to use the groups of monasteries to communicate with and control Mongolia and Tibet, as both the Mongolians and Tibetans were devout believers in Tibetan Buddhism. Indeed, the architectural difference between the two groups of monasteries was part of a political strategy by the emperors to balance their own self-identity with that of Tibetan and Mongolian nobles.

Although they were once intended to work together and play a similar, important role, today the fates of the two monastery complexes are quite different. Since the end of the last century the group of monasteries in Chengde has undergone a renaissance, and today its strong Tibetan style is heralded as its most important feature to tourists from around the world. Meanwhile, the group of monasteries in Beijing has greatly deteriorated, and is in danger of disappearing. The renaissance of the monasteries at Chengde reveals the importance of the embrace of national identity and heritage value by local residents. Indeed, the reconstruction of the site has had a great influence on current city planning and their daily life. Comparing the disappearance of the Beijing group and the renaissance of the Chengde group allows one to see some norms and rules underlying the choice of cultural heritage.

THE USE OF HINDU, BUDDHIST AND ANIMIST SYMBOLISM IN THE GLOBALIZATION OF CHIANG MAI CITY
Thosaporn Sodabunlu

This research focused on the continuing power of Hindu, Buddhist and Animist cosmological elements in Lanna culture, as presented through historical documents, ceremonials, and architectural designs. This power has played a continuing role in the process of cultural heritage conservation as well as the globalization of Chiang Mai city.

Chiang Mai city was established by King Mungrai in 1296 AD, and became the political center of a network of northern Thai cities which came to be named "Lanna." For 700 years, Chiang Mai served as the center of a unique social and cultural region, which included the evolution of a mixture of ideas from Buddhism, animism, superstitious beliefs, astrology, and Hinduism.

Chiang Mai is still at the economic and culture center of northern Thailand, but today its cultural heritage has been used to promote tourism. One example concerns the temples in Taksa city. Here, nine temples were famously built in an attempt to embody local astrological concepts. From the time the city was founded, these were located at the city center and at eight important locations signifying important directions. Another important regional concept was that of "Chu That," or the worship of sidereal zodiacs at the Phra That Chedi (Stupa of Buddha's relics).

Both these sites have today been promoted as tourist destinations through websites and electronic books. With regard to "The temples in Thaksa city," tourists are encouraged to gain merit by traveling to and worshipping at all nine temples. Tourists are also encouraged to worship all the ideas of "Chu That" at some point during their lifetimes. Buddhist symbols have also made a strong appearance in commercial arts. Today, many five-star hotels and resorts have made use of Lanna-styled Buddhist architecture in their architectural designs.

In these and similar ways the procedures of globalization have made use of symbolic ideologies from the region's past. However, they have changed the meanings of these traditional ideologies.

C.1 IDENTITY POLITICS, TRADITIONS, AND EMERGING NATIONALISMS

FROM RADICAL INNOVATION TO HYPER-TRADITION IN SEVENTY YEARS: SYNTHESIZING PAST AND PRESENT IN ITALY'S FASCIST-ERA "NEW TOWNS"
Mia Fuller
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

POR AHORA: THE NUANCES OF NEO-POPULISM IN VENEZUELA
Carmen Rojas
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

STRUGGLING WITH CHAOS: THE RESIDENCE OF DR. ZHANG YUNPEN, CHINA
Kuang-Ting Huang
University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.

NGO WEBMASTERS AS AGENTS OF A KUTCHI PAN-NATIONHOOD
Azhar Tyabji
Urban Design Research Institute, Mumbai, India

FROM RADICAL INNOVATION TO HYPER-TRADITION IN SEVENTY YEARS: SYNTHESIZING PAST AND PRESENT IN ITALY'S FASCIST-ERA "NEW TOWNS"
Mia Fuller

This presentation analyzes one example of how representations of heritage — specifically, commemorative monuments — can provide the means for an acceleration of tradition, or hyper-tradition.

Italy's fascist government sponsored the creation of numerous agricultural settlements from the late 1920s through the 1930s, and relocated impoverished farmers from other regions to populate them. The areas used for these settlements throughout Italy were sparsely populated and often malarial; the new settlers were nearly always from the northeastern provinces. The regime targeted both the sites and the settlers for transformation — into productive soil on the one hand, and cooperative, productive citizens on the other.

Concentrating on the largest settlement area, the Pontine Marshes south of Rome, I am conducting a long-term ethnographic and oral-historical study of the settlers' descendants, with particular emphasis on their continuing collective relationship to the memory of their towns' fascist-era origins. Indeed, rather than attempting to disassociate the towns from fascism, the settlers' descendants accentuate the towns' original character at every turn.

For instance, the built environment remains saturated with the original insignia denoting the fascist sponsorship of the projects, from embedded slogans to symbols gracing buildings and manhole covers. Much more striking, however, is the residents' active interest in their fascist past, and their cultural production relating to it. From more than a dozen locally published books a year to temporary exhibitions, from conferences to permanent museums, and from regular articles published in periodicals to novels, radio interviews, television debates, and websites, their intensive involvement in synthesizing and publicizing their fascist past amounts to a hyperbolizing of their recently developed traditions.

This paper focuses on but one aspect of this intensive production: the four monuments that have been erected in one town alone (Latina), just in the last five years. Using interviews and observation, I analyze the intentions governing the monuments — generally, to remind residents of the original settlers, or "pioneers," and thus the origin of their common history — as well as their relative success. Finally, I consider the potential usefulness of hyper-tradition as an analytical tool in this context.

POR AHORA: THE NUANCES OF NEO-POPULISM IN VENEZUELA
Carmen Rojas

In 1998 Hugo Frías Chávez emerged the victor of one of Venezuela's most contentious public elections. Until that moment, the presidency of the nation had been determined by a pact between the two largest political parties, calling into question the legitimacy of what some scholars had identified as the most stable democracy in the region (Muller, Kornblith, Crisp and Levin).

Chávez, a former career military officer, first captured the imagination of the nation when, in the late hours of February 2, 1992, he organized a coup against kleptocratic forces that had bartered the presidency for the previous 33 years. He was soon apprehended, and as the arrest was broadcast across the nation, he cleverly remarked that he had been defeated . . . "*por ahora* (for now)." After serving two years in prison, Chavez made the decisive step to engage in national politics, and he emerged as the victor in a series of elections and coup attempts.

After his 1998 election scholars began typifying Chávez as a traditional Latin American populist leader — one who mobilized a personalistic, nationalistic discourse in the pursuit of the presidency, but who then radically transformed into a neoliberal authoritarian once in office. Such leaders have included Alberto Fujimori (Peru), Carlos Menem (Argentina), and Fernando Collor (Brazil), men who have led some of the most social, politically and economically repressive regimes in the region. In this presentation, I would like to explore the Latin American populist tradition in order to demonstrate the ways in which Chávez has recalibrated populism to account for the power and economic shifts of globalization.

STRUGGLING WITH CHAOS: THE RESIDENCE OF DR. ZHANG YUNPEN, CHINA
Kuang-Ting Huang

This research examines the evolution of China's urban land reform and the politics of cultural policy by studying in detail the conservation of an historic property in the city of Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province: Dr. Zhang Yunpen's residence. As the winner of a 2000 UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Award, Dr. Zhang's residence is generally considered a successful model of cultural heritage conservation. However, compared with other examples in China, the success of conserving it is actually an exceptional achievement, which resulted largely from his family's unusual persistence in maintaining private ownership of the property. Through the chaos of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, the disruption of urban renewal in the 1980s, and the emergence of domestic cultural tourism in the 1990s, Dr. Zhang's two sons were able to preserve their hereditary house not only through the political and social upheaval of the pre-reform era, but, most importantly, through the expropriation and demolition that has accompanied urban land reform in China in the past two decades. The owners' complex appeal to premodern (filial piety) and modern values (cultural identity, sense of place) arguably represents an implicit contradiction emerging as a result of China's institutional transition from central planning to a market economy.

Using this case as an opportunity to reveal the traumatic history of a property and a family over half a century of urban political and economic change, this research focuses on three major policy stages. The first was the advent of state socialism. With the practice of the commune and *danwei* (work unit) system under the centrally planned economy of the 1950s, private property was replaced by communal ownership, and personal consumption was suppressed to achieve a higher level of capital accumulation for industrialization. During this period, families like the Zhangs were labeled as bourgeoisie and deprived of many rights.

The second policy stage was marked by the passage of legislation regarding land transactions. Since the separation of land use rights and land ownership was first introduced in the early 1980s, China's land policy has undergone a remarkable transition from a rigidly collective to a relatively privatized and marketized system. As a result of the emerging real estate market, the lands around the Zhang family house have all been purchased by developers and rebuilt with high-rise apartments.

The third policy stage has involved the differentiation of urban land use and land markets. In the mid-1990s, although land use efficiency had been greatly improved through land policy reform, the demand for a more differentiated planning of urban land also emerged gradually. The legitimacy of large-scale urban renewal was called into question due to rising concern with historical conservation and cultural tourism.

Using stakeholder interviews and archival research, this case study of Dr. Zhang Yunpen's residence not only provides important evidence for the transformation of China's urban environment, but, more importantly, it reveals the development of property rights as an instrument of the state's control over society.

NGO WEBMASTERS AS AGENTS OF A KUTCHI PAN-NATIONHOOD
Azhar Tyabji

For an entire year following India's independence from British rule and its subsequent partition in 1947, the border "princely" state of Kutch — ruled by an absolute monarchy for 450 years — chose to remain distinct from the Indian Union, preferring to mint its own currency and maintain its own time zone. Even after its merger with the Indian Union in 1948, Kutch remained a separate state until 1960 when the old Bombay presidency divided itself into three separate entities, forcing Kutch to assume a "sub-regional" identity within the larger political geography of the state of Gujarat.

Over only a short period of twelve years, the curious paradox of a border Kutchi "nation" sandwiched awkwardly between Pakistan and India, yet historically and culturally indebted to both sides, produced its own psychological eddies. Historians of the region (Williams, 1958; Antani, 1990, in particular) have suggested how economic angst, fuelled by a general impatience with the Kutch monarchy's restrictive development policies, prompted enormous demographic shifts in the region in the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, "Kutchi" villagers chose to close shop altogether and emigrate en masse to East Africa, China, and the U.K., clinging fiercely to the residual memory of a village "home."

In narrating what exactly constitutes an expatriate Kutchi's imaginary of "home," this paper examines cyberspace as a medium through which Kutchi diasporic groups "construct" a "reality" of Kutchi pan-nationhood online, manufacturing and reinforcing the received abstraction of a pan-identity implicit with a "common" set of values. These conform to what the political theorist Francois Fortier has termed "the cyber-manufacturing of consent."

To explore the logic behind consensual projections of a shared online heritage, the paper frames its discussion in a review of critical writing on transglobal capital flows (Ong and Anderson's explorations of how capitalism has produced new forms of imagined "nationalisms"), virtual mobility (Urry on mobile, virtual collectives), and information technology (Fortier's work on the exercise of coercive ideation). It uses this critical frame to support an analysis of two phenomena: first, a twenty-first-century diasporic consensual politics that has come to characterize Kutchi membership in globally networked nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) devoted to perpetuating global Kutchi interests; and second, these websites' simulation of kinship ties, production of a common revisionist history, and reinvention of custom.

The paper focuses on select diasporic Kutchi websites managed by "webmaster NGOs" as its case studies. Its analysis will interweave a reading of the content of these websites with ethnographic field research on the everyday world of website "content management" at these NGOs' offices in Mumbai and Chennai. In doing so, it may demonstrate not just the content of hyper-tradition, but its mechanics and management in an attempt to explain how an organization receives, edits and "posts" images of a collective "tradition" of an imagined national identity that promotes a third-generation logic of metropolitan and regional oneness that may not, in fact, have any basis in historical precedent.

A.2 NEW MODERNITIES AND THE URBAN IMAGINARY

HYPER-TRADITIONS AND THIRD WORLD MODERNISM: THE CASE OF HANOI
Duanfang Lu
University of Sydney, Australia

THE URBAN IMAGINARY IN MODERN EGYPT AND HYPER-SUBJECTIVITY
Mona El-Sherif
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

ALTERED TRADITIONS AND BORROWED MODERNITIES: EXPERIENCING THE EDGE OF THE HYPER-REAL IN KENYA
Tadd Andersen
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES CLUSTER AND THE REMAKING OF URBAN PLACE IN THE LONDON CITY FRINGE
Nolapot Pumhiran
University of London, U.K.

HYPER-TRADITIONS AND THIRD WORLD MODERNISM: THE CASE OF HANOI
Duanfang Lu

This paper examines the meanings of hyper-traditions within the context of Third World modernity through the case study of Hanoi, Vietnam. Hanoi's urban landscape is rich and multilayered, each layer bearing the marks of a period of foreign domination — first from imperial China, then from France, then from the Soviet Union and socialist China, and currently from the international culture of economic liberalization and globalization. Since the United States' trade embargo ended in 1994, urban development has accelerated in Hanoi. During this time the state has left much of the construction activity open to unrestrained action by private developers and individuals. As a result, however, a proliferation of single-family terrace houses and the rapid growth of motorcycling have given rise to a chaotic urban environment.

Hanoi is making its own version of modernity within the structure of global capitalism. This paper provides a reading of the city's urban landscape as a hypertext with a number of competing heritages as its subtexts, which are fragmented but interconnected through a constant flux of historical practices. In *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, Marshall Berman dramatized modernism in the emerging twentieth-century Third World as "something that was happening only in the most jagged, halting, blatantly abortive or weirdly distorted ways." My reading of Hanoi

is motivated by this construction, yet it highlights a new dimension of Third World modernism in the context of globalization. This involves traditions being endlessly assembled and reassembled to make possible the spatial proximity and synchronic temporality of myriad heterogeneous practices. This is the a dual process Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari have characterized as "deterritorialization and reterritorialization."

Through an investigation into the changing cultural meanings of the Van Mieu Temple of Literature, the Hanoi Opera House, and the Vietnam-Soviet Friendship Palace, the paper reveals a transposition of identity from the foreclosed nationalistic history to the global narration in post-reform Hanoi modernism.

THE URBAN IMAGINARY IN MODERN EGYPT AND HYPER-SUBJECTIVITY
Mona El-Sherif

Rifa al-Tahtawi's writing about Paris, and about the urban condition, heralded the birth of an urban imaginary that continued to inspire Egyptian thinkers throughout the decades of the twentieth century. With his *Talkhis al-Ibirz fi Wasf Bariz*, the city emerged as a zone where subjectivity was to be conceived, contested and revealed. It is in the realm of the city that the experience of new technologies engender a new sense of being — in time and in space — a sense that, in turn, impacts the subjective experience of Being in general.

Other Egyptian thinkers, following in the footsteps of al-Tahtawi, have left a rich body of literature, in which the urban condition takes form, only to reveal a continuous unraveling of hyper-tradition. At an early stage in the history of globalization, Cairo and Alexandria were meeting points where subjectivity was to be remapped and configured according to urban form (i.e., the city according to Henri Lefebvre). In their writing, Taha Hussein and Tawfik al-Hakim show how the city furnishes the terrain on which to etch hyper-traditions that ultimately leads to hyper-subjectivity. The latter is born in the city where the writers perform a morphological remapping of subjectivity by making use of the encounters that take place in the urban realm. In this case, the real gives birth to the imaginary, but the imaginary helps to sustain the experience of the real.

My presentation provides a discursive analysis of the main features of the urban imaginary as it appears in Egyptian literary texts. I will refer to writers such as Rifa al-Tahtawi, Ali Mubarak, Taha Hussein, and Tawfik al-Hakim, among others, in order to answer the following questions. How can the urban imaginary alter our understanding of tradition? How is the urban imaginary responsible for the emergence of a hyper-subjectivity? How did the early Egyptian modernists produce a hyper-reality through the medium of the city? And, finally, how can an analysis of the urban imaginary contribute to our understanding of the shifty nature of tradition?

ALTERED TRADITIONS AND BORROWED MODERNITIES: EXPERIENCING THE EDGE OF THE HYPER-REAL IN KENYA
Tadd Andersen

A large body of academic work illustrates how globalization processes compress the space and time of encounter. In this compression, one would also expect traditions and experiences to overlap, blur, and even merge, as persons located around the globe experience diverse cultures and local occurrences through technologies of hyper-realities.

It is also well documented that vast regions of the developing world are not involved in this "global" phenomenon, and are being left behind, so to speak. The realities of remote locations, a lack of infrastructure, and the varying extent to which the hyper-real surrounds an individual but that individual is denied access all result in the same thing: one is left standing still. Perhaps waiting . . . waiting for the time and place in which to join this hyper-modernity.

What happens at the time and space where these two extremes collide: the edges of the hyper-real? More specifically, how does this play out in Third World urbanism, where technologies like cell phones and television are owned and used in slums and squatter communities, and where soap operas from the United States and Mexico are readily available and watched? What can we make of the experience of living in a semi-virtual world that grants access to American shows and British news, but denies voice and access to power? This paper examines the individual at the fringes of these hyper-technologies in an attempt to provide a glimpse of the consumption of the hyper-modern juxtaposed against the struggle for recognition and the right to be heard.

At these junctures of the hyper and the real, there is a simultaneous compression and expansion of time and space. On the one hand, there is the compression that Harvey and Appadurai have associated with the available technologies. Yet, there is also the time-space expansion that Anna L. Tsing has written about. As one participates in the hyper-real, one is caught up with the rest of the participants of the world. However, as access to technology is curtailed, one may find oneself left behind, mired in a daily struggle to survive. The result may be a partial absorption of foreign modernities that interacts with daily life to create altered traditions based on a sense of borrowed modernity.

In the context of Kenya, the paper first examines the experience of a young female college student who lives in a "slum," and whose participation in the greater world is limited to the role of spectator. A second case study involves a pastoral warrior who can participate in dialogue with the larger networks. The last individual studied is a university professor who has the potential for full participation in these hyper-modernities, yet is allowed only partial participation because of his work. These cases will illustrate that, rather than a blurring of boundaries, there seem to be distinct breaks, as the fingers of hyper-technologies reach some and bypass others. Further, different technologies reach different people, creating networks of inclusion and exclusion.

THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES CLUSTER AND THE REMAKING OF URBAN PLACE IN THE LONDON CITY FRINGE
Nolapot Pumhiran

The topic of culture-led urban regeneration has recently resulted in a multitude of academic inquiries. And in practice in Britain, urban-regeneration programs have increasingly become interested in the application of strategies of cultural clustering. As a result, considerable debated has emerged among planners and policy-makers over such concepts as "cultural quarter," "bohemian district," "artist zone," and "cultural-industries cluster."

As a result of urbanization processes, some cultural-industry clusters have developed organically over time or emerged by accident. Attracted by low rents and the "marginal-chic" character of particular urban areas, creative communities of artists and cultural producers have also contributed greatly to this clustering process through the establishment of formal/informal social networks. Nonetheless, such an account of a "spatial practice" does not suffice to lay bare its multi-dimensionality. Public interventions have also played a crucial role in shaping these clusters. Essentially, the two forces have combined to constitute a broader mechanism for the remaking or rearticulation of place — in both the material and symbolic senses. The case of the London City Fringe provides a great illustration of this agenda.

Like many advanced postindustrial cities, London is a place of contrasts. Whereas its burgeoning landscape is emblematic of global financial power, the city is nonetheless littered with pockets of poverty. Located on the north bank of the Thames, the City Fringe surrounds the city's business district and encompasses parts of four boroughs. Characterized by a great number of rundown factories and warehouses, mixed with housing for disadvantaged ethnic populations, the area was once a site of high unemployment and social deprivation. However, in recent decades, the City Fringe has been transformed from an obscure and decayed area into a constellation of "creative hotspots." There is a pronounced geographical clustering of cutting-edge cultural enterprises here now associated with such subsectors as design, crafts, visual arts, and new media, as well as "creative support institutions" such as non-profit cultural organizations and studio space providers.

The spatial practices of the creative communities in the City Fringe have also provided the context in which a unique kind of "ecology" has taken root. Thus, the area has seen the emergence of ancillary services such as galleries and showcase venues, trendy bars and restaurants, and alternative retail outlets catering to the youth and the "cool." However, as certain parts of the area have become known for their vibrant artistic scene and attracted inward investment, fear has also emerged that a rise in property values will price out local artists and cultural producers. Thus, in essence, the story of the City Fringe is not only about deindustrialization, but about a shift in urban entrepreneurial tradition. And, more importantly, this change has now created a number of planning dilemmas.

This paper will argue that the cultural clustering of the City Fringe is the consequence of both local spatial practices and public interventions, and that the tension arising from this dual process is substantial and requires further empirical investigation.

B.2 PRAXIS, PRESERVATION, AND POWER

RECOLONIZING ASIA: TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS AND THE PRAXIS OF PRESERVATION
Montira Horayangura Unakul
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THE SURFACES OF MEMORY IN BERLIN: REBUILDING THE HOHENZOLLERN CITY PALACE
Didem Ekici
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A.

"DISPLAYING THE ORIENT" IN THE "ORIENT": THE WHOLESALE TEXTILE MALL AND THE POLITICS OF SPACE IN JAKARTA
Herlily
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

OLD BUILDINGS, NEW LANDSCAPE: REDEVELOPING HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOODS — A CASE STUDY OF XIN TIAN DI, SHANGHAI, CHINA
Fengqi Qian
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RECOLONIZING ASIA: TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS AND THE PRACTICE OF PRESERVATION
Montira Horayangura Unakul

In colonial Asia, preservation has been inextricably tied up with the enterprise of empire-building. For instance, the conservation of Angkor — today the most active site of preservation activity in Southeast Asia — has been undertaken in the context of more than a century of French patronage since it was "rediscovered" by Henri Mouhot in 1860. Mouhot once famously declared that Angkor "is grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome, and presents a sad contrast to the state of barbarism in which the nation is now plunged."

While the term "barbarism" has gone out of vogue, the heroic mentality of saving the ruins (presumably from their ill-equipped local guardians) continues to propel teams of conservation specialists to heritage sites throughout the region through bilateral or multilateral projects. The inaccessible locations of many of these sites formerly allowed them to languish in a state of "native grace" — retaining their cultural "authenticity" precisely by being denied the infrastructure of modern development. However, today, as cultural resources, they are seen as the primary assets for battling poverty in these communities. Thus, the project of preservation has become entwined with the modern project of development, with donor countries and institutions increasingly channeling official development assistance to their "sustainable" development.

The new rhetoric of preservation calls for privileging local values and indigenous knowledge throughout the process of preservation — from the very definition of cultural values, to the identification of the tangible and intangible assets which reflect those values, to the development and implementation of a conservation regime for them. Active stakeholder participation is supposed to ensure the sustainability of the conservation exercise by catering to local priorities.

Yet the practice of preservation in Asia, in many cases, does not rest in the hands of locals. The realities governing the practice of preservation operate at many levels to retain the uneven playing field — starting with the provenance of funding, the conditions of tied aid, and so forth. A significant contributing factor is how the modern conservation profession remains highly technical and Euro-centric. The standards of professional conservation practice in use in Asia, for the most part, still remain those established by professional bodies and inculcated by training institutions based in Europe, Australia, Japan, and the United States. Within this framework, which privileges both outside knowledge and educational norms, the corps of professional practitioners in Asia is considered nascent.

However, the conventional (Western) paradigms of preservation are being increasingly contested. International conservation associations, like the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), are shifting from being channels for popularizing the principles enshrined in lodestar texts like the Venice Charter, to becoming arenas for reexamining the relevance of these principles in different material and social contexts.

In Asia, the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity represented an early step in deconstructing the relevance of widespread conservation principles, most of which emerged to address the restoration of European monuments following World War II. The Nara Document proclaimed the importance of a multivalent set of values, including spiritual ones. It has since been interpreted as a reflection of Asian concerns about the continuity of heritage, which can be seen to supercede the highest European priority — the material integrity of the building fabric. Yet, what reads at the outset as a declaration of philosophical independence emerging from a caucus of Asian experts was, ironically, shepherded along by a group of non-Asian conservation specialists. And a spin-off process from the Nara Document, the drafting of national conservation charters, ostensibly to formalize endogenous approaches to conservation appropriate for each Asian country, has similarly relied on the active involvement of imported conservation expertise.

Against this historical and institutional backdrop, this paper will compare emerging national conservation charters that have been drafted and implemented in the Asia region. Its aim is to interrogate the transnational tensions involved in recasting an "Asian" approach to conservation and the interpretation of cultural heritage.

THE SURFACES OF MEMORY IN BERLIN: REBUILDING THE HOHENZOLLERN CITY PALACE
Didem Ekici

This essay will analyze the demolishing of the old GDR parliament building in order to make space for a replica of the Hohenzollern city palace as a lens to understand relations between the urban manifestations of collective memory and contemporary architecture in Berlin. Berlin's search for historical identity performs in multiple, almost contradictory ways. While the concern for architecture shrinks to surfaces to create traditional images, the surface of the city inflates, transforming Berlin into an archeological site, unearthing layers beneath it. The site of the GDR building can be considered as a micro-model representing these facets of urban transformation that have been taking place in recent decades.

The decision to rebuild the palace should be considered in the context of the new policy implemented after reunification, known as "critical reconstruction." As Brian Ladd and Andreas Huyssen have claimed, the new urban projects in Berlin guided by this policy serve the purpose of freezing collective urban memory in the image of black-and–white photos from the early twentieth century. This imagined traditional identity emerges on the surface of the built environment, where historical buildings are preserved only as facades and new buildings have traditional facades regardless of their structure or function.

However, the historical identity in Berlin is simulated not only through creating surfaces, but also through dissecting the city surface. While demolition of the GDR parliament building is underway, the empty site in front of it is transformed into an exhibit, displaying the excavated foundations of the palace. Digging for traces of history, Rudy Koshar has argued, has transformed the German memory landscape into a topography of traces, a process which altered the canon of monuments and historic buildings since the 1970s. The most popular example is the Topography of Terror exhibit, a historical site documenting Nazi crimes on the unearthed foundations of Gestapo prison cells.

While the palace as a monument can be cloned, as Wilhelm von Boddien (the driving force behind plans to rebuild the city palace) argues, in the form of an image of the historical building's surface, the "original" monument is yet discovered beneath the surface. The GDR parliament building site thus brings together these two tendencies, where the collective memory of Berlin is framed on the surface of the built environment and through an archeology of the city surface. The first tendency denies the aura to an artificial artifact, while the latter fetishizes the architectural artifact through its obsession with original.

"DISPLAYING THE ORIENT" IN THE "ORIENT": THE WHOLESALE TEXTILE MALL AND THE POLITICS OF SPACE IN JAKARTA
Herlily

This paper investigates the ways in which hyper-appropriation of religious identity and traditional attributes were choreographed in concert with the production of marginality and violence in the makeover of the Tanah Abang wholesale textile market in Central Jakarta. Through the lens of a series of contestations and negotiations that were part of the process, I examine how the hegemonic reproduction of space and the creation of hyper-traditions have subverted the lived experience of the people in the area. The paper demonstrates how hyper-tradition were manufactured to legitimate spatial segregation and social displacement as part of the desire to transform Jakarta into a global city.

Justinus Vinck, a Dutch landlord, first built Tanah Abang market in 1735. The Chinese have been involved in the market's commercial activities since the 1700s, and the Arabs joined later in the 1920s. In 1972 the market was renovated into six blocks of three-story buildings, and thereafter established itself as the biggest wholesale textile market in Southeast Asia, home to $1.5 billion in annual commerce. For decades, thousands of informal street vendors surrounded the market; groups of ground transportation businesses established themselves in the neighborhood around it; and battalions of coolie laborers (porters) flocked to the area to support its commercial activities. Meanwhile, *kampungs* in nearby areas housed the native Betawi for generations and provided affordable housing for internal migrants who joined the "wheel of fortune," either in Tanah Abang or in the city. As a result, the Tanah Abang area became the city's most multiethnic commercial center, a place where native Betawi (indigenous Jakartans), Chinese- and Arab-Indonesians, and the Minangkabau of West Sumatra were all commercial actors.

In 2003, the biggest block of the market caught fire. As a result, approximately 1.3 million people lost their primary employment, and vendors lost almost a hundred million dollars in assets. While the cause of the fire was still being contested, the local government announced that it was ready to rebuild and transform the market into a fourteen-story modern shopping mall that would "maintain the nature of Tanah Abang as a center for wholesale textiles," and would "represent the traditional culture of the area." The result is a gigantic, luxurious building with a green pattern of "Islamic" ornament on its facades that represents the "tradition" of the area and a clean and tidy European-like pedestrian plaza that signifies the "modern" city.

This paper argues that shopping malls in Jakarta, including the new Tanah Abang wholesale textile mall, are part of the state's project of modernity. Mall spaces are presented as the ultimate symbols of the global (the latest style of being modern); as such, they are monumental structures intended to display the nation's progress and power. Here, multiple practices and imaginations of modernity are contested. The case of Tanah Abang wholesale textile market embodies a hegemonic reproduction of space and traditional identity that is constantly challenged, appropriated, resisted and subverted.

OLD BUILDINGS, NEW LANDSCAPE: REDEVELOPING HISTORIC NEIGHBOURHOODS — A CASE STUDY OF XIN TIAN DI, SHANGHAI, CHINA
Fengqi Qian

Cultural landscapes are expressions of the interaction between people and their space. In a way, they reflect the traditions of particular groups of people, including their social systems and ways of life. A cultural landscape, together with the tradition it reflects, is by no means ageless, static and permanent but, rather, subject to change. With the permeation of globalization, perceptions of tradition have become increasingly paradoxical: products of tradition become subjects of admiration, while tradition itself faces challenges. Such a paradox may be perceived in the conservation of cultural landscapes, where old streetscapes are labeled heritage worthy of preservation and are then restored to their "traditional condition," while the very culture that constitutes their essence is corroded through the relocation of local communities and changes to the use of the place. As a result, heritage theme streets and precincts, claiming to be "traditional," are becoming irrelevant to the life of the communities that created them, and, therefore, are no more than soul-less blocks at a fashion fair.

This paper is based on the case study of Xin Tian Di in Shanghai, China. Xin Tian Di (New Heaven and Earth) was formerly a residential block featuring the typical local built style known as "Shikumen." An enormous commercial success and new Shanghai icon, Xin Tian Di claims to be the place where "the Past and Future meet at Present." Focusing on the conversion of this neighborhood into a high-end entertainment complex in the name of heritage conservation, this paper explores the way in which cultural landscapes have been adapted to suit the needs of tourism and consumptionism. The paper then explores the consequent disconnection of identity, memory and place by new development, and identifies the potential implications of the commercial success of Xin Tian Di for the conservation of cultural landscape in other Chinese cities. It argues that the disconnection is made possible by the joint force of local authorities and overseas ideas and finance. It concludes that, with the permeating force of globalization, identity and memory are being deliberately blurred and compromised by both internal and external forces to fit a post-global, postmodern cultural landscape.

C.2 HYPER-TRADITION, MIGRATION, AND PLACE-MAKING

CHINESE-BUILT WESTERN TOWERS: THE HYPER-TRADITION OF THE OVERSEAS CHINESE'S FORTIFIED TOWERS IN THE CANTONESE COUNTIES OF KAIPING AND TAISHAN
Ho Yin Lee and Lynne DiStefano
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CONNECTION TO PLACE, MIGRATION, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION IN THE WELLESLEY ISLANDS
Paul Memmott, Ian Lilley, and Cameo Dalley
University of Queensland, Australia

THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDENTITY, HERITAGE, AND MIGRATION OF THE *USING*, A TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY IN EASTERN JAVA
Endang Darjosanjoto
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THE PLACE OF ASMAALTI: A NARRATIVE OF MIGRATION, IDENTITY AND HERITAGE IN CYPRUS
Hifsiye Pulhan and Ibrahim Numan
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CHINESE-BUILT WESTERN TOWERS: THE HYPER-TRADITION OF THE OVERSEAS CHINESE'S FORTIFIED TOWERS IN THE CANTONESE COUNTIES OF KAIPING AND TAISHAN
Ho Yin Lee and Lynne DiStefano

The heartland of Cantonese culture is traditionally represented by the cluster of "Four Counties" in Guangdong province's Pearl River Delta region — Enping, Kaiping, Taishan and Xinhui. Among these counties, Kaiping and Taishan stand out as the most common origin of the so-called "Overseas Chinese," a subethnic and socio-cultural classification of descendants of Cantonese people who, for economic and political reasons, left their war-torn and famine-stricken homeland in the nineteenth century to seek work in such far-flung places as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the European colonies in Southeast Asia.

Many of these Overseas Chinese built their fortune on the toils of their first-generation immigrant forefathers, and many of them also benefited from a Western education. With wealth and status, a large number of the Overseas Chinese, whose parents were originally from Kaiping and Taishan, returned home to post-revolution (1911) Republican China. The wealth they had accumulated overseas was magnified many times in their poor and underdeveloped native towns and villages. To protect themselves from rampant banditry and kidnapping, these returnees created a

peculiar dwelling form known as *diaolou* — fortified tower houses of over-engineered reinforced concrete, built to withstand siege under gunfire and designed to serve as a home (house), a lookout (watchtower), and a sanctuary (fort).

At its height during the Republican era, some five to six thousand *diaolou* dotted the landscape of Kaping and Taishan. In the face of political prosecution in the post-liberation (1949) People's Republic of China, many of the Overseas Chinese abandoned their *diaolou* and returned to their adopted overseas countries. Despite being decimated first by Mao's Cultural Revolution and then by Deng's Economic Liberalization, there still remain more than two thousand *diaolou* in the two counties.

As a defensive form of architecture against very real danger, it would have been logical to have explored a more inconspicuous design. But, paradoxically, the Overseas Chinese could not resist advertising their wealth and status by richly decorating their fortified dwellings. The most popular choice of architectural ornamentation on the *diaolou* was that inspired by Western Classicism, but loosely and freely interpreted by local builders. The result was an architectural spectacle of over-the-top flamboyancy that is rarely seen anywhere else in the world, so much so that they are now being conserved for possible listing as World Heritage.

The paper traces the complex influences behind *diaolou* design through a study of their creators: the Overseas Chinese. By tracing the migration path of the Overseas Chinese from their desperate flight to an uncertain future far away, to their glorious return in prosperity a generation later, the aesthetic influence of the *diaolou* is revealed as a manifestation of hyper-tradition — an adaptation and reinterpretation of Western Classicism by the migratory Overseas Chinese from a source thrice removed from its European origins. By investigating the intricate and often surprising routes taken by the Overseas Chinese to bring the aesthetics of a foreign culture home and assimilate it as their own in the architecture of the *diaolou*, the paper provides a better understanding of the creative process behind a unique vernacular dwelling form, which represents a tangible expression of the intangible Zeitgeist of a very unusual time and place in the history of China.

CONNECTION TO PLACE, MIGRATION, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION IN THE WELLESLEY ISLANDS
Paul Memmott, Ian Lilley, and Cameo Dalley

This explanatory paper deals with the Aboriginal groups of the Wellesley Islands in the southern Gulf of Carpentaria (Australia), who originally derived from a common ancestral group extant in c10,000 BP, the Proto Tangkic people. It focuses on a selected set of migratory events in their prehistory and contemporary history that have resulted in cultural changes involving shifts in properties of social identity, media of identity expression, and types of relationships to place and cultural landscapes.

The first point in time that is examined, albeit in an exploratory and speculative manner, is in c6000 BP, when the Lardil moved from the mainland proper on to the Mornington Peninsula to form

a distinct subgroup, who remained, open to change and acculturation through their history despite being restricted to an island environment as sea levels rose. The next point in time is c800 BP, when a second subgroup of Proto Tangkic people moved from the mainland after sea levels dropped, to colonize another nearby cluster of islands, and took on a distinct social identity as the Kaiadilt people. The Kaiadilt became more insular than the Lardil, less able or willing to acculturate mainland influences, and two distinct cultural identities evolved. The third point in time is 1947–48, when the Kaiadilt were moved from their island group to that of the Lardil, where missionaries had been active since 1914. Further key points in time are 1966 and 2004–05, when the Lardil and Kaiadilt began exporting aspects of their culture to the outer world in ways that reshaped their economy and brought about further cultural transformation and global contacts.

In this analysis we shall examine the proposition that patterns of cultural change for these island populations have always involved complex processes of acceptance/nonacceptance, acculturation, adaptation of traits, systems of knowledge, and ways of doing things. This have always involved the mystique of an outer "global" culture engaging with an insular inner culture. Such an understanding requires a dynamic model of tradition that can accommodate significant transformations of the constructs of time, space and identity.

THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDENTITY, HERITAGE, AND MIGRATION OF THE *USING*, A TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY IN EASTERN JAVA
Endang Darjosanjoto

The *using* is a type of traditional community found at the eastern end of the island of Java, Indonesia. For a very long period these communities have been occupied by Madurese and Balinese people, and embody a fusion of their traditions. However, the location of these communities on Java has also exposed them to Javanese architectural influences, including a pattern of building very different from those prescribed by Madurese and Balinese custom.

As suggested by Mintobudoyo, a renowned expert on Javanese traditional building, the forms of housing in the *using* are inspired by one of the five earliest Javanese building types. Called *kampong*, it may categorized into two types — the basic *kampong*, and the *kampong srotong*. The basic house plan consists of three building types, organized by sequences of outer and inner domains. The *tikel* occupies the outer part of the house, known as the *bale*. It consists of a covered terrace which is used to receive guests and as a transition space between public and private spaces. Behind the *bale* is the *jrumah*, an inner area used for daily chores, which is composed of a *baresan* and a *pawon* (kitchen area), which takes the form of a *cerocogan*. In order to form a single building, the three roofs are attached one to another.

The exact house form may vary from settlement to settlement in response to local tradition and custom. However, certain principles remain unchanged. One of these may be termed the kinship

principle; the other is the housing-generation principle. According to these principles, each set of parents in a *using* are obligated to build a new house for their children outside the house yard. According to the local tradition, there is a unique way to generate the new house. First, the parents separate the outer part of their house (the *bale*) and move it to other yard, where it becomes the embryo, or the initial form, for a new house which its residents (the son or the daughter family) are obliged to complete. In order to realize its function, the house at least needs the kitchen area (*pawon*), which takes the form of a *cerocogan*. Further development depends on the socioeconomic conditions of its residents.

The paper addresses the question "How does information transfer of contemporary technologies maintain the identity and heritage of a traditional community?" Morphological study of the *using* shows that the kinship principle and the housing-generation principle have gradually become incapable of preserving its heritage. As a result of migration, the sign or symbol of identity and heritage of the ancestor is only partly represented.

THE PLACE OF ASMAALTI: A NARRATIVE OF MIGRATION, IDENTITY AND HERITAGE IN CYPRUS
Hifsiye Pulhan and Ibrahim Numan

Contemporary debate denotes the importance of migratory flows in understanding place identity. Throughout human history, patterns of human movement have reflected the conditions of an ever-changing world; and in turn, migrants have influenced the cultural landscapes of the places they leave and the places where they settle. In this regard, the clues of the past, present and future of a place and the generations of people who have inhabited it may be traced to identify cultural imprints and markers. Among these are ethnic fabric, spoken languages, religious institutions, traditions, and architecture. Under this scope, this study aims to understand the architectural transformation and the place identity of Asmaaltı, a historical public place in the walled city of Nicosia in Cyprus. The study documents the cultural and historical importance of Asmaaltı and investigates its current identity, which reflects the physical and cultural impacts of both immigrants and locals.

Asmaaltı was a spatial and social extension of Nicosia's bazaar which used to consist of a network of narrow lanes that were either vaulted or covered with matting or trellised vines. Because of the vine tree there, the place became commonly known as Asmaaltı, which means "under the vine" in Turkish. Both Cypriot peasants who came to capital to buy and sell and residents of Nicosia socialized in the public setting of Asmaaltı, which included *hamam* (Turkish baths), khans, barbers, bakery/coffee shops, and other small shops. Although its physical development was originally dominated by Ottoman urban concerns and social customs, Asmaaltı also attracted the other ethnic groups living on the island as well as merchants traveling through the Eastern Mediterranean. As a prominent civic center, it contributed to life in the unique urban settlement of Cyprus during the Ottoman, British colonial, and Republican periods.

The popularity of Asmaaltı declined in the 1980s, as modern shopping centers emerged in newly developed areas on the outskirts of the walled town. Because of their expectations for a contemporary life, the local people usually preferred to live and work in these new developed areas that were shaped by global impacts. This meant the old town was largely abandoned by its original users, whose sense of belonging to it had once enhanced its quality and refined its meaning. Today many of its places have subsequently been transformed by and/or for new immigrant inhabitants, without consideration for the spirit of the past. The immigrants have generally come from the southeast region of Turkey. They have transformed the old town according to their tastes, values and practices, leading to the development of a series of ethnic enclaves.

Today, Asmaaltı is one of the last places in the old town which is still struggling to maintain its historical identity and cultural formation. Although it has different meanings for the minority immigrants and the majority locals, it serves both groups: for the immigrant group, it is a place to obtain services; but for the majority locals, it also carries a historical and cultural heritage, which they believe should be passed on to future generations, with its well-known practices, events and personalities.

A.3 HYPER-TRADITIONS AND THE AMERICAN "EVERYDAY"

HYPER-TRADITIONS IN THE HISTORIC AMERICAN TOWN: THE FUNDAMENTALISMS OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION
Thomas Merrigan
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THE VILLAGE IDEAL: THE DIALECTIC OF THE REAL AND THE IMAGINARY IN MODERN PLANNING
Susanne Cowan
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

MAKING THE FAMILIAR STRANGE: MYTHOLOGIES OF THE EVERYDAY ENVIRONMENT IN SPRINGFIELD, U.S.A.
B.D. Wortham
University of Maryland, U.S.A.

SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF A SENSE OF IDENTITY
Arief B. Setiawan
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HYPER-TRADITIONS IN THE HISTORIC AMERICAN TOWN: THE FUNDAMENTALISMS OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION
Thomas Merrigan

The notion of "hyper-reality," put forth by anthropologist Jean Baudrillard, entails a simulation of something that does not exist. Extrapolated to the discussion of traditions and the built environment, the concept of "hyper-traditions" is a specific part of this hyper-reality, involving the blurring of "real" traditions and those invented from a culture of mass-media and communications where the perception of what is authentic and what is counterfeit becomes irrelevant. In such a world, hyper-traditional space becomes the answer to a perceived loss of heritage due to the forces of globalization. But this realm of hyper-tradition not only includes the invention of *new* artifacts and places labeled "traditional," but also the interpretation and further development of *old* places which already have a history and a series of "traditional" elements present.

One reaction to the perceived loss of heritage in certain historic American towns has been a very aggressive historic preservation movement — one so aggressive it may selectively reinvent history to make the case for its preservation. In the case of Fredericksburg, Virginia, this movement has resulted in the town's rebirth after most of its commercial activities moved to be nearer to a freeway and the town experienced an economic slump. The town now thrives on "histo-tourism" — the old American traditional town experience as told from an oversimplified and often historically inaccurate perspective.

The trend in Fredericksburg, and towns like it, has been to gloss over a rich and complex local history in favor of an oversimplified simulation, thereby distorting the town's true identity. Consumed by its reaction to a perceived loss of heritage and the need to save itself and its traditions, the town has adopted an aggressive, Anglo-male perspective in an effort to identify and preserve its traditions, thus creating a hyper-traditional landscape. Such a perspective is not only limited in terms of ethnicity and gender, but it ignores recent developments in the town's history and culture, thereby creating the misrepresentation tat the town is something simpler than it is.

This paper examines the realm of hyper-traditions in the context of historic preservation and how preservation activities have obscured and distorted Fredericksburg's identity. Using critical-regionalist principles and the author's own investigations of the development of Fredericksburg, an alternative process will be explored with the intention of finding a more nuanced, representative and complete means by which the town can define its past, present and future.

THE VILLAGE IDEAL: THE DIALECTIC OF THE REAL AND THE IMAGINARY IN MODERN PLANNING
Susanne Cowan

Over the past twenty years the term "urban village" has proliferated in both professional and popular urban planning literature. This model settlement form combines traditional aesthetics, small scale, and a cohesive community. Although "the village" gained greater attention due to the work of New Urbanism during the last decades of the twentieth century, this represents merely a new manifestation of a persistent trend in Anglo-American planning. Since the nineteenth century, urban planners have promoted the village as a site in which to heal the ills of "overcivilization" and to accommodate modern needs for urban growth. This paper will explore the way in which the metaphor of the village has offered a utopic arena, an imaginary "no place," in which to critique contemporary environments, and propose new urban settlements.

Urban planners in the mid-twentieth century, especially those affiliated with the Garden City tradition, employed an idealized image of traditional village life as a lens for evaluating the physical and social conditions of British and American cities. The village ideal served as a standard against which designers critiqued the contemporary landscapes of both rural and urban life. Figures such as Lewis Mumford and Clarence Stein in the United States and Patrick Abercrombie and Thomas Sharp in Britain applied the village as a model for urban social grouping and the design of new neighborhoods. Their interwar and post-World War II urban plans aimed to adapt the cooperation and social unity, which they imagined existed in the traditional village, to the structure of modern neighborhoods and cities. Although Parker and Unwin had articulated this social goal in early Garden City projects, resulting designs from the 1920s to 1960s differed substantially in the way they translated the village ideal into spatial form. Instead of trying

to reproduce the aesthetic character of the ideal village, designers from this period employed an abstract understanding of its social-spatial relationships.

An examination of theoretical treatises, actual planning documents, and critiques of the built environment produced by mid-century urban planners reveals the diverse ways in which they employed the metaphor of the preindustrial village in critiquing and reimagining modern urban spaces. The drawings and rhetorical depictions of real and imagined landscapes from this period reveal how contemporary analytical techniques and a professional ethos shaped the designer's image of the village ideal. This in turn affected the types of physical forms and social structures the designers proposed and built. The methods by which these designers conceptualized traditional settlements both reflected and influenced their ideas for contemporary social and spatial forms.

Designers' experiences of real urban and rural landscapes shaped their perception of the settlements of the past. So, too, have designers' images of traditional village life played a key role in constituting the form of modern neighborhood planning. Examining the relationship of the village ideal to the projects inspired by it will illuminate a dialectic relationship between imaginary and real landscapes.

MAKING THE FAMILIAR STRANGE: MYTHOLOGIES OF THE EVERYDAY ENVIRONMENT IN SPRINGFIELD, U.S.A.
B.D. Wortham

Springfield, U.S.A., is a fictional place in which the television series *The Simpsons* is set — founded by Jebediah Springfield, located near Shelbyville and Capitol City, in a state whose name is never mentioned. When Matt Groening created this animated series, he chose Springfield not only because he was raised in Springfield, Oregon, but also because of its ubiquity as a place name. Indeed, there are 71 Springfields in 36 states in America (Fairview is the most common name, with 275 Fairviews in 42 states). Groening is clear, however, that his Springfield is not based on a real place; it is entirely fictional.

This paper will examine not only Groening's imaginary Springfield, but also a series of real Springfields in order to illuminate the following questions. Is the fiction that Groening creates more real than the available realities in the making of the American cultural landscape? How does his story provide a lens into the way in which American places have been built, occupied, transgressed, historicized, unbuilt, invented, etc. over the course of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries? How can both the fictional and real Springfields elicit a multidisciplinary discussion about how we hand down, hand over, and enact the American environment? What is Groening attempting to represent about how Americans construct and reconstruct traditions of making and living? Which customs have continuity, and when and how are everyday practices disrupted? Under which rubrics (heritage, socioeconomics, archetypes, crime, sprawl, infrastructure, demographics, ritual, politics, civics, natural resources, etc.)

does Groening's Springfield become a cautionary tale, an idyll, a symbol, a proxy, a myth, a critique, a dystopia and/or a utopia.

To answer these questions, the paper will utilize both Groening's episodes and a hypothesized mapping of the Simpson family's hometown in order to parse the mythologies of the making of the American built environment. Historical and contemporary mapping of the physical and social realities of case study Springfields will provide the evidence for contrast to Springfield, U.S.A.

SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF A SENSE OF IDENTITY
Arief B. Setiawan

This paper explores the resonance of migration in the contemporary built environment in the United States. Migration is a major contributing factor in the formation of the fabric of American society. Indeed, the case can be made that as a nation America was founded as an agglomeration of colonial émigrés. Migrants from different European groups came to America for various reasons, later causing the forced migration of Africans. More recently, new influxes from Asia and Latin America have enriched this demographic composition. In fact, in recent years, Hispanics have replaced African Americans as the largest minority group in the United States. Such phenomena obviously have various impacts on the built environment. This paper focuses on one, the ethnic strip mall in and around contemporary American cities.

The ethnic strip mall is an interesting phenomenon partly because of the American association of such places with automobile and suburban cultures, and partly because of their many ethnic flavors, articulated in various aspects and dimensions — from physical artifacts to social practices. As such, as a case study, they embody a kind of a public juncture between the cultures of migrants and those of their hosts.

The paper seeks to investigate the phenomenon of ethnic strip malls within the context of their ethnic traditions as well as in relationships to the American urban or, in the case of contemporary American landscape, suburban space. If meaning in architecture is constructed and communicated through formal means and spatial structures in which space is arranged to reflect social and cultural beliefs, then strip malls offer a unique opportunity to investigate how a sense of identity can be constructed and communicated, spatially and formally, in different cultural frameworks. This phenomenon implies a process in which memories and imagination of origins and real conditions are negotiated, and, as I argue, processes of inflection occur.

The paper involves a comparative study of two ethnic malls, one Hispanic and one Chinese, and a nonethnic suburban American strip mall in the city of Atlanta. Observations on the spatial structure of such cases and surveys, recording visual and physical characters as well as social practices, events and happenings, provide an empirical base. However, the paper attempts to go beyond the surface appearance of signage, probing instead the ways in which formal and spatial elements accommodate cultural practices, thus carrying the sense of identity of the émigrés.

B.3 TRADITIONS OF LABOR AND MIGRATION

"VOCATIONAL MIGRANTS" AND A "TRADITION OF LONGING"
Trevor Marchand

> *People interested in the details of the arts of life feel a desire to revert to methods of handicraft for production in general.*
> — *William Morris, 1888*

This paper challenges the assumption that "tradition" is a quality pertaining chiefly to objects, stylistic conventions, or use of materials. Equally, it refutes the notion that tradition is merely the perpetuation of ritualized practices or skilled techniques. By considering the complex relation between migration, heritage and identity among contemporary fine woodworkers in Britain, I argue that "tradition" is a state of mind, and more specifically a recurring nostalgia for an idealized past. The paper investigates a "tradition of longing" for engagement in nonalienating modes of production, aesthetic work, and an authentic way of living. Historically, Britain's longing for a return to handicraft has promoted a disengagement from industry and homogenizing global forces, while cautiously recognizing that craftwork must employ contemporary technologies for efficient production and profitable distribution of wares and ideas.

In light of nineteenth-century industrialization and a widespread devaluation of handicraft, London's Worshipful Company of Carpenters founded a college to propagate wood and masonry skills. More than a century later, the spirit of the college remains committed to this challenge, attracting a diverse student popula-

tion. Based on fieldwork with trainees and recent graduates in the fine-woodwork program, the paper focuses on a community of "vocational migrants" escaping the atomizing effects of globalization and in search of new subjectivities. Most are mature students of the middle classes who abandoned professional careers for a more fulfilling vocation and lifestyle. Despite the real risk of poor wages and underemployment, the choice of fine woodwork is consistently justified by trainees as "satisfying" and "meaningful." Handicraft is popularly associated with self-autonomy and with the acquisition of virtues that link contemporary practitioners to an imagined heritage of craft producers.

With small student-instructor ratios and an emphasis on hand tools and disciplined conduct, the college environment conjures idealized notions of apprenticeship and personal formation. The compression of training into two years, however, as well as a standardization of curriculum and examinations and the integration of computer learning and contemporary machine technology, result in an education substantially different from that experienced by the "medieval journeyman." Meanwhile, the transfer of on-site learning to an institutional setting segregates training from the operational constraints of consumer demand and market forces. Arguably, reproduction of the fine woodworker has been deterritorialized from the workshop and marketplace, rendering this mode of craft (re)production and its associated lifestyle a "hyper-tradition."

Contextualizing my study within a history of ideas from Ruskin and Morris onward, the paper illustrates that longing for a recovery of handicraft and an associated lifestyle is not unique to our era. Indeed, this tradition of longing has propagated a small but steady flow of migrants into such fields as fine woodwork despite the trade's detachment from the wider economy and its confinement to institutions and elite niche markets. Ultimately, such vocational migration should be conceived as an individual coping strategy to reform subjectivity and make oneself part of an imagined heritage outside the disorientating flux of global forces.

THE EMPTY HOUSE: ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY IN MICHOACÁN, MEXICO
Catherine R. Ettinger and Salvador García

Central and Western Mexico are experiencing two contradictory trends — on the one hand, the loss of population in rural areas through migration (mostly international migration to the United States), and on the other, a boom in construction in the same rural areas. As male workers leave their native communities, often followed by their families, homes are locked up and left to be cared for by relatives, creating a surplus of homes in many villages. At the same time, the influx of dollars from migrant workers, many of whom return on a seasonal basis (while others only dream of doing so), has resulted in the erection of a large number of new "modern" homes, many of which remain uninhabited, defying their *raison d'etre*.

This paper examines the case of Michoacán in Western Mexico. It relies on interviews done in rural areas exploring the

reasons and processes behind the erection of new homes by "*migrantes.*" Two distinct pictures evolve: one of homes built from afar by Mexican families who live in the United States and who dream of one day returning; the other of homes built by families living in Mexico with remittances from members living temporarily in the United States.

In the first case, money is sent with instructions to build a house that represents both the family's attachment and commitment to their native town as well as the longing to return. These houses also serve to mark the landscape with a physical manifestation not only of the migrant worker's success, but also of his new identity. The homes often reinterpret foreign designs and simulate materials, such as wood siding, common in homes in the United States. However, the new houses also frequently remain empty, cared for by relatives, awaiting the return of their owners.

Money sent to siblings and spouses is also used for building new houses or adding on to existing ones. Thus, it is common to see new "modern" homes at the front of lots which also contain traditional structures. The new structures are often modeled on urban homes in the region, with a kitchen, living and dining rooms on the ground floor, and bedrooms on the second. These new houses also tend to be only partially occupied: cooking continues to be carried out on wood-burning stoves in traditional kitchen structures, guests are received on the patio, and bedrooms are used to store maize. One reason is that modern, tiled bathrooms and kitchens cannot be hooked up to sewage and utility systems, since these do not yet exist. Still, the homes do serve as symbols of the monetary success of migrant workers.

This case study questions notions basic to architecture, such as the idea that houses are built in response to the need for physical space. It also reveals the role of the house in establishing new identities within traditional contexts.

BAAN FARANG: LIVING THE DREAM IN ISAN, NORTHEAST THAILAND
William Wormsley

Widespread poverty is the current reality of Isan (Northeast Thailand). Rural Thais are forced to seek employment outside the region, most commonly in Bangkok. Most migrants intend to return to Isan eventually, but the reality is that most will spend much of their adult lives working in Bangkok. While Bangkok becomes a destination for some, for others it becomes a stop en route to a better life elsewhere. The exact location of that better life is not always known at the outset of the journey. It emerges from unpredictable experiences that loom in the future.

While in pursuit of their ultimate destination, rural Thais in Bangkok take up a number of professions. Men work in construction and drive taxis. Women, often the wives of those same men, work for the city administration cleaning streets, work in factories, or cook food and sell it on the city's streets. Young women in their twenties typically seek work in the service industry, as maids, hotel and restaurant staff, masseuses, go-go dancers, or prosti-

tutes. This paper focuses on the subset of these young women who work where the service and tourism industries intersect. In that context, young women from Isan find themselves in regular and more or less constant contact with Western men from around the world. In that context, they live a new reality of their own creation, which rests on romantic relationships with men who are judged to be financially sound and who appear likely to be able to provide for the Thai woman and her family.

Eventually, marriage may link some Thai women and Western men in a jointly negotiated, newly created reality based on the experiences and the imaginations of each partner. It comes to be symbolized in the construction of a house (*baan farang*) that typically incorporates and combines design elements familiar and desirable to each of the partners based on their cultural traditions. These culturally fused dwellings represent the imagined reality each holds of living in the world of the other. As this process of cross-cultural mixing continues, quite large numbers of *baan farang* have become clustered in close proximity in selected Isan locations, most notably Korat (Nakhon Ratchassima), Udorn Thani and Nong Khai, where they create enclaves that contribute to the emergence of new communities with a uniquely intercultural character.

A LIVING EXHIBITION: LABOR, DESIRE, AND THE MARKETING OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS IN SANTA FE
Matthew J. Martinez

Studies of North American Indian economic life have largely ignored the participation of indigenous peoples in the labor market, though such participation has often been essential for the livelihood of indigenous peoples and communities. Existing studies of American Indians generally stress the "exotic" nature of their cultures, with little regard for the actions and survival of such communities within tourist sites. Although American Indian arts and crafts have existed for centuries, initially for religious and utilitarian purposes, in contemporary times they have been transformed in terms of style and imagery, and have become increasingly popular in national and international art markets. Santa Fe, New Mexico, is one city whose tourist economy depends in part on indigenous art and culture; indeed, its particular art and style has made it are the trendy art capital of the Southwest.

This paper draws upon ethnographic field research with American Indian vendors in Santa Fe to answer questions about how artists negotiate their position as laborers in a sea of tourism. Santa Fe is steeped in history, and its plaza has been a focal point for both commerce and social life since the early seventeenth century. An accurate portrayal of New Mexico or the Southwestern United States cannot be written without taking into account the historical flow of traffic in culture. Today American Indians are some of the primary producers and vendors of art, yet the tourism industry in Santa Fe continues to mark and market vendors in the plaza as "living exhibits." Thus, American Indian artists selling traditional arts and crafts in the plaza are commonly depicted on postcards and in tourist guidebooks as mere backdrop scenery.

At the Santa Fe plaza, multiple agents — American Indian artists, tourists, and state institutions — constantly (re)create spaces in a struggle over the use and meaning of place. This paper addresses key questions with regard to how American Indians attempt to make a living by producing and selling their art. Specifically, it discusses the role that American Indians play in facilitating tourist markets and indigenous culture. In the paper, the notion of "real" is contested and reworked through an understanding of indigenous voices and experiences, as well as tourist sites and markets.

C.3 DETERRITORIALIZATION AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

HAN RAMBUTAN ORCHARD, SINGAPORE: A SITE FOR OVERSEAS CHINESE PLACE-MAKING
Chee-Kien Lai
National University of Singapore, Singapore

2020: THE CITY DETERRITORIALIZED
Diane Wildsmith and James N. Rosenau
University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia, and George Washington University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

DIVERSITY AND JOINT ORGANIZATION OF GYPSY POPULATIONS IN TURKEY
Emine Incirlioglu
Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

LOST: CULTURAL HERITAGE AND GLOBALIZATION IN MODERN CHINA
Luo Pan
Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

HAN RAMBUTAN ORCHARD, SINGAPORE: A SITE FOR OVERSEAS CHINESE PLACE-MAKING
Chee-Kien Lai

Among Southern Chinese immigrants to turn-of-the-twentieth-century Singapore were distinct groups of literati who sought employment in artistic, literary, educational and other academic fields upon arrival in the new host country. The common imagination and tracings of diasporic ties with mainland China alongside the need to acclimatize and acculturate to everyday existence in an equatorial locale required a constant rendering, translating and shuttling between their former and present lived spheres. In particular, hermeneutic interpretations and transformations of their textual contexts, frameworks and practices were necessary to make sense of their new and emergent identities/positions.

This paper examines a crucial site for the experimentation and formation of such hybrid identities in Singapore — the Han Rambutan Orchard. Its owner, Han Wai Toon, originally a migrant plantation laborer, educated himself to become a leading public intellectual and scholar in both English- and Chinese-language worlds. To his semi-rural two-acre site outside the main town came visitors engaged in scholarly discourses in art, poetry, archeology and literature. Through these cultural practices the landscapes and geographies of the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia (*Nanyang huachiao*) were interpreted in relation to social networks involving the British colonial elite and the formative Chinese world of other "sojourners" in the "South Seas."

The hybrid forms of tropical fruits produced in the orchard, especially the rambutan, found their way into academic scholarship, as well as became the subjects and mediums through which new modes of rendering art, literature and poetry were possible. More significantly, the fruits themselves became visceral, ingested forms for imagining and understanding traditions, identities and community in the "overseas Chinese" tropics.

2020: THE CITY DETERRITORALIZED
Diane Wildsmith and James N. Rosenau

Ponder Gaza, its edges and borders deterritorialized, its dwellings bulldozed or obliterated in a urban milieu destratified by social and political ideals. Gaza's buildings are becoming, in themselves, walls or barricades — strata between one war machine and another. Shards of terrorism explode the urban fabric and tear the plane of consistency, as the struggle to define the state of Palestine across the state of Israel converges into chaos. Such reality TV scripts an imponderable hyper-reality, portraying a media spectacle of an emergent nation-state.

Conversely, by delving into the hyper-reality phenomena, traditional urban forms explode and simulate cyber realms of figurative space, linking traditional towns in the West Bank with a hyper-real "Arc" master plan. Overcoming social and political objections to a single nation-state, this proposed master plan for Palestine, developed with the Rand Corporation, offers a vision of reterritorialized cyber cities. Such a proposal focuses on electronic simulation and postcolonial economies as a linkage with the traditional cultural norms that form an integral part of an urban experience, augmented in part by memory and mimesis.

By considering hyper-reality in contrast with hyper-tradition, the destructive force of deterritorialization can be seen as a creative impetus to reterritorialize the city and reclaim its territory by means of urban spectacle. By linking the discontinuous territories of Gaza (140 sq.mi.) and the West Bank (2,200 sq.mi.) into a sovereign Palestinian state, the "Arc" master plan proposes a hyper-real conurbation connected by high-speed transportation to historic centers. Conclusively, the act of linking Gaza and the West Bank into a viable nation-state means that the map of Palestine will express a spatio-temporal mobilization of political and economic forces to yield an urban milieu for a twenty-first-century haeccity, implying the spontaneity and polychromy of hyper-tradition.

Metaphors from Deleuze and Guattari serve as a philosophical and architectural methodology focusing on the "Arc" as a case study. The critical discourse tracks anecdotal media reports to construct a logical basis for hyper-tradition. Consequently, reterritorialization involves the restoration and reclamation of urban space to create a new identity for the nascent city-state of Palestine. The trace of political forces constructs a map that precedes the territory, as housing resettlements along the borders become simulacra of fortifications and cultural identity. The spectacle of deterritorialization involves migrations of workers and refugees across contested territories. Their line of flight is constrained by a security barrier impeding hyper-commodification. The "Arc" as a "blueprint" for Palestine manifests the process of critical discourse involving hyper-traditional architecture.

DIVERSITY AND JOINT ORGANIZATION OF GYPSY POPULATIONS IN TURKEY
Emine Incirlioglu

Romani people have experienced at least two forms of "hyper-formation" through their thousand-year history in Anatolia: the emergence of their ethnicity in the eleventh century; and the organization of the Federation of Roma Associations in the twenty-first century.

Romani studies, since its inception, has posed challenging questions and engaged in arguments concerning "Gypsy origins" and their "exodus from India," some of which will probably never reach a satisfactory closure. Not one, but multiple historiographies may be needed to address the question of *when* some ancestors of the Roma, or other groups now known as Gypsy (*Çingene*), have come to the territories that are now parts of Turkey. According to one historiography, proposed by Ian Hancock, Ronald Lee and Adrian Marsh, the Romani ethnicity emerged *after* the ancestors of the Roma left India in the early eleventh century. A composite conglomeration of people, who consisted of military groups and camp followers, the ancestors of the Roma were an occupationally but not ethnically defined population, until they arrived in Anatolia during the Byzantine era. Groups of ethnically unrelated people who came from India and who acquired a joint ethnic identity in Greek-speaking, Byzantine-Christian Anatolia, Romanies belonged neither to the East (where their ancestors were not a single people), nor to the West (where they were met suspiciously as newcomers with distinct physical features). The emergence of Gypsy/Romani ethnicity in eleventh-century Anatolia was, thus, a "hyper-formation," *par excellence*.

A second level of hyper-formation for the diverse Romani populations in Anatolia involved establishment of the Federation of Roma Associations in Turkey in a meeting in January 2006. It seems that various groups known (and discriminated against) as *Çingene* in Turkey stem from different waves of migration to Anatolia and Trachea. Considering Evliya Çelebi's account of the Gümülcine Gypsies in 1668, it is evident that differences and conflicts between Trachean and Anatolian Gypsies have been recognized, since at least the mid-seventeenth century. Those diverse groups, some of whom probably did not recognize each other and some of whom were divided along linguistic, occupational and class lines, have now nevertheless united to institute a federation. Mustafa Aksu, the architect behind the federation, prepared the outline and guidelines for the local associations as well as the overarching federation, as early as 2000, and implemented his plans through a slow, but steady process of nationwide networking and organizing.

As with other similar organizations in Europe, such as the International Romani Union and the Roma National Congress, the

federation in Turkey, too, highlights the similarities of shared experiences of the Gypsies/Romanies. Although, as Hancock has stated, "for some, that original material is now scant, and creating for them any sense of a pan-Romani, global ethnicity would require the kind of effort that is, sadly, very far down on the list of day-to-day priorities and, pragmatically, would be difficult to instigate," the federation itself may be considered an invented "new heritage."

LOST: CULTURAL HERITAGE AND GLOBALIZATION IN MODERN CHINA
Luo Pan

This paper is a case study of changing attitudes toward cultural heritage preservation in mainland China. The discussion is derived from a period of fieldwork within the Bureau of Urban Planning in a historical district in Quanzhou, Fujian. The paper promises to illustrate some of the tensions inherent in the dual-track policy of the Chinese government to pursue both globalized urban planning and heritage preservation.

Reproduction and transmission of culture, especially tangible heritage in a period of rapid culture change, is an important anthropological topic that has been widely discussed as part of global cultural processes. Globalization has brought a certain homogenization to architecture; but at the same time, preservation of tangible heritage has become a common popular value worldwide. These two trends have both been advanced by official forces in China. On the one hand, globalization has been reinterpreted as an important component of modernization, and the pursuit of modernization in urban planning has caused the loss of many traditional buildings. On the other, great efforts have been made by the government to preserve disappearing tangible heritage.

After considering the global background of cultural heritage preservation in China, the paper begins with a description of the preservation of the last historical district in Quanzhou, Fujian. This is an ongoing project for which the local government has spared no effort. Historical materials are examined to show the rise of the idea on heritage in China. These trace how the same city dealt with its tangible heritage in the past century, especially after the foundation of the new government. Attitudes of ordinary residents, local officials, and intellectuals on a preservation program will also be examined to show the interest of each group in the heritage project. And the efforts of the government to enable enactment of heritage policies are also explored. The conclusion focuses on the present dilemma faced by Chinese tangible heritage.

A.4 DISPLAYING TRADITION: THE SPACE OF THE MUSEUM

COMPARATIVE ALTERITIES: NATIVE ENCOUNTERS, AND THE NATIONAL MUSEUM
C. Greig Crysler
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

REASSESSING THE STORY OF MARK TWAIN'S HOMETOWN
Regina Faden
Mark Twain Museum, Hannibal, U.S.A.

RECOGNIZING CHANGE IN THE REPLICATION OF THE BARNES FOUNDATION
Tricia Stuth
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, U.S.A.

UNDER (THE LOOKING) GLASS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF CULTURAL HISTORY
Anne Toxey
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

COMPARATIVE ALTERITIES: NATIVE ENCOUNTERS, AND THE NATIONAL MUSEUM
C. Greig Crysler

This paper explores how diverse histories of indigenous people are instrumentally segmented, repositioned and publicly received within hyper-traditional narratives of national history and civilization. My comparative discussion will be organized around two national museums located in Canada and the United States respectively. The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) was opened in 1989 in Ottawa's capital district in an attempt to connect the national history of Canada to the "precolonial" histories of indigenous populations. In doing so, the so-called "First Peoples" of Canada are accorded an originary position in an epic story of Canada's past. The CMC is discussed together with the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), the latest addition to the Smithsonian Institutions' repertoire of national museums. The NMAI opened in 2004 on one of the last remaining sites on the Mall in Washington, D.C. Unlike the CMC, the NMAI is exclusively concerned with the history and contemporary culture of American Indians. While focusing primarily on what are now U.S. populations, the NMAI also discusses the history of indigenous groups in Canada, Central America, and South America.

The initial design for the NMAI was by the Native Canadian architect Douglass Cardinal, who was dismissed amidst controversy over the management and direction of the project after the initial design was complete. Cardinal was also the architect of Canadian

Museum of Civilization. The curvilinear, limestone-clad buildings bear a striking resemblance to each other. They were designed to signify the putative essence of Native identity and symbolically connect the buildings to the earth. From a curatorial standpoint, both institutions have also moved away from traditional modes of anthropological display, toward simulated encounters with tribes and their environments, in which indigenous peoples "speak for themselves" within the larger symbolic register of the national museum. Both museums locate the future of Native populations in their capacity to reimagine themselves as simultaneously modern and (hyper) traditional; as such they are reconstituted as exemplary figures in the progressive history of the multicultural nation-state. Material artifacts (rather than legal struggles or political organizations) are celebrated as evidence of their capacity to survive.

National museums have historically been concerned with constructing pedagogies of citizenship, in which the achievements of a collective national body are encoded in spectacular narratives of progress. This paper investigates the museological techniques of national pedagogy at the CMC and the NMAI through the education programs they offer for primary-school children. The programs at both museums distill and articulate the fundamental goals of each museum, while revealing the models of (proto)citizenship defined by each. They also provide a means to connect the museums back to governmental institutions and agents, via the formal and informal links they establish with schools and their curricula. The comparative structure of the paper will allow me to analyze discourses of nation and citizenship in two countries that are closely connected through transnational trade, cultural flows and shared historical conditions. Architecture forms a critical part of the museums' larger didactic mission. In both cases, the experience of built form is fused together with film, photography, text, audio, and live-action performance to create a sensorium of national identity. A wide range of instructional programs, special exhibitions, and tours attempt to regulate and diffuse intended meanings to school groups from within and beyond the U.S. and Canada. Drawing upon interviews with teachers, students, gallery officials and docents, as well as published information about school programs, I will examine both the production and reception of the museums' narratives, and the diverse (and sometimes contradictory) ideas of citizenship that they enable.

REASSESSING THE STORY OF MARK TWAIN'S HOMETOWN
Regina Faden

The Mark Twain Boyhood Home and Museum in Hannibal, Missouri is currently undergoing a process of reinterpreting its properties and collection. Historically, the museum has presented an image of Hannibal, the town where Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) lived during his childhood, as the quintessential American village, peopled by homey characters and lovable boyish scamps. Declining attendance and external criticism, however, have forced the museum to reevaluate its interpretation and address concerns about authenticity.

Visitors come to Hannibal, known as St. Petersburg in Twain's works, from all over the world to see the place that inspired such stories as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Some visitors are so attached to the characters of Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, and Becky Thatcher that they seem to forget that the characters were not real children. Visitors often want to see "the house" where Tom Sawyer lived and "the fence" Tom tricked other boys into whitewashing.

Previously, the museum, perceiving that tourists were seeking a nostalgic experience of Twain's Hannibal, presented a vision of Hannibal as part of an idyllic American past — a fantasy of a simple and harmonious village. Reflecting the town's and the museum's self-image, the museum ignored difficult topics like slavery and social class, which would have disrupted the image of a happy and safe white society. Rather, the museum focused on presenting Tom, Huck and Becky as if they were real children having harmless adventures.

In recent years, many visitors have been seeking a different story in Hannibal. The museum's vision of Hannibal, and by extension America, has been perceived as inaccurate and racist. From within and outside Hannibal, critics have called attention to the museum's "whitewashed" version of Hannibal and of Twain's experience and work.

In response, three years ago the museum began to engage in the process of reinterpreting its sites and collection. The museum now seeks to tell a fuller, more representative story of Twain's experience in Hannibal and his works through a narrative that visitors will recognize and that will resonate with their understanding of a modern, diverse and problematic world. However, changes at the museum have not proceeded entirely smoothly, as they challenge some returning visitors' and local people's conception of Hannibal as a quaint and charming town. Such constituencies are reluctant to discuss the darker side of Twain's experience in Hannibal, even though slavery and class identity are central to the author's fictional works. However, the museum staff and board understand that in order to be and to be perceived as legitimate, the museum must present the past and Twain's experience in all its facets.

The paper will discuss how the museum is working to change the story it tells the public. A brief history will outline the museum's past interpretation and how it has sought to replace its former self-image with a more representative story of the town's and Twain's past.

RECOGNIZING CHANGE IN THE REPLICATION OF THE BARNES FOUNDATION
Tricia Stuth

The Barnes Foundation maintains an impressive collection of paintings, sculpture, and primitive and decorative arts. The founder, Dr. Albert C. Barnes (1872–1951), established the foundation to share his passion for the fine arts and to educate the public. To do this, Dr. Barnes developed the concept of the "ensemble," in

which he composed seemingly disparate works of art and craft into arrangements anchored compositionally and conceptually by significant paintings. At the time of acquisition, the paintings and their artists — including Van Gogh, Cezanne, and Renoir — were relatively obscure. Today, the ensembles are recognized throughout the world for their eclecticism and for their inclusion of valuable works of art.

The method of displaying art within ensembles broke with past curatorial traditions due to its disregard for chronology, genre, media, and subject matter, to name a few. Its intent was to stimulate reflection on the underlying elements of art and demonstrate "that old art and new art are the same in fundamental principles." The setting for collection and foundation further encapsulate the ensemble technique. Located within an arboretum, the site prompts visitors to relate art and nature, and to consider such relationships when viewing the paintings. The structures, by architect Paul Philippe Cret, are also understood as extensions of the collection by the integration of details that reflect the content within.

This paper explores the imminent move of this collection of ensembles, from its original environs and purpose-built structures to a proposed new location in the center of Philadelphia. The impetus for the collection's move and the resulting controversy can be traced to one document — the Charter for the Barnes Foundation. In it, Dr. Barnes stipulated that the entire endowment would be invested in government securities, the value of which plummeted following his death. Grappling with financial shortfalls and unable to negotiate access and expansion restrictions imposed by the township, the foundation petitioned the court to allow it relocate to a prominent urban site.

A petition to move was necessitated by another requirement of the charter — that the collection and the ensembles amassed and composed by Dr. Barnes must be maintained precisely as he left them. To comply with these wishes, the director of the foundation testified that the future building would replicate the rooms of the original. On December 13, 2004, the court approved the foundation's petition. However, testimony and ruling permitting the change of site presage an architectural response which narrowly centers on a definition of context that is predominately physical and interior, visual and present. This paper elucidates the inadequacy of such limited definitions of context, and advocates for an expanded definition that includes spatial, temporal and cultural factors, together with the immediate and visible.

Applying the expanded definition of context to the Barnes Foundation reveals numerous opportunities for maintaining the essence of a visit to the Barnes Foundation, despite decoupling it from its influential physical environs. Several recent design proposals illustrate these opportunities and are critiqued within the paper. The proposals are evaluated for their potential to embed the expanded context and to offer visitors an authentic experience, even if his is not the exact same experience as the original. This investigation is particularly relevant at a time when historic institutions throughout the world are rapidly outgrowing their physical structures long before they have outgrown the value and meaning inherent in their present environs.

UNDER (THE LOOKING) GLASS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF CULTURAL HISTORY
Anne Toxey

This paper develops the concept of simulacrum in three related areas of cultural production: preservation, museums and tourism. In all three areas, intentional conservation of cultural practices and products (for consumption by visitors) objectifies them and separates them from their original, "real" trajectories. These manifestations of hyper-traditions are not new, however. They are part of the Modern Movement, whose trajectory they share from the late eighteenth century forward with the development of museums, grand-tour travel, and institutionalized preservation. In fact, hyper-tradition, like the very concept of tradition, is integral to the idea and phenomenon of the modern, even through negative definition. These expressions of hyper-tradition differ from tradition, however, in the simulacra that they create.

Using examples from my professional work in historic preservation and in museum exhibit design and from my fieldwork in tourism studies, I illustrate the forces of the political economy that influence and shape these fields. Particular case studies that I use include the preservation and development of cultural tourism at the UNESCO World Heritage site of Matera, Italy, and the design of a major, new, Western heritage museum in Vernal, Utah, which is also tied to the development of cultural tourism in this area.

Using ethnographic research and a survey of travel literature, I also consider the effects these have on visitor perceptions and experiences. Visitors' willing participation in hyper-traditional events and spaces —whether or not they are conscious of the simulacra they inhabit — often reflects a lack of awareness of the unseen powers that structure the experience. For example, progressive museum interpretations often present multiple voices, in particular those less heard, in addition to the names of sponsoring corporations, on which they are becoming ever more dependent. These increasingly commercialized institutions, however, rarely connect exhibit interpretation to the economic and political forces that have not only funded it but also created the landscape that necessitates this corporate funding.

This work is grounded in the literature of spectacle and display (for example, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's *Destination Culture* and Bella Dick's *Culture on Display*); tourism studies (for example, Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *Consuming Tradition*; and Cara Aitchison et al., *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes*); and preservation criticism (for example, books and articles by Randolph Starn, David Lowenthal, and Richard Handler). Overlaying these related areas of investigation, my research question asks what is the relationship between the political economy and hyper-tradition (as seen in preservation, museums and tourism), and, by extension, the Modern Movement.

B.4 MOBILIZING THE SPECTACLE OF TRADITION

CIRCUS CITY: DEBUNKING CULTURE-LED REGENERATION IN MONTREAL
Anne-Marie Broudehoux
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RELIGION MOVES TO THE MALL: PLAZA MEXICO AND THE MOBILIZATION OF HISPANIC RELIGIOSITY IN CALIFORNIA
Clara Irazabal and Macarena Gomez-Barris
University of Southern California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

MIGRATION, POWER, AND THE LINE: CEREMONIES OF COLLECTIVE TRANSGRESSION IN THE SPATIAL ARCHTEYPES OF ELIAS CANETTI
Michael Chapman and Michael Ostwald
University of Newcastle, Cooks Hill, Australia

CREATING NEW WORLDS WITH HYPER-TRADITIONAL LIVING SPACES IN MODERN JAPANESE MIGRANT SOCIETIES
Izumi Kuroishi
Aoyama Gakuin Women's Junior College, Tokyo, Japan

CIRCUS CITY: DEBUNKING CULTURE-LED REGENERATION IN MONTREAL
Anne-Marie Broudehoux

Since the 1990s postindustrial cities around the world have turned to culture as a way to regenerate their failing images and revamp their economies. Culture-led regeneration has risen to the top of the urban policy agenda, as arts, culture, heritage, entertainment, and other so-called creative industries now figure at the center of strategies for urban economic development. Investments in flagship cultural projects, the hosting of special events, and the rebranding of neighborhoods as thematic zones specialized in art and entertainment have all been used to increase the cultural capital of cities and attract inward investment and tourism. While success stories such as Bilbao, Barcelona and Manchester are widely known, the actual impact of culture-led regeneration upon city life is less well understood.

This paper presents a critical assessment of the culture-led regeneration model. Often presented with a rationale of social and community development, many cultural investments are clearly driven by an economic agenda. Because of their focus on culture, these projects receive generous public funding, but their benefits may fall disproportionately into the hands of private actors in the global entertainment industry. In addition, these projects do not necessarily increase the visibility of local cultural

actors, but can marginalize them further and tax their creativity by promoting safer and more established cultural products. Often located on the site of decaying industrial facilities, such projects can also result in gentrification and the social dislocation of working-class communities.

In attempts to recast redeveloped urban districts as entertainment destinations specializing in the sale of culture, city governments have encouraged an instrumental and economist exploitation of culture, which can result in the commodification of local cultural practices. Culture-led regeneration has also resulted in the repackaging of real urban environments into simulated and privatized ones, imagineered into hyper-real spectacular landscapes devoted to global mass entertainment.

Montreal provides an interesting if little known case for assessing culture-led regeneration. Having momentarily achieved global recognition for the success of the 1967 World Exposition and the failure of the 1976 Olympics, the city has repackaged itself as a regional entertainment hub, and a city of festivals. The paper examines two specific controversial projects: the transformation of an urban neighborhood as "Spectacle Quarter," at the behest of a consortium of private theater owners and festival promoters; and a Las Vegas-style entertainment complex, complete with hotel, casino, circus and soccer stadium, at the heart of one of the city's poorest neighborhoods, promoted by Cirque du Soleil, a local actor with global tentacles.

The paper demonstrates, however, that as it becomes increasingly contested, culture-led regeneration can also have a positive impact. Specifically, it may stimulate the formation of civil society and social activism through the rise of citizens coalitions, a proliferation of cyber-forums, and the organization of concrete actions seeking to demonstrate the possibility of alternative modes of development closer to local needs.

RELIGION MOVES TO THE MALL: PLAZA MEXICO AND THE MOBILIZATION OF HISPANIC RELIGIOSITY IN CALIFORNIA
Clara Irazábal and Macarena Gomez-Barris

A shopping mall in Los Angeles is a new site of religious, political and cultural gatherings of Latin American immigrants and native-born Latina/os in the United States. Plaza Mexico, physically modeled as a traditional Mexican settlement with pseudo-"authentic" Aztec/Mayan and Colonial architectural elements, provides a popular setting for Catholic masses, Virgin of Guadalupe celebrations, and other religious events. The Plaza is also known for its ethnic political and cultural events, including campaigning by Mexican politicians and varied cultural shows. In short, secular and religious events draw Hispanic visitors to Plaza Mexico, where the boundaries between secularity and religiosity are blurred or purposely transgressed by participants.

The theoretical frame and research methodology for this study lie at the intersection of urban studies, urban planning and design, and the sociology of religion and culture. Specifically, it explores the redefinition of religiosity and its interactions with place. Today

certain collective religious rituals seem to be breaking away from their containment in traditional places (e.g., churches) to disrupt the traditional uses of unconventional spaces such as shopping malls. Through multidimensional qualitative research in Plaza Mexico, the study aims to shed light on the current transformation of the spatialities and meanings of religion in a contemporary context of transnationalism, consumerism and spectacle.

The research scrutinizes three main interrelated factors: 1) the ways immigrants and Latinas/os engage in and give meaning to religious and secular events in Plaza Mexico; 2) the role of religious institutions (such as organized faith-based groups, churches, and priests/pastors) in leading religious events at the mall; and 3) the role of mediating structures (such as city codes and regulations, and the actions of mall developers, designers and managers). The research also probes the transnational dimension of Latina/o religious practices. Specifically, how does this site elucidate the complex reworkings of religion — the tensions between traditional and (post)modern cultures, and between homeland and diasporic values and practices? How do performances and meanings of religious events change between different groups of immigrants and native-born Latinas/os? Are these religio-ethnic performances and meanings adaptations from other transnational places and times? Or, conversely, do they cause transnational transformations elsewhere? In more general terms, what can be learned from the example of Plaza Mexico about the reconstitution of interactions between place and religiosity in our contemporary globalizing world?

Advancing the work of Hondagneu-Sotelo and others, we consider the religious practices in Plaza Mexico as part of a process of "religio-ethnic cultural expansion," whereby shared pan-Hispanic values, traditions, and social predicaments "allow[s] for the adoption of Mexican and Catholic cultural forms by diverse groups, including people who are of neither Mexican nor Catholic heritage" (Hondagneu-Sotelo et al., 2004). We further suggest that this "religio-ethnic cultural expansion" not only redefines religiosity and its interactions with place by mobilizing political agendas within a privatized commercial space, but also by incorporating and syncretizing consumerism and entertainment.

MIGRATION, POWER, AND THE LINE: CEREMONIES OF COLLECTIVE TRANSGRESSION IN THE SPATIAL ARCHTEYPES OF ELIAS CANETTI
Michael Chapman and Michael Ostwald

In his analysis of the ceremonial rites of the Aranda Aboriginal tribe from Central Australia, Elias Canetti referred in *Crowds and Power* to a range of organizational principles that bind members of a group into a crowd. For example, Canetti described how dancing in a circle was an act of unity, turning the tribe's back to outsiders and embracing a center. He saw the same principle as characteristic of other, denser forms of organization as well — such as the "swaying cylinder" of bodies or "square upon the ground," which also use circularity and congestion to heighten the sense of unity and collective solidarity.

Another spatial structure Canetti observed was the "single file," which marks rituals of re-creation and procession, and featured bodies organized in a linear, rather than circular configuration. "Single file" for Canetti represented *migration*, symbolizing the act of treading in the footsteps of the tribe's ancestors as they moved from place to place. Canetti pointed out that migration, while still transgressive in nature, differed from the other models of crowd organization in that it was constrained in space and time, embodying the ceremonial expulsion of collective ritual. At the same time, it still suppressed the formation of denser forms of crowd organization, which can be volatile.

The migratory "single-file" ritual provides an interesting point of departure for exploring Canetti's theory of crowds, as specifically embodied in the crowd form he identified with the "river" — an evolutionary procession through space, bordered on both sides and in time. The linear, rather than circular nature of this crowd formation and its transitory, rather than accumulative characteristics have the advantage of discharging crowd energy, instead of allowing it to accumulate in one spot. The modern festival, emerging as a response to the tumultuous crowd activities of the French Revolution, is related to this "migratory" model of crowd formation, attempting to mobilize crowd energy and locate it spatially. The role of the festival in mediating crowd behavior has been widely acknowledged in the twentieth century, in particular in the work of Sigmund Freud, Georges Bataille, and Eric Hobsbawm.

This paper will explore the relationship between Canetti's idea of migration and the modern festival, or parade, as it emerged in nineteenth-century urbanism. As a legitimate yet highly regimented mode of collective transgression, the parade or processional was central to the ideas behind the urban reconfiguration of Paris and Vienna in the nineteenth century. In both cases urban restructuring provided wide, expansive boulevards that were easily policed and availed themselves to popular celebration or "migration," but which prevented the emergence of circular or accumulative crowds. The manipulation of the urban form to facilitate the processional or festival can also be seen as part of a broader urban agenda to control and manipulate the psychology of crowds. The idea was to provide a legitimate, yet transient space in the city for collective transgression, so that more violent and sinister crowd action (such as riots and insurrections) could be avoided.

By exploring the architectural dimensions of Canetti's theory of crowds, the paper will show how the spatial archetypes he developed to categorize crowd behavior delineate deep-seated power structures that have influenced urban planning throughout the modern era.

CREATING NEW WORLDS WITH HYPER-TRADITIONAL LIVING SPACES IN MODERN JAPANESE MIGRANT SOCIETIES
Izumi Kuroishi

For Max Weber the ideal mechanism of modernization was based on a strict Protestantism. But it also transcended various regional cultures and religious doctrines, and replaced the world's

diversified social ethics with a universal rationalism. Influenced by the above ideas, in the twentieth century many countries attempted to create hyper-traditional housing areas to enable rapid construction of new communities and cultural identities for their new urban populations. One such country was Japan. During the country's rapid globalization and modernization between the opening of the country to the West at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of World War II, the national government intentionally constructed hyper-traditional living spheres and urban structures for domestic and international migrants.

Based on the above ideas, the paper discusses three examples of the creation of hyper-tradition in Japan. The first involves the creation of new communities and townscapes for expelled feudal workers as part of the Sanbongi field migration. The second involves a synchronization of the ideas of Protestantism and Japanese chivalry in an attempt to create an ideal democratic, modern society in domestic migrations before the 1920s. The third involves the superimposition of nationalistic symbols of Shintoism on housing areas for Japanese immigrants and Korean laborers and the creation of a new style of houses in Korea before World War II.

These examples of the effect of hyper-tradition on living spaces can be interpreted as demonstrating a condition opposite to Henri Lefebvre's idea of social space. In examining the above examples, I find that the imposition of hyper-tradition on people's living spaces formed another hidden aspect of social modernization.

C.4 THE PRODUCTION OF ETHNICIZED SPACES

LITTLE INDONESIA IN THE DUTCH *POLDER*: MIGRATION, OLD AGE, AND TRADITION IN THE NETHERLANDS
Marcel Vellinga
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INVESTIGATING THE CULTURAL CORE: SPATIALIZING THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION FOR HMONG AND LOWLAND LAOTIAN IMMIGRANTS IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
Lynne Dearborn
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.

LITTLE INDIA: SPACES OF ETHNICITY, EXCHANGE AND BOUNDEDNESS
Limin Hee
National University of Singapore, Singapore

THE FORMING OF CHINESE IDENTITY: A CASE OF CHICAGO'S CHINATOWN
Chuo Shannon Li
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.

LITTLE INDONESIA IN THE DUTCH *POLDER*: MIGRATION, OLD AGE, AND TRADITION IN THE NETHERLANDS
Marcel Vellinga

In the autumn of 2005 reports appeared in the Dutch media about proposed plans to build a so-called "*Indisch* village" in Almere, a fast-growing city in the newly reclaimed lands that make up the province of Flevoland. Developed by the Foundation Rumah Senang (Malay for "comfortable home"), the plans involved the construction of a distinct and largely self-supporting neighborhood that, by means of its ethnic composition, architecture and facilities, aims to provide a setting where one is reminded of "the olden times" (*tempo doeloe*) as experienced in the former Dutch East Indies (*Indië*; present-day Indonesia). As noted in the first Newsletter of the Foundation, the houses and facilities in the "village" would be open to anyone who has an affinity with the *Indische* or *Indo* (i.e., mixed Dutch and Indonesian) culture of the former colonies. Although this may include people from different ethnic backgrounds, the majority of the community is expected to consist of people of *Indo* descent, as well as Moluccan immigrants who settled in the Netherlands in the early 1950s. Pensioners from both communities form a special target group.

The development of the village has currently been put on hold. The city council of Almere has given its approval to the plans, but the actual implementation still depends on the finalization of the

city's overall zoning plan. The plans for the village are nonetheless far advanced and include the construction of 120 houses; a communal building in which social, recreational and educational activities may take place; and a restaurant, pharmacy, and supermarket. A main building comprising 46 apartments, four geriatric units, a communal kitchen and living room, and small enterprises including a hairdresser's, a launderette and a pedicure, is meant to act as the focal point of the village. This main building will be built in the style of a traditional Minangkabau house, complete with colorful woodcarvings, a raised floor, and upsweeping roof spires. The other buildings, including the houses, will be built in a "more modest" Minangkabau style, adding to the Indonesian character of the village while still meeting Dutch building requirements.

The popularity of the project is beyond doubt. In the autumn of 2005 some 550 pensioners had registered themselves on the waiting list — some from as far away as Spain, Austria, and the U.S. Indeed, the interest is so great that the foundation has applied for a European patent on the concept. Still, the plans for the new village also give rise to a number of questions. These questions relate to the complex interrelationship between migration, ethnic identity, social integration, old age, and architectural traditions.

The paper will consider some of these questions by looking at the way in which, in the case of the proposed village, a number of different Indonesian, *Indo*, and Dutch traditions are simultaneously invoked, and how these, taken together, result in a hybrid cultural formation that is distinct, though not necessarily unique or new. It will suggest that nostalgia and notions of social connection, trust and security form an important driving force behind this "hyper-project." Finally, it will call for more research into the dwelling wishes and practices of old age people — especially in the context of migration and displacement.

INVESTIGATING THE CULTURAL CORE: SPATIALIZING THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION FOR HMONG AND LOWLAND LAOTIAN IMMIGRANTS IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
Lynne Dearborn

Acculturation is a process that influences the cultures of immigrants both as individuals and groups. Many scholars of human civilizations conceive of this process as a fusion of the original immigrant culture and the receiving culture into which the immigrants are immersed. Rapoport (2005) has proposed that the original culture of immigrants consists of core characteristics that change slowly in comparison to more peripheral characteristics, which may be rapidly modified or replaced completely. This process creates an amalgamation representing potentially very rapid cultural change. Nonetheless, the nature and strength of the amalgam is distinctive for each case of immersion, as the degree to which an immigrant culture maintains original characteristics, takes on characteristics of the receiving culture, or generates new and unpredictable characteristics, may vary.

Rapoport has further suggested that the physical environment plays an important role in this process by supporting certain cultural characteristics, while inhibiting others. Noble (1992) demonstrated that, historically, the geography of the urban or rural landscape has likewise influenced immigrant acculturation by the degree to which spatial forms promote or inhibit contact between discrete cultural groups. For some immigrant groups, the immigration process strengthens core cultural characteristics as a means to cope with cultural stress on the individual and/or group.

Based on a series of 42 interviews with Southeast Asian immigrant homeowners in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, this paper describes and compares the process of cultural change and its spatial manifestations for two groups, the Hmong and Lowland Laotians, who settled in the city between 1979 and 1999. The paper combines analysis of interview data with observations and documentation of both peoples' activities and characteristics of the physical environment, to describe and compare the influence of the physical environment and the spatial results of this acculturation process.

Hmong and Laotian immigrants are chosen for comparison because, while both are from Laos and became refugees after the Vietnam War-era conflict, their original cultures and lifestyles have characteristics that make them very different. The Hmong have since demonstrated the creation of a hyper-tradition by strengthening several of their core cultural characteristics, including clan and family ties and cultural and religious practices associated with the subclan. Strengthened core cultural characteristics have become increasingly important in defining and solidifying their group and individual identities in their new setting. And the study illuminates the ways that Hmong core cultural characteristics have been spatialized in the urban settings of Milwaukee.

The Lowland Laotian culture in Milwaukee provides an interesting comparison, which suggests the distinctiveness of the Hmong cultural response. The Laotian culture has become diluted through acculturation, maintaining a few core cultural characteristics, but in a weakened form.

Using a framework derived from Rapoport (2005), Noble (1992), and Michelson (1977), the study concludes by discussing the relationships among the forms of residential buildings and neighborhoods, cultural characteristics and their strengths, and the spatialized processes of cultural change as demonstrated by Hmong and lowland Laotian immigrants in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

LITTLE INDIA: SPACES OF ETHNICITY, EXCHANGE AND BOUNDEDNESS
Limin Hee

Today, Little India stands as a unique and culturally active area, and is regarded by the Indian community in Singapore as the social space of a now-dispersed Indian population. Unlike Chinatown in Singapore, which many think of as a rather thematized, touristic or fossilized district — Little India remains the nub of "Indian-ness" in Singapore. As a working ethnic quarter, it not only serves the local Indian community, but plays host to multitudes of transient workers from South Asia and is at the same time a major tourist destination.

Little India can be read as the constructed ethnic space of the Indian community in Singapore, providing spaces for the re-pro-duction of social, cultural and spatial practices of the ethnic group, albeit in the form of hyper-traditional space:

> *You can buy anything Indian here, just like in any Indian bazaar street — the choicest silk sarees, elaborate Indian gold jewellery, aromatic incense sticks, Indian curios and furni-ture, the latest music hits in Hindi or Tamil, freshly ground spices and posters depicting your favourite Hindu film star. Women from Madras proffer Indian mangoes and various Indian knick-knacks, laid out on the pavement. The restau-rants in the area offer all the well-known South Indian dish-es, such as Masala Dosa (a kind of pancake with spicy vegetarian filling), Idli (steamed rice cakes) or as-much-as-you-can-eat meals, served on environment-friendly banana leaves. . . . All things said, "Little India" comes across as a cleaner, more wholesome version of Madurai or Madras.*
> — R. Krack, *Discover Singapore's Little India, 2001, CPA media, http://www.cpamedia.com/20011204_02)*

The fabric of the ethnic quarter is composed primarily of long-block forms of "shophouse" units, with insertions of compact public housing. Public spaces tend to be more incidental, and are "found" or "stolen" where available: on streets, along back alleys, between build-ings, and on undeveloped sites. The conglomeration of these spaces make up the construed space of Little India. It is within this field of physical spaces that the paper examines the spatial practices that embody concepts of constructed ethnicity, exchange and boundedness.

The space of Little India is not limited to that of an ethnic quarter, but also reflects the impacts of the globalization of labor, the reconstructed traditions of a migrant population, and the inter-actions of various other entities who also inhabit the quarter. The disparate nature of social spaces here and their interstitial loca-tions act somewhat like an organic weave of hyper-traditional instances. In particular, the paper will focus on three salient aspects of its hyper-traditional space:

1. As a space of representation of culture, and the production and transformation of identity through spatial practices. The coterminous space of history, geography and the contemporary Indian community are overlaid here in the same space.

2. As a space of exchange — of economic, social and cultural entities, of goods, services and information. Ideas of "front" and "back" activities in public space are constantly shifting and are framed within notions of gendered space, space for tourist con-sumption, and space of subversion, leading to constantly shifting definitions of "insiders" and "outsiders."

3. As a space of boundedness in its many translations — both temporally bounded public spaces, used only as such within time-defined limits, and spatially bounded public spaces, where contesta-tions of space have led to real or imagined boundaries and bounded spatial practices. The state's presence in public space, the form of control it exerts over behavior in public space, as well as negotiations over space-use and correct behavior in public, are also discussed.

THE FORMING OF CHINESE IDENTITY – A CASE OF CHICAGO'S CHINATOWN
Chuo Shannon Li

"Chinatown" has normally been considered a place produced and occupied by the Chinese where Chinese ethnicity creates a unique place identity. As such, the conception of "Chinatown" has essentially been based on its distinction from dominant white places. Exotic architectures, grocery stores, and restaurants pro-vide "Chinatown" with a characteristic image for Western eyes and a unique identity of place. However, the practices of white institu-tions are also deeply involved in the social and cultural construc-tion of Chinatown as a racial category. As a discourse revealing the privileged status of whites against the racialized identities of "others," whiteness is an epistemology that is hard to grasp, since it has been naturalized as a system of meanings and values rooted in a hegemonic culture.

Using the discourse of whiteness, this paper argues that Chinatown is not an entirely naturalized space that reflects the liv-ing experience of Chinese immigrants, but a space which has been greatly impacted by whites, who have promulgated their privileged cultural values through the spatial construction of Chinatown. By examining the built environment of Chicago's Chinatown, the paper reveals how difference, an "otherness" that is essentially eth-nic, has been constructed, emphasized and exaggerated, and also how whiteness as a category of identity formation has significantly influenced landscape formation in Chinatown.

Instead of studying Chinatown as an isolated ethnic ghetto, the paper examines the landscape of Chicago's Chinatown within the context of an interrelated national space, in which relations of pro-duction and networks of capital and labor have been hierarchically and unevenly distributed. Thus, the socioeconomic oppression and exclusion of the Chinese immigrants from the national polity before World War II led to the growth of "informal political structures" and aggravated the unequal labor/management relations within the community. In a sense, the promotion of patriotism and ethnic soli-darity became a means by which the elites of Chicago's Chinatown consolidated their hegemony over the community.

After World War II the community turned to a more con-scious construction of Chinatown as a tourism spot and a com-mercial center targeting Chinese consumers. Thus, this paper explores how the landscape of Chicago's Chinatown has served not only the powerful culture of otherness of the dominant society, but how it has emerged as an expression of racial ideology of the Chinese community and an active agent reinforcing and repro-ducing social relations.

A.5 URBAN REAL ESTATE AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF TRADITION

REALITY/TELEVISION: HYPE, TRADITION, AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN RURAL THAILAND
David O'Brien and Kim Dovey
University of Melbourne, Australia

A NOBLE LIFE: COMMODIFICATION OF TRADITIONS IN MODERN HONG KONG
Lynne DiStefano and Debbie Wong Tak Yee
University of Hong Kong, China

TRADITION OF CELEBRATION: REDEFINING SELVES AND RECLAIMING THE IDENTITY OF CHINESE INDONESIANS IN THE POST-NEW ORDER ERA
Gunawan Tjahjono
University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND INVENTED TRADITION: THE GREEK ISLAND OF FOLEGANDROS AND ITS PROMOTION VIA THE INTERNET
Eleni K. Aga
National Technical University of Athens, Greece

THE CITY AS MIRROR IMAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMPANY: KELAPA GADING
Evawani Ellisa
University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

REALITY/TELEVISION: HYPE, TRADITION, AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN RURAL THAILAND
David O'Brien and Kim Dovey

Real estate agents worldwide are marketing houses with architectural styles that speak of imported heritages rather than those that could be identified as specifically local. This paper outlines some ways traditional housing in rural Thailand is being transformed by advertising. Thailand's mass media disseminates idealized images of suburban housing — predominantly via the television, but also through magazines, newspapers, and the Internet. While such housing is geared toward the middle class in Bangkok, it also contributes to a reframing of patterns of living and expressions of status in poor, rural communities. Here, indigenous construction technologies, spatial structures, and forms have been supplemented by styles that reflect Western expressions of modernity and practices of industrialization. Thus, new "hyper-traditions" have emerged in both suburban and rural communities to frame thinking about the contemporary Thai house.

The paper seeks to understand the link between the "imagining" of "idealized" suburban houses and the way such ideas are transposed and applied to vernacular houses in rural areas. It moves from an examination of developer housing and advertising in Thailand's middle-class suburbs to their effects on vernacular construction in a village in the Isaan region of northeast Thailand.

New house forms embody new construction technologies (concrete and masonry), new forms of representation and imagery, and new spatial structures (floor plans). The focus of the paper is on the effects of this transformation on everyday life and spatial practices in rural Thailand. While new house types are adopted for their social meanings and status, the new spatial structure produces a complex relationship with traditional practices. Using a simplified version of Hillier's spatial-syntax analysis, the paper shows that new houses are comprised of a fundamentally different cluster of spatial categories from traditional houses. Thus, everyday practices such as cooking, eating, sleeping, watching TV, and socializing must be reconfigured if people are to live in them as they have been conceived. Meanwhile, traditional spaces used for social interaction, such as those beneath timber houses, have been deleted, and other spaces, such as the formal front porch, denote status but remain unused.

One effect of this transformation is that the public/private interface has been transformed. However, as the paper shows, everyday life in rural Thailand is not directly compatible with these houses as they have been "imagined." Instead, contemporary rural houses are adapted to "work" in much the same way as traditional houses. Owners typically reconfigure them to construct the same spatial sequence (public space — outdoor living space — interior space — private "deep" space) as in traditional houses. As a result, a schizophrenic architecture has been produced, where spatial representations and practices are split. The imaginary becomes the real, and the real becomes a new configuration, blending tradition with modernity.

A NOBLE LIFE: COMMODIFICATION OF TRADITIONS IN MODERN HONG KONG
Lynne DiStefano and Debbie Wong Tak Yee

The idea of home embodies both tangible (physical environment) and intangible (lifestyle) components which are usually rooted in one's cultural traditions. Hong Kong, with its colonial past, is a city known for its layering of Eastern and Western traditions — those, respectively, of the Cantonese and the British. This layering has percolated through many aspects of life in the city. Yet, while the British way of living has traditionally been one of town and country, the Cantonese have long been accustomed to a high-density urban environment.

Guided by the principles of Confucianism, Han Chinese populations generally place great emphasis on the home and its associated traditions. Hong Kong, a city where more than 90 percent of the population is ethnic Chinese, is no different, and its Cantonese residents place great importance on the "home" and its associated

"home life." In Hong Kong, however, several thousand years of Confucian dogma have also come under the powerful influence of colonialism and globalization. As a result, lifestyle preferences in this postcolonial, postindustrial city are today undergoing a rather twisted paradigm shift, producing the net effect of cultural confusion.

The confusion is most clearly manifest in Hong Kong's most luxurious residential developments. Developers have created a hyper-real platform of sophisticated associations to promote and sell these ultra-expensive products. Despite their high-rise, high-density nature, they are often designed using Postmodern architectural styles inspired by Georgian manor houses, French châteaux, and Italian villas to evoke association with European town-and-country traditions. Advertisements reinforce such images by depicting (often with Western models in period costumes) bygone activities related to the European upper class: tea drinking, skeet shooting, horseback riding, rowing, and fencing. But the real absurdity is that the dream of such a fantasy lifestyle, so out of touch with time, context and reality, is actually more than an advertising gimmick; it is a reality for those who can afford to live in these developments. Indeed, facilities for all the above-mentioned activities are actually provided in one of them. As one developer boasts on its website, "[Each flat] represents a different European flavour, depicting royal living styles from different eras . . . our new generation buyers [will] live like kings and queens."

How are these "hyper-traditions" expressed in luxurious residential architecture in Hong Kong? And why, more specifically, have developers in Hong Kong turned to European traditions and lifestyles, as if they are producing stage sets for period dramas, in their new high-rise apartment developments? What does this strategy say about perceptions of cultural identity and heritage, or, perhaps, the transformation or loss of traditions? The paper will address the creation of hyper-traditions in real places in Hong Kong, and examine how colonialism and globalization may have influenced such a phenomenon. It is hoped that the study will give a better understanding of the influence of such hyper-traditions in the evolution of local ideas of home and associated home life in today's culturally confused urban habitat.

TRADITION OF CELEBRATION: REDEFINING SELVES AND RECLAIMING THE IDENTITY OF CHINESE INDONESIANS IN THE POST-NEW ORDER ERA
Gunawan Tjahjono

The cultural expressions of Chinese Indonesians have survived various political upheavals. One of the most serious trials came as a result of the New Order government, during which Chinese Indonesians were treated as second-rate, things Chinese were excluded from mainstream Indonesian culture, and Chinese festivals were not allowed. Such conditions changed as "reformist" governments replaced the New Order regime; and starting with the democratic administration of Abdulrachman Wahid, expressions of Chinese culture have gradually recovered, so that today it is again a part of the Indonesian national cultural agenda.

Examples of the resurgence of Chinese culture include the recent appearance of Chinese elements in the new gates of Pasar Baru, despite the absence of any historical record of such an influence. The Chinese Indonesian society has also proposed building a Chinese Pavilion in the Beautiful Indonesia Mini Park, replicating the Chinese palace built in Taiwan (itself modeled after that in mainland China). Chinese newspapers and schools have re-entered Indonesia's public sphere. And Chinatown revival movements have surfaced in many big cities, such as Surabaya and Semarang. Of these recent expressions, the expansion of the Sampo Temple in Semarang exemplifies the overdone or hyper-real — a wrong-doing that humiliates the religion of a historic figure. By doing so, certain members of the Chinese society have attempted to shed the identity of Chinese-Indonesians as one of the country's many ethnic groups.

This year the peak of the Chinese New Year celebration took place along the main streets of Old Jakarta, with participants including Jakarta's governor, vice governor, and other high-ranking municipal officials. The carnival became a spectacle equal to or even surpassing those celebrating the Western and Muslim New Years. During the fifteen days of the Chinese New Year, many shopping malls in big cities such as Jakarta, Semarang, Surabaya and Medan competed to attract shoppers by decorating their interiors with Chinese elements. The strategy indicates how things Chinese have become useful for promotional purposes, just as real estate developers now include references to "China Town" in their selling schemes.

The paper examines the phenomenon of Chinese culture in Indonesia today as a (re)newal of tradition. Chinese-Indonesians are now the third most populous ethnic group in Indonesia, after the Javanese and Sundanese. But since the May 1998 political disaster, in which they were the major victims, they have largely reconstructed their identity in hyper-real forms. By scrutinizing architectural objects related to Chinese Indonesians, I attempt to reveal the collective dynamic of rediscovering a once-suppressed identity. Chinese Indonesians are in various ways now negotiating space and time to produce and reproduce hybrid cultural expressions. The effort encompasses processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization as they seek to reestablish their identity at the time when the emotionally linked "home land" has become a global spectacle. As in Debord's society of spectacle, the search for self remains a struggle.

COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND INVENTED TRADITION: THE GREEK ISLAND OF FOLEGANDROS AND ITS PROMOTION VIA THE INTERNET
Eleni K. Aga

Despite the well-established boundaries that have been constructed by humans via the practice of social relations, places have features that are both intrinsic and authentic, albeit derived from innumerable influences originating elsewhere (Massey, 2000). We should not therefore see tradition as "fixity and stasis" (Jacobs,

2004), but as something "continuously sent and chaotically received throughout all generations" (Luke). When we speak today of contemporary methods of communication, transport, and information-provision, there are indeed no boundaries, as we are all consumers of the same communicative products. "Around the world examples abound of how the invention of tradition as an expression of market-driven cultural differentiation may produce a 'hyper-real' environment which transcends and replaces its original sources of inspiration" (Irazabal). Examples of such places include holiday destinations advertised on Internet sites. Such Locations advertise both traditional architecture and newly built hotels, striving to embody both their own variants of tradition and a range of conveniences for their users/customers.

The presentation examines the case of Folegandros, a Greek island of the Cyclades. The newly constructed hotel complexes here are advertised to visitors by both texts and photographic material (places of interest, panoramic photographs, the Castle, nightlife, beaches, agricultural life, notable people, farming settlement buildings). Selected as these are by nonspecialists, the material conveys an incomplete image of the built environment. But it still presents a certain uniformity, specifically in the choice of elements to be highlighted (panoramic photographs and selectively excerpted views of the islands' key sights). At the same time, given the Internet's wherewithal to embellish reality and render such products more attractive by magnifying certain elements while diminishing or omitting others, a systematic attempt is made to avoid elements that might reflect negatively on the image.

A comparison of various promotional sites also reveals a standardization in the choice of architectural forms, construction details, and paint colors in buildings — which are typically set in a coherent arrangement around a swimming pool. The contrast also makes it evident that the elements are to be grouped into two categories: those that attempt to imitate local tradition; and those, foreign to the locality, which aim to provide comfort and luxury. The virtually identical image that finally emerges of the products being promoted makes it difficult to choose between them.

The hyper-reality of invented tradition is compounded by the hyper-reality created by means of projection (Internet). Detailed representation of the manmade environment, following the schema of the palimpsest, remains one of the weak points of simulation. In its fragmentariness, it has a Gro-plan-like dimension to it. It imparts direction to the gaze, creating a cinematographic sensation of reality that deprives the user-spectator of the theatrical view of real space, leading to a different sense of reality. As in the example of Seaside, Florida, history nevertheless indicates that, whether it is a question of creating invented tradition or simulating such invention, this will be of interest when the name and the aesthetic of its creator is bestowed upon it. At such times it becomes useful to the general public, by improving public taste and the lived experience of the "real."

THE CITY AS MIRROR IMAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMPANY: KELAPA GADING, JAKARTA
Evawani Ellisa

Private housing construction has boomed in Jakarta since the metropolitan government applied a new enabling framework. Indeed, some new residential projects have become so large they include their own schools, hospitals, banks, malls, offices and recreation centers, effectively becoming cities within a city.

Among the many independent entities that are today coming to compose metropolitan Jakarta, Kelapa Gading is one of the most successful. In 1976, Kelapa Gading was an area of about 10 hectares, consisting of modest, middle-class housing. Now it encompasses some 500 hectares, having drastically transformed a swampy no-man's land into a satellite city of almost 20,000 housing units, shophouses and malls. Using Kelapa Gading as a case study, this paper examines how development companies have invented a new dimension of tradition. The study is based on an investigation of the existing built environment as well as the processes through which the township was created and is today represented as a new city.

The study reveals how Kelapa Gading represents a neotraditional town, which has grown according to the vision, internal logic, and self-determined aims of a real estate company. More specifically, the city has been invented by Sucipto Nagaria, a single individual who has used the law to comprehensively control its growth, development, and morphology. In developing its major parts, Nagaria has imitated and replicated successful developments elsewhere. Nevertheless, he has acted as an innovator by controlling the imitated artifacts to realize his vision.

Part of his vision for enhancing entrepreneurship was to allow a concentration of ethnic Chinese in Kelapa Gading. As a result, it today encompasses two types of communities. One is an established, settled community living in fortified houses behind gates; this represents a real community leading a real life. The other consists of newly established communities who are living in highly protected enclaves, but who are largely without roots. This represents a community of the hyper-real.

Quite apart from the process of gating its housing complexes, the public spaces in Kelapa Gading's commercial center remain places of social mixture and coexistence between diverse socioeconomic and ethnic groups. The company has employed these public spaces to invent new traditions through extraordinary montages of modern cultures, expressed in festivals and carnivals. Time will tell whether the enhancement of such public spaces can be used not only as a commercial selling point but as a framework for creating a dynamic and constantly fluid social milieu.

B.5 TRADITION AND THE HYPER-MODERN

HYPER-TRADITIONS AND HYPER-REALITY: THE OLD AND NEW IN JAPAN
Nelson Graburn
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

TRANSITORY SITES: MAPPING DUBAI'S "FORGOTTEN" URBAN PUBLIC SPACES
Yasser Elsheshtawy
United Arab Emirates University, El-Ain, U.A.E.

EXPLORING HYPER-TRADITIONS THROUGH URBAN MORPHOLOGY IN MUMBAI
Debabardhan Upadhyaya
University of Sheffield, U.K.

THE CULTURAL DOUBLE HELIX OF HYPER-MODERNIZATION AND HYPER-TRADITIONALIZATION
Sidh Sintusingha
University of Melbourne, Australia

VIRTUAL INTERVENTIONS: THE IMPACT OF INTERACTIVE SOUNDSCAPES AND VISUAL STIMULATION ON PHYSICAL ARCHITECTURAL SPACES
Nadia Mounajjed, Chengzhi Peng, and Stephen Walker
University of Sheffield, U.K.

HYPER-TRADITIONS AND HYPER-REALITY: THE OLD AND NEW IN JAPAN
Nelson Graburn

The hyper- in "hyper-traditions," like its older brother, "hyper-reality" (Baudrillard, 1975; Eco, 1986), has been associated with postmodernity and the dialectical processes of de- and redifferentiation, yet it continues to vex a variety of authorities. The "hyper-" connotes hypertrophy, i.e., exaggeration and unreality, in forms such as deterritorialization, technological simulacra, and temporal displacements such as nostalgic re-creation. But just as Baudrillard and Eco found hyper-reality in the places where they predicted in North America, so the identification of hyper-traditions may depend on the positionality of the viewer.

Some have identified hyper-tradition as a well-nigh-essential part of "heritage-making" for tourism (Dinero, 2002) — that is, the exaggeration and enhancement of select aspects by insiders in response to outsiders' expectations of difference. However, this selection and enhancement of iconic features, so similar to MacCannell's (1973, 1976) "Naming, Framing, Elevation and Reproduction," was the orthodox method of place-making in early and late-modern Japan (Graburn, 1995). Others have seen hyper-tradition in the effort to (re)make a place in the "image of its image" (Dorst, 1980). This phenomenon has been widespread since the invention of photography (Benjamin 1972), but it was also not unknown in premodern Asia through the imitation of widely distributed sacred scrolls and prints.

The almost universal practice of hypertrophy of multivalent symbols, both in the sense of enlargement and technological proliferation, also lies at the core of the advertising industry and the display of political authority. In contemporary Japan it is evident in such monsters as the "city within a city" of Roppongi Hills, containing the headquarters of Asahi TV and the Mori Art Museum. It is also evident in the Sea-Gaia artificial shore in Miyazaki prefecture and the hyper-real "Little World" anthropology "museum" of 31 imported foreign villages (Graburn, 2004). These were all built using the latest technologies to recast the image of a place, to make a nationally known statement, and to attract millions of tourists.

Yet what about the hyper-traditions of the 100-meter-tall Buddha built on Awaji Island in the 1970s? The gigantic Buddhas of Kamakura and Nara, built one thousand years before that? Or even the tomb of the Emperor Nintoku built two thousand years ago in Sakai (South Osaka) — which remains the largest man-made object in the world? All these structures were built for the same purposes, and appeared hypertrophied to their visitors then. What about now?

TRANSITORY SITES: MAPPING DUBAI'S "FORGOTTEN" URBAN PUBLIC SPACES
Yasser Elsheshtawy

The panorama-city is a "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. The voyeur-god created by this fiction, who, like Schreber's God, knows only cadavers, must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviors and make himself alien to them. The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below," below the threshold at which visibility begins. They walk — an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandermaenner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it.

The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representation, it remains daily and indefinitely other.

A migrational, or metaphorical, city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city.

> — *Michel de Certeau,* The Practice of Everyday Life

To borrow from Baudrillard (who is describing Los Angeles), the city of Dubai in the United Arab Emirates is composed of

"imaginary stations" which feed reality "to a town whose mystery is precisely that it is nothing more than a network of endless, unreal circulation: a town of fabulous proportions, but without space or dimensions." It is nothing more than "an immense script and a perpetual motion picture" which needs an imaginary based on "faked phantasm." It is an amalgamation of nonrelated "nodes" connected through a virtual network. A passing visit would seemingly confirm that Dubai is not a city in the conventional sense, but rather a set of "cities" connected by a network of highways. This is, of course, the planner's view — a view from above. It is also similar to what has emerged out of global-city research, whereby successful cities are conceived as nodes on a network, command points in a global economy, with all others trying to follow/emulate them. Here, there are no real people — merely passive consumers, following the dictates of global capitalism. In short, a simulacrum, a fictional city, as de Certeau reminds us.

If one truly tries to understand the city of Dubai, or any city for that matter, one needs to move closer to places where everyday life is taking place. There, one will find a series of vibrant spaces which offer a sense of comfort and inclusiveness for the city's migrants — thus creating a "migrational city," which "slips into the planned city," according to de Certeau. The significance of these spaces stems from the fact that they are a "haven" for the city's multiethnic community, a setting where users from lower socioeconomic backgrounds can interact without having to enter the more exclusive zones reserved for higher-income segments of society. Such areas are imbued with meaning and serve as places to connect to home countries. Thus, territories are marked through traces such as the placement of paper lights celebrating the Indian Diwali festival, the presence of advertisements geared toward compatriots, the playing of culturally specific sports such as cricket in parking lots, and the writing of graffiti.

This paper reports on a mapping of urban public spaces in Dubai's traditional areas — Deira, Satwa and Karama. It studied both the morphology of these spaces and their history, use and users. In addition, photography was used to document migratory traces, thus constructing a narrative of identity, resistance and connectedness. Through this narrative, using de Certeau's constructs, the paper attempts to read the "urban text" written by these migrants. The paper illustrates that while modernity (globalization) may lend itself to exclusiveness, local aspects persist, and may in fact be strengthened as a form of resistance.

EXPLORING HYPER-TRADITIONS THROUGH URBAN MORPHOLOGY IN MUMBAI
Debabardhan Upadhyaya

Developed initially as an outpost of European colonization on the Indian subcontinent, Mumbai typifies the changing spatial paradigms found in world centers of trade and commerce today. Through the years, its growth has been piecemeal, dictated by prevailing commercial and political forces. The resulting morphology is a mosaic that represents an incremental overlay of forces. This paper studies the correlation between these older traces of urban metamorphosis and new identities emerging from contemporary migration patterns. In particular, it is based on a exploration of identity, heritage and migration in south Mumbai. Will hyper-traditions influence this area's changing morphology? Can this theme provide a basis for a new understanding of the area?

The presentation begins with an exploration of Mumbai's development during the pre-Independence era. During this period the physical infrastructure of future globalization started taking shape through the reconfiguration of urban lands on the once-fortified island. The paper then explores the dramatic expansion of Mumbai during the post-Independence era. Against a backdrop of established heritage, a cycle of mass-migration brought new commercial and political influences that greatly changed its in urban form. In present times, the city's continued rapid transmutation has escalated to the point where it is akin to a metaphorical interweaving of built narratives, and these have once again dramatically altered notions of time and space. As a result, Mumbai's urban form can be read today as an accumulation of many impulsive and gradual manifestations, rather than a large-scale superimposition of a preconceived order, similar to the complex nature of conceptualization of "hyper-traditions."

In order to explore this thematic premise, the paper examines recent attempts to simulate the sequence of Mumbai's morphological change from past to present day. Among other things, this work shows how the recent call for an ambitious process of "Shanghai-fication" would, in essence, cause an acceleration of this phenomenon, reaching out and taking root in varieties of tangible and intangible form. Expressions of an acceptance of inherent dynamism in morphology could thus be aptly explored as a "hyper-traditional" globalized culture that continues to renew the urban image and daily experience of Mumbai. We thus may accept in principle the "concept of hyper-traditions" as a way to understanding the city's changing urbanity. But it remains to be seen whether we can actually predict a structural analogy, an influence on urban morphology that forms the basis for defining an urban schema's traditionalism in essence and spirit.

THE CULTURAL DOUBLE HELIX OF HYPER-MODERNIZATION AND HYPER-TRADITIONALIZATION
Sidh Sintusingha

While globalization and global tourism give rise to localized "hyper-traditionalization," it also lays the seeds of the "twin" indigenous phenomenon of "hyper-modernization," with which it exists in a dual, yin-yang relationship. In other words, one begets the other, and the practices are complexly intertwined. It may be easy to dismiss "hyper-modernization" as a condition of neo/self-colonization, a discrimination against one's own cultural roots. But the paper argues that this allegation is simplistic because hyper-modernists frequently aim to up the ante over the modernists. Thus, while Europe and America doubt the modernist utopia and become "societies of the spectacle," in economically fast-expanding East Asia, that utopia is

being pursued with fanatical vigor. In a rush to rise from "developing" to "developed," and to move from "backward" to "most advanced," these societies are eagerly adopting and displaying an array of advanced technologies in the urban realm, seeking to create a spectacle of technology. These phenomena also express themselves in the realm of abstract culture and attitudes, where it is difficult to untangle the hyper-traditionalists from the hyper-modernists; any person — and any place — may display the conflicting symptoms of both.

The paper explores the contestations and collusions between the hyper-modern and hyper-traditional in the cultural landscapes of contemporary Thailand. It focuses on the fetish for "mega-projects," both hyper-modern and hyper-traditional, that are dominating and transforming urban and cultural spaces in the country. Among these have been such hyper-modern infrastructure projects as Bangkok's Suvarnabhumi Airport, mass-transit system, and ubiquitous raised expressways and bridges. Among the country's many new hyper-traditional spaces, some are primarily designed to cater to the local populace, such as new urban public parks (such as Queen Sirikit Park in Bangkok) and places of worship (such as the "mega-temples" of Wat Sothorn Woraramworawiharn and Wat Dhammakaya). Others cater to external audiences/consumers through global typologies (such as the Four Seasons, and the "hyper-authentic" Oriental Mandarin Dhara Dhevi resort in Chiang Mai).

These contemporary phenomena, it is suggested, have roots in the nineteenth-century era of European colonization, when the Siamese ruling elite had to develop a split personality to accommodate the colonization threat and also retain cultural autonomy. This was reflected semantically in the change of the country's name in 1939 from the indigenous "Siam" to the global "Thailand." Thus, an officially uncolonized, non-English-speaking country adopted an English name, with the Thai translation of *"Prathet Thai"* for its own people.

Hyper-modernization and hyper-traditionization are entrenched and manifested today at multiple levels and scales of Thai society. Some are evident in current government policies, such as those declared in the www.modernizethailand.com website, or through the Finance Minister's aspiration to turn Thailand "into ten Singapores." This is also the first government to have a Minister for Culture, and traditional forms and festivities are now being utilized on an unprecedented scale to promote tourism and (over)affirm national identity.

VIRTUAL INTERVENTIONS: THE IMPACT OF INTERACTIVE SOUNDSCAPES AND VISUAL STIMULATION ON PHYSICAL ARCHITECTURAL SPACES
Nadia Mounajjed, Chengzhi Peng, and Stephen Walker

Virtual interventions refer to the contemporary expansion of interactive projections (video imagery and soundscapes) in architectural and urban environments. These interventions feed into a growing virtual layer that includes communication networks and surveillance. Such interventions may have a significant impact on people's perceptual experience in the city. Still, they often remain superficial and detached from the architectural context, failing to provide a substantial union between the virtual and the real. A

key aspect of this phenomenon is the often inadequate nature of the "interface" relating the users, the site, and the city. There is a need to rethink aspects of the design/implementation of this interface in relation to physical environments to achieve a better experience for its users.

In this paper, we suggest a theoretical outline for the design of interfaces when used in virtual interventions in architecture. We draw on Merleau-Ponty's explanation of "The Chiasm" and the hierarchy of sensory perception (1968). Three characteristics are identified: the physical, the metaphysical, and the field of exchange. This leads to considering the interface as a field of exchange and communication between a naturalistic/visual layer and a real/physical environment, and between body and environment. In this context, we discuss the emblematic significance of the interface, which may contain references to body representation, site-specificity, and memory. We also examine the potential of virtual projections in the space of the city — in the construction of individual and collective memories, and in evoking cultural, social, and even historical connections.

The study is supported by discussion of three interactive interventions: "Sited Moss: Fading or Invading Architecture" (Kim and Mounajjed, 2004); "Under Scan: Relational Architecture #11" (Lozano-Hemmer, 2005/06); and "Threshold" (Mounajjed et al., 2006). These case studies provide real practical examples of virtual interventions and of the implications of interface design in enhancing or influencing architectural experience.

It is hoped this study will contribute to research on interaction and experienced-based design, as well as to discussion of architectural and environmental design.

C.5 REIMAGINING ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

PAINTING THE MOUTH: IDENTITY, HERITAGE AND MIGRATION
Paul Oliver
Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, U.K.

HYPER-IDENTITY AND KUWAITI ARCHITECTURE
Yasser Mahgoub
Kuwait University, Kuwait

YEMEN'S CISTERNS AT HIGH ALTITUDES
Morna Livingston
Philadelphia University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

MERGING OLD AND NEW: SAIFI VILLAGE, BEIRUT CITY CENTER
Sofia Shwayri
New York University, New York, U.S.A.

STAGED AUTHENTICITY: DAKSHINACHITRA MUSEUM OF ARTS AND CRAFTS, SOUTH INDIA
Sushmita Prabhakar
University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.

PAINTING THE MOUTH: IDENTITY, HERITAGE AND MIGRATION
Paul Oliver

Boca, a small quarter in Buenos Aires, Argentina, is a harbor area close to the mouth, or *boca*, of the Rio de la Plata. It was developed as trade imports and exports became important for the capital city, and was largely manned by Italian immigrants, who settled in their thousands in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although their presence is sometimes overlooked, it was not inconsiderable: even that most typical of Argentine cultural expressions, the "tango" dance, is largely credited to the Italian presence.

While the buildings of the main street of the Boca area are relatively well-established, the nearby houses of harbor workers, longshoremen and others were inexpensively built within walking distance of the port, close to the railroad freight line. With narrow frontages, but rectangular in plan and frequently in rows, the houses were framed in light timber and clad in wood boarding. Many suffered from exposure to heat and to rain and slowly rotted. To effect rapid repairs, the Italian immigrant occupants introduced corrugated iron sheeting, which was nailed in place of the wood cladding. The uniformly dull grey appearance of the metal sheeting subsequently proved dissatisfactory, and many building occupants responded by painting it.

As subsequent generations asserted their inheritance of immigrant Italian practices, it became the tradition to repaint the sheet-iron walls. Examination of the backstreet dwellings, which include a few that still retain their original wooden cladding, indicates that the painting was originally unostentatious, accounting for its being ignored outside the community for several decades. But in the mid-1950s, a young man who had been raised by stevedores but worked as cook, began to draw and subsequently paint studies of fellow workers in local contexts, including their colored houses. His paintings gained purchasers and attracted other artists to the harbor areas, many of whom were inspired by the painted buildings. As recognition grew, other premises were increasingly painted in vivid, sometimes clashing colors, whether or not they were iron-clad.

This paper traces the background of the custom at Boca and the increasing emphasis on the tradition of painting the corrugated iron sheets, noting its transfer to the cafes, restaurants, souvenir shops, and other establishments designed to attract tourists. With the pedestrianization of a painted street, and the movement of the tradition to the harbor fronts from the dwellings of the Italian quarter (which tourists are advised not to visit), an exotic and much publicized hyper-tradition has been developed. Today, the largest vessel moored in the harbor has been adopted as an art gallery of Boca, and has further hyped the tradition — which is, nonetheless, tenaciously held onto by the Italian population.

Among the many unresolved issues concerning tradition are those related to its nature: when does a habit become a custom, and under what circumstances does a custom become a tradition? These issues are further complicated by the concept of "hyper" tradition: at what stage may a tradition be considered to be a hyper-tradition, and is this irreversible? Some answers to these questions are offered on the basis of the Boca example.

HYPER-IDENTITY AND KUWAITI ARCHITECTURE
Yasser Mahgoub

This paper discusses the concept of hyper-identity as it relates to architecture and the built environment in Kuwait since the discovery of oil. It focuses on the transformation of cultural identity and its impact on architecture and the built environment. The paper analyzes several projects that attempt to reinvent this lost tradition and identity at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The city-state of Kuwait has evolved during the second half of the twentieth century under the influence of economic, international and global change. After living for hundreds of years in traditional environments, Kuwaitis migrated to planned neighborhoods during the 1950s and 1960s as a result of economic prosperity following the discovery of oil during the 1940s. When the oil flowed, population boomed, the city sprawled, and Kuwaiti identity was forever changed.

The rapid expansion was matched by hastily made plans. The first Kuwait Master Plan of the 1950s was based loosely on standard city planning of postwar Europe. It tore down old, familiar structures, and replaced them with new ones that were alien to the culture. The city center, once a place where families lived, shopped, worked and played, was reclassified as a commercial district, and its former residents were shifted to Western-style family homes and apartments. Since then, the stock-market crash of the

1980s was followed by the dramatic experience of invasion and liberation of the 1990s. Finally, the events of the twenty-first century have provided new opportunities for Kuwait to catch up with other rapidly developing Gulf countries.

This rapid cultural transformation has resulted in a vibrant, jumpy and agitated identity: a hyper-identity. It has also idealized the past and the reinvention of lost tradition. The problem of architecture and buildings is that they are more tangible, static and lasting than other products of culture. They freeze moments of cultural process as products of a certain time and era. Baudrillard has called this "architecture's cultural omnipresence." While cultures change rapidly, their architectural products remain unchanged, expressing moments of cultural change and development.

Architecture is a "story-teller," and its narrative provides the basis for understanding identity. The paper concludes that identity is a meaning-making process, and that multiple identities may coexist at the same time. Identity can also shift from one state to another, adjusting to external pressures and circumstances. When searching for cultural identity, we should expect be find several overlapping identities: a hyper-identity.

YEMEN'S CISTERNS AT HIGH ALTITUDES
Morna Livingston

As aloof from outsiders as Japan was before the arrival of Commodore Perry, Yemen first allowed modern technology inside its borders after the last emir was deposed in the 1960s. Since then, men have adopted the wristwatch, the Kalashnikov, the cell phone, and the Subaru; women have adopted the metal house key (worn as jewelry) and the plastic bucket; and towns, wherever possible, have wrapped themselves in water pipes and electric lines.

Lodged between the fundamentalism of the Saudi deserts to the north and a different brand of Islam in the ancient lands of incense to the south and east (the Hadramawt and the Marib), Yemen's highland architecture, particularly its cisterns, exists in a world now torn between an ancient past and a hyper-real vision of what it means to be modern. As the country builds water projects sponsored both by its own and outside governments, thousands of cisterns that formerly watered the country have fallen into disuse. Only two traditional cistern types are resisting this pressure: the agricultural tanks that quench the thirsty *qat* trees, whose leaves are chewed by almost every Yemeni male in the afternoons; and the *hammam* cisterns of the myriad rural mosques.

One major paradox of maintaining cisterns in such a visibly medieval landscape is that no modern material can compete with *qadad*, an intensely laborious but versatile plaster invented in Yemen three thousand years ago. A complicated and polished mix of burned lime and volcanic aggregate that becomes as hard as smooth marble with beating, it is applied to rough stone. In an attempt to be a modern, Yemenis initially abandoned this material, but schools have sprung up in the last twenty years in an attempt to reignite an appreciation among local workmen of their own building traditions. With regard to a country that places such immense value on its own past, this paper examines how the maintenance of a building type that allows the continuation of long-held ways of socializing and worshipping is presenting issues of preservation that tradition by itself cannot resolve.

MERGING OLD AND NEW: SAIFI VILLAGE, BEIRUT CITY CENTER
Sofia Shwayri

Saifi village is a traditional residential environment equipped with all the requirements of modern living. Located at the southeastern edge of Beirut city center, the village was begun in the mid-1990s by Solidere, the private company created by the Lebanese government in 1994 to oversee the reconstruction of the Central District following fifteen years of civil strife and destruction.

As it struggled to create a modern center that would be respectful of the past and instrumental in helping Beirut regain its prewar role as a major regional economic node, the five-thousand-year history of the Central District posed a unique challenge for Solidere. In general it has meant the regeneration of the inner city and the development of the waterfront. But regeneration of the inner city was interpreted by Solidere to include two modes of preservation. One consists of preserving the urban fabric as a complete entity; the other consists of preserving only elements of this fabric, such as street patterns, parcels and buildings.

The latter approach, especially the preservation of street patterns, was followed in the construction of the Saifi village. However, according to Solidere, construction of the village has entailed more than this: the design of its buildings has also attempted to blend old and new. In this case, the old is embodied by the residential architecture that still survives across George Haddad Boulevard at the northern edge of the reconstructed Central District. The new consists of apartment blocks inspired by the local vernacular, but adhering to modern, international standards — including those for fire protection systems, facilities for the handicapped, building management and monitoring systems, and audio-visual security systems.

This paper will examine this approach of blending traditional and modern design ideas. Solidere's ultimate goal in Saifi village appears to be to re-create the traditional Lebanese central-hall house, with all the comforts of modern living in a traditional neighborhood. The result, as some urbanists have noted, is a neo-traditional architecture. I argue that Saifi village is a hyper-traditional environment that accommodates various interpretations of the traditional invented by Solidere and seized on by young immigrant Lebanese professionals selected by the company.

These design values are further emphasized by the location of the village at the eastern edge of the reconstruction project. Here Georges Haddad Boulevard acts as a clear demarcation between the original, traditional residential fabric of prewar Beirut and the "copy" of postwar Beirut envisioned by the company. Furthermore, the privileged location of Saifi village in the city center in close proximity to the *suqs*, seafront, and other commercial and recreational facilities of the central city, is a world apart from the urban life of the majority of Beirutis, who have been alienated geographically by the project.

STAGED AUTHENTICITY: DAKSHINACHITRA MUSEUM OF ARTS AND CRAFTS, SOUTH INDIA
Sushmita Prabhakar

India lives in its villages — or does it? The migration of people from villages to cities in search of better living conditions has resulted in a decline of local arts, crafts, and cultural production. In today's capitalistic society, this dearth has been counteracted by an upsurge in the creation of boutique villages. One such effort is the DakshinaChitra museum, celebrating South India's diverse villages and their housing styles. The museum "exhibits" have been disassembled from their original locations and reassembled at the site. Is this re-creation a pedantic effort to lend our lives a surface effect of identity?

Overlooking the Bay of Bengal, DakshinaChitra is located in Muttukadu, on the outskirts of Chennai and on the road to the historic site of Mamallapuram. This raises a question: does the site for DakshinaChitra hold any significance? Many of its houses were originally designed for a particular climate and belong to unique cultural settings. Does this translate here? At DakshinaChitra one finds a random disposition of buildings with little or no sensitivity to the spirit of a place.

Take the example of *agraharams*. In reality, the temples act as nuclei for the growth of communities. Thus, an *agraharam* is read in the context of a temple setting, and vice versa. Also, the presence of certain *agraharams* near the river reflects the everyday practices of its people worshipping the river. At DakshinaChitra a contextual reading of these houses in the absence of a larger, richer cultural landscape challenges the very existence and need for such "transplants." By doing so, are we weighing the importance of material culture against culture that arises out of values, customs and beliefs?

Renowned Indian writer R.K. Narayan's *Malgudi Days* functions as a cultural reproduction of a utopian present India sketched from the point of view of an upper-class/-caste intellectual. It is the utopia of benevolent Hinduism — a model city, the order and set patterns of which cement a conservative society. By re-creating a nostalgic and mythicized Indian past, this fictional town of Malgudi expresses a desire within the Indian diaspora — in this case, in the Brahmin community. Is DakshinaChitra of similar nature? If we were to compare DakshinaChitra with other tourism efforts, it does appear to mythicize the glory of the past — of the Brahmin community, as opposed to the government's efforts to promote the Dravidian culture.

However, one must not forget that DakshinaChitra is also a genuine attempt to contribute to the socioeconomic sector, and it does provide an opportunity for the global to meet the local. Also, there is a strong need for such efforts, because culture that arises out of values, customs, and beliefs is passed on from generation to generation, whereas material culture is the tangible victim of the outside forces of modernization and globalization. This raises the most important question: Is this the answer to a culture in crisis?

A.6 MEDIATING RELIGION

HYPER-HINDUISM: THE INTERNET AND THE REMAKING OF "INDIA"
M. Reza Pirbhai
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, U.S.A.

XENA MEETS KRISHNA: PUTTING GODS ON TELEVISION
Gail H. Sutherland
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, U.S.A.

VODUN ART AND THE HYPER-VISUALIZATION OF AFRICA
Peter Sutherland
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, U.S.A.

FATWAS ON THE MAINFRAME
Reem A. Meshal
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, U.S.A.

HYPER-HINDUISM: THE INTERNET AND THE REMAKING OF "INDIA"
M. Reza Pirbhai

Scholarly treatments of premodern Hinduism unanimously convey the heterogeneous nature of that tradition. They not only outline the historical development of doctrinal variety, but also emphasize the dichotomy between written and oral forms, regional and linguistic differences, sectarian divides, and class-based divergences. The rise of Indian nationalism in the colonial context and the growth of diasporic communities in the postcolonial era, however, have created a new impetus for homogenization, which has partly been facilitated by the profusion of print media. The recent onset of Internet culture has quite obviously furthered this trend and provided another viable medium by which to cater to the burgeoning demand for an ultimately simplified and mobile Hinduism to which all adherents can uniformly subscribe.

This article surveys a host of websites, usually associated with political and cultural organizations that operate out of India, Britain and the U.S.A., and that are dedicated to the dissemination of Hindu history, theology, and political ideals. It finds that the push for uniformity has, in fact, given way to the construction of an "orthodoxy" that entirely effaces the heterogeneity of the past. The irony of this finding, however, lies in the observation that homogeneity in message has arisen with a broadening in the pool of contributors and readers. Today the caste-based and regional ties of even colonial-era Hindu intellectuals and organizations have largely been replaced by multicaste readership; writing by non-pandits, including bureaucrats, journalists and engineers located in any of the major diasporic centers; and a marked

involvement of scholars and lay persons from non-South Asian backgrounds, such as Europeans and Americans.

Rather than resulting in the "totalizing force" that globalization was expected to yield, this trend has not only facilitated re-engagement with a particular tradition, it has helped create a particularist definition of that heritage. In this light, "Hyper-Hinduism" stands as the quintessence of a hyper-religious tradition, tearing apart premodern forms and ties with locale (i.e., "India"), while simultaneously redefining the mythical and social map of the "real" space in which it originated.

XENA MEETS KRISHNA: PUTTING GODS ON TELEVISION
Gail H. Sutherland

In 1999 a television representation of the Hindu deity Krishna caused a stir among some American Hindu groups. An episode of USA Network's *Xena, Warrior Princess* showed the eponymous fantasy heroine invoking the aid of the Hindu god Krishna in order to vanquish an enemy. Despite the fact that Krishna was depicted positively, this episode of *Xena* elicited an outpouring of anger and protest. In the forefront of critics was the World Vaishnava Association (WVA), a tributary of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). The WVA's press spokesman, Tusta Krishnadas, declared in a news release that "even if the show portrayed Krishna in a favorable light, it was unacceptable if it portrayed him as *mythical* [italics mine]." My research on diasporic Hinduism in the U.S. confirms that Hindus' objections to the perceived disrespect of their religion by non-Hindus often focus on the interpretations and appropriations of Hindu "myths." In this paper, I will explore myth as a category and genre that inevitably facilitates cultural and religious diversification — often, as in this case, against the desires of religious communities.

There are obvious reasons why the concept of "myth" is problematic for Hindus. Myth has acquired a degraded status in non-scholarly Western parlance. In particular, it has come to mean amusing and sometimes scandalous stories about the exploits of primitive (i.e., non-Christian) deities. Narratives about one's own god or gods are not considered to be "myths," but objective truths. Also, the religious modality of myth does not lend itself to authoritative ideological closure. Long before satellite television and the Internet made national and cultural boundaries more permeable, Hindu Pauranikas spun webs of narrative that blurred considerations of regional origin and cultic authenticity, even while artfully suturing infinite variations into an organic master narrative.

While the WVA was able to rally more than 500 Hindus to descend upon the USA Network to protest *Xena's* appropriation of Krishna, some ISKCON devotees had a subtler grasp of the effective power of myth than their spokesman. Many of them understood the implicit theological possibilities offered by televisual hyper-reality. One Internet commentator, clearly comprehending the elusive power of mass media, wrote: "As the Krishna Consciousness Movement grows and grows, Lord Krishna's fame will continue to spread. It will hardly be practical to try and stop every single person from harboring misconceptions about Lord Sri Krishna."

In the fluid and indeterminate contexts of transnational migration and postmodern popular culture, the boundaries between religious narratives and between myth, fiction and reality are gradually dissolving (although not without sites of strident conflict), and along with them the exclusive claims of established religions to their "own" religious symbols and stories are being obscured. The Krishna episode of *Xena* serves as an isolated example of how this struggle is playing out, as middle-class-diaspora Hindus seek to establish religious boundaries between themselves and the mainstream, even while embracing the tools and opportunities which have given them unprecedented access to that mainstream of media and ideas.

VODUN ART AND THE HYPER-VISUALIZATION OF AFRICA
Peter Sutherland

My proposal uses visual culture in the Black Atlantic to interrogate the notion of hyper-tradition by juxtaposing it with what we might call hyper-modernity. I do so by comparing the circulation of African religious imagery under colonial and neoliberal globalization, and by examining the changing forms of fetishization to which this has given rise — from religious "fetish," to fetishized art commodity, to the fetishization of African diasporic identity.

According to the foundation myth of Cubism, the idiom of traditional West African sculpture was first incorporated into modern art in Picasso's painting *Les Demoiselles D'Avignon*. In the process, African religious traditions were transported to Europe under colonialism, freely translated into avant-garde aesthetics, transcribed into the history of modern art, and subsequently transvalued as a vehicle for capital accumulation in the art market. Thus, one kind of fetishism was refigured as another — namely, the materialization of spirit power as the aura of artistic "originality" — the shock of the new.

The recent case I examine reverses this colonialist trajectory of appropriation by charting the postcolonial reinscription of a series of sculptures by the contemporary Haitian artist Edouard Duval Carrie. In the process, interpretation of the sculptures has moved from modern art in the U.S.A., into traditional Vodun fetishes, and subsequently into fetishes of modern national identity in Benin (formerly Dahomey). This last step took place during and after "Ouidah '92" — a great reunion of African diasporic peoples convened to celebrate the transition from communist dictatorship to neoliberal rule.

The case shows that that hyper-tradition may be more complex than expected. Rather than the familiar semiotic reversal associated with the reterritorialization of traditional culture under conditions of modernization in which a signifier precedes and often supersedes its referent — my account charts the reverse case: the reterritorialization of modern culture under conditions of traditionalization. In particular, I examine a trans-Atlantic call and response of what may be called hyper-visualization, in which diasporic imaginings of the African homeland (from Haiti), as materialized in Duval Carrie's sculptures, are imbricated with African

evocations of its diaspora in the Americas (from Benin). This took place in a spectacle of neoliberal globalization organized by the late "Pope of Vodun" during and after the Ouidah festival — a spectacle in which the African diaspora in the Americas is fetishized as a model for traditionalizing modern national identity in Benin.

FATWAS ON THE MAINFRAME
Reem A. Meshal

A consideration of the role of modern technologies in the formulation and dissemination of Islamic law, in particular the *fatwa* (legal opinion), must begin with the acknowledgment that Islamic jurisprudence has always been deterritorial and to some extent "de-linked" from regional identity. That said, the onset of Internet technology has transformed the legal process, and hence the law produced, in several critical respects. In the first place, it has stimulated the homogenization of the law by conforming to the interpretive intellectual schools commonly referred to as "reformist fundamentalist." Notwithstanding the areas of commonality between these schools, the hybridization of their marked differences has yielded unforeseen results, particularly with regard to *fatwas* pertaining to the theory of *jihad*, the role of women in public life, and current protests surrounding the Danish cartoons of the Prophet of Islam.

The *fatwa* is a vehicle for the transmission of legal knowledge, from its inception in theory to its assimilation in practice. It was chiefly in their capacity as *muftis* (jurisconsuls) that the jurists of Islam could communicate the mundane results of their legal constructions to the *mukallafun*, those on whom the observation of the law was incumbent. Today, the availability of the Internet has accelerated the hybridization of the *fatwa* while also serving as a vehicle for the homogenization of Islamic law. Petitioners from Uruguay, Sweden or Cairo may have their queries answered by a *fatwa* board based in Singapore, India, Egypt, the Palestinian Territories, or by any number of independent *muftis* (jurists) in Europe or North America.

Apart from transcending geography, the *fatwa* boards also transcend sectarian divides to relay the opinions of both Shi'a and Sunni *muftis*. Furthermore, the language of communication is English, a residual feature of globalization. But, by far, the most striking aspect of this intra-Muslim hybridization is the collapse of what is commonly called the "two solitudes" of modern Muslim intellectual life — traditional/religious education and secular/modern education. Not only traditional Islamic scholars, but also engineers, scientists and the like, issue the *fatwas* examined. Despite the varied nature of contributors, however, one may observe a startling congruence of legal opinions. The unavoidable conclusion is that hybridity in virtual Islamic spaces is also a force for homogenization in "real" Muslim places.

B.6 HYPER-TRADITIONS AND POSTCOLONIAL LEGACIES

HONG KONG: POSTMODERN HABITUS OF PARENTHETICAL IDENTITY
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HYPED OR HYPER?: THE PRODUCTIVE F(R)ICTIONS OF TROPICAL ARCHITECTURE IN POSTCOLONIAL SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA
Jiat Hwee Chang
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

THE IMPACT OF HYPER-TOURISM ON COLONIAL BUILT HERITAGE AND ITS TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENT
Robert Ian Chaplin
Macau Polytechnic Institute, China

PARTITION AND ITS AFTERMATH: THE SEARCH FOR DELHI'S HINDU PAST
Mrinalini Rajagopalan
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

HONG KONG: POSTMODERN HABITUS OF PARENTHETICAL IDENTITY
Surajit Chakravarty

The theme of hyper-traditions aptly captures the transformation experienced by urban landscapes around the world. However, there is a need to deconstruct this phenomenon to understand the competing forces of change and hybridity, mediation and subjectivity, cause and effect.

This paper examines Hong Kong from the perspective of identity and Paul Bourdieu's notion of "habitus." It pursues the question of how space and identity are related in the city, and why this relationship has emerged as it has. While the paper focuses on the case of Hong Kong, it simultaneously attempts to generate a robust framework for analyzing the general tension between global and local identities of place.

The paper begins with an exploration of the significance of identity in understanding contemporary urban processes. It then discusses the character and role of Hong Kong within the global urban system, as described in the literature on cities and urbanism (this may be formally defined as a city's functional identity). In the ensuing discussion of place and social identity, the paper grapples with the city's present identity. The economic role and function of cities according to a modernist and deterministic classification has sometimes been contrasted to their identity in post-

modern frames of reference. Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" is proposed as a holistic and inclusive framework with which to analyze the relationship between place and identity in Hong Kong.

Image and constructed reality are critical to Hong Kong's postmodern identity, and the analysis borrows evidence and insight from the films of Wong Kar-Wai. The paper argues that cinema mediates the influence of the forces that shape the habitus of the city. Wong's films focus on how Hong Kong creates characters. The city is essential to the screenplay, and to the definition of each character. Wong's films both create and reflect Hong Kong's identity, and as such, they supply a useful resource for analysis.

The postmodern, postindustrial, post-Fordist habitus of Hong Kong is found to include the following features: (1) high consumption and consumerist culture; (2) importance paid to image, even simulacra; (3) income disparity; (4) low-wage immigrant labor and proximity to an even lower-wage option for outsourcing production and low-return services; (5) a fragmented and contested identity; and (6) a sense of loss and abandonment.

In conclusion, the paper makes a case for a comparative study of the experience of postmodernity among cities, and suggests that in the postmodern era seemingly disparate cities have more in common than can be deduced from their form and function alone. The paper argues that in order to compare local spaces in the age of global flows, we need a flexible framework of analysis, ideally one that can capture the essential "experience" (Berman, 1982) or "condition" (Harvey, 1990) of a city. To support Berman and Harvey, the paper uses works of contemporary theorists and Hong Kong experts, and attempts to deliver such a framework.

HYPED OR HYPER?: THE PRODUCTIVE F(R)ICTIONS OF TROPICAL ARCHITECTURE IN POSTCOLONIAL SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA
Jiat-Hwee Chang

Umberto Eco's *Travels in Hyperreality* and Jean Baudrillard's *America* are two of the early works that popularized the term hyper-real. Eco and Baudrillard used hyper-real to describe the "counterfeit urbanity," which they encountered in their travels in America — a simulated experience that supplanted real urbanity, presumably that of Europe. According to Mike Davis, such a mode of satirizing the American urbanscape (rendering it as a paradoxical entity characterized both by lack and excess) followed the "guidepost clichés" established by earlier European travelers/exiles such as Theodore Adorno, Bertolt Brecht, and Anton Wagner in Southern California. Could one surmise that such "hyperization" might better be understood as a historical product of cross-cultural (mis)reading than an accurate description of a contemporary cultural phenomenon? Is it really hyper, or merely hyped? Indeed, apart from its celebratory postmodern moment, such self-indulging "hyperization" may appear to be very much a part of the phenomenon it tries to describe. Thus, traveling theorists produce traveling theories (i.e., the deterritorialization of theorists and theories), and in the process, thought is

ungrounded from practice, decontextualized from specific socio-historical conditions.

In this paper, I study the phenomenon of "hyperization" by grounding it in the case of tropical architecture in postcolonial Singapore and Malaysia, and the way power/knowledge circulated in the discourses and practices of tropical architecture in two specific historical moments, between different localities. In the first moment, during the 1950s and 1960s, modern tropical architecture was "invented" as a body of scientific knowledge in Britain and disseminated to the decolonizing world — including British Malaya (the colonial territory that became Singapore and Malaysia) — as a body of depoliticized expertise as part of the politics of international development. In the second moment, during the resurgence of tropical architecture in the 1980s and 1990s, the original depoliticized discourses were repoliticized in response to the politics of identity and new modes of economic production in the globalizing world. Other than power/knowledge and discourses, I will attend to how mobility shapes subjectivity, and vice versa, in these circuits of deterritorialization.

The paper reworks certain theories of globalization and cosmopolitanism. Instead of the celebratory fictions of seamless deterritorialized "flows," I attend to the frictions in these global interconnections. In the process, I argue that every deterritorialization necessitates a reterritorialization, a situated translation of knowledge and expertise between different contexts. Besides the spatial dimension, I will also attend to the temporal dimension, historicizing these practices of deterritorialization in colonial/postcolonial contexts, linking globalization to international development to colonialism.

THE IMPACT OF HYPER-TOURISM ON COLONIAL BUILT HERITAGE AND ITS TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENT
Robert Ian Chaplin

This paper uses an empirical study to examine the physical and cultural impacts of hyper-tourism on representations of the authenticity of colonial built heritage and its traditional environment. Representation is here defined as the preservation, commodification and interpretation of the legacy of European migration and colonization in traditional environments throughout Asia. The study focuses on issues affecting the complex relationships between identity, heritage and migration in these postcolonial tourist environments. It demonstrates that the inheritors of this legacy in communities changed by tourist development are now experiencing a loss of identity, are engaged in a struggle to preserve cultural authenticity, and are threatened with the deleterious impact of the pursuit of hyper-tradition. Changes incurred by hyper-tourism proclivities, in particular, threaten the sustainability of these displaced cultures.

The paper argues that research in postcolonial environments should involve a rethinking of the role of tourism and travel in creating new visitor attractions. Too often the creation of such new sites becomes the main imperative for locales seeking a way

out of the stagnation and decline phase of the tourist-area lifecycle (Butler, 1980). Data from studies of the postcolonial tourism environment of the former Portuguese-administered Chinese territory of Macau provide examples of the specific impacts of hyper-tourism and hyper-tradition on the representation of Portuguese colonial built heritage.

The research adopts an interdisciplinary approach derived from visual anthropology, tourism impact assessment, and cultural heritage preservation and management. Impacts are identified and assessed to determine what action needs to be taken by tourism planners in collaboration with custodians and stakeholders concerned with protecting the assets of the colonial built heritage. The findings reveal that while tourism development has been instrumental in preserving the tangible iconic assets of colonial built heritage, the intangible "real" tradition may be threatened by emerging new hyper-traditions which are a product of physical and cultural transformation processes in the postcolonial environment. For tourism planners in such environments, the reassertion of tradition reconciled with contested heritage presents a dichotomy complicated by the demand of tourist markets for diversified products.

It is hoped this research will contribute to a reassessment of the value of colonial built heritage and the role of tourism in capitalizing on its assets to rejuvenate unique traditional environments. The properties and sites representing the Portuguese legacy cited in this paper are especially valuable since they embody the amalgamation of architectural styles and aesthetic forms appealing to emerging cultural tourism markets. The process of preservation and rejuvenation visible in such destinations as Macau offers a case study of the imperative for rethinking cultural authenticity and contested tradition in environments threatened by hyper-tourism.

PARTITION AND ITS AFTERMATH: THE SEARCH FOR DELHI'S HINDU PAST
Mrinalini Rajagopalan

In 1947 the Indian subcontinent was liberated from colonial domination and geographically partitioned into two distinct nation-states. However, the precision with which India was split into two geographical entities belied the messy rearrangement of national populations, their memories and histories. It was also in the context of partition that the long-standing imaginary of the Indus Valley civilization as the foundational culture for the modern nation-state of India was disrupted by the "loss" of sites such as Mohen-jo-daro to Pakistan. This essay looks at India's search for new "originary myths" and the manner in which they have reshaped urban space in postcolonial Delhi.

Divided into three parts, the essay first looks at the concerted efforts of Indian archaeologists in the 1960s and 70s to replace the proto-history of the Indus Valley with civilizational models as expressed in the Hindu epics of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha*. This meant the archaeological excavation of Delhi in order to "sci-

entifically" prove its origins as Indraprastha — a mythical city mentioned in Hindu epics. Although cloaked in the rhetoric of scientific historical inquiry, the search for Indraprastha was not merely a benevolent archaeological quest. In fact, it was propelled by a desire to discover an ancient Hindu fabric for the national capital, whose origins and history were otherwise almost exclusively Islamic and medieval.

The second part of the essay looks at the proletarian appropriation of the myth of Delhi as Indraprastha and the recent phenomenon of the *pracheen mandir*, or the antique Hindu temple in the city. Proliferating through the landscape of Delhi, these local temples have reproduced the urban myth of Indraprastha and consolidated what was until now an oral tradition into physically tangible geographies.

The third part of the essay examines the Qila Rai Pithora cultural complex, which commemorates the last Hindu king of Delhi, who died resisting Islamic invasions in the twelfth century. Built as recently as 2000, this complex gives physical form to the notion of Delhi's history as stretching beyond its Islamic origins into glorious Hindu antiquity.

Besides arguing that these sites and urban processes concretize oral traditions and mythologies through contemporary urban technologies, the essay argues that the changing landscape of Delhi is ineluctably linked to the spatialization of a masculine politics of Hindutva. This involves the mythical figure of the valiant Hindu king/warrior who emerges to counter the historical figure of the Islamic sovereign and aesthete.

If tradition is understood as continuity or transmission, the paper defines hyper-tradition as the result of the violent ruptures (the partition of the subcontinent) and discontinuities (the lack of Hindu heritage in Delhi) that characterize the modern nation-state. By using the case study of Delhi, the essay argues that hyper-tradition is more than simply the amplification or intensification of tradition. It is rather a product of the generative anxieties at sites where the modern nation-state faces a crisis of identity.

C.6 CREATING AND CONTESTING EXCLUSIONARY ARCHITECTURES

THERE'S NO REALITY LIKE HYPER-REALITY
Lineu Castello
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

THE CONFIGURATION OF A CROSS-CULTURAL THEORY OF "ARCHITECTURE": EXPLORING THE TREATISE
Paul Memmott and James Davidson
University of Queensland, Australia

GENDERING THE SPACE OF DIFFERENCES
Wijitbusaba Marome
Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand

HOUSING ENCLAVES: BETWEEN REALITY AND IMAGINATION
Eka Permanasari
University of Melbourne, Australia

THERE'S NO REALITY LIKE HYPER-REALITY
Lineu Castello

The paper examines this situation in a field survey in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in the Praia de Belas Shopping Center; and it does so at a specific time — "free pass" days when the city's public transport, in response to local government policy, is temporarily free. Visits to the mall rise extraordinarily on those days, with thousands of people coming from the most recondite urban areas — even from slums — to shop in flocks or simply stroll through the mall. The sophisticated shopping environment could not be more distant from many of these people's daily reality. Nevertheless, they stroll there as if it were a part of their normal world. One can see this phenomenon as an unusual manifestation of hyper-reality, which deterritorializes the tradition of urban strolling. The meaning of this activity is shifted as people move from traditional territories to places where the emulative signs of consumerism simulate an "image of reality" better than the real world.

To examine this question, the paper investigates the strolling practices of poor people in an upper-middle-class shopping mall — that is to say, strolling in a place that transcends everyday reality. The situation is not unusual in Brazil; Brazilian life tends to generate such unexpected hyper-real situations. It is revealing, for example, to accompany *favela* people during Carnival times: dressed up in lavish costumes as kings and queens, they enter a hyper-real world the moment they begin parading along the city's avenues. They are "living" a simulacrum.

The paper updates the concept of place, by looking at the role malls play in the representation of reality. It contrasts the experience of poorer people in the mall during free-pass days to that of

regular customers, and observes that differing levels of adaptability to the scenario influence their perceptions of the simulated reality. It finally argues that the perception of hyper-reality may produce new traditions. This gives rise to two possible currents of thinking. One is a sense of disruptive existential doom. The other is an acknowledgement of the phenomenon as a stimulating mutation in response to changes in societal mores, and an acceptance of it as a requisite for social evolution.

THE CONFIGURATION OF A CROSS-CULTURAL THEORY OF "ARCHITECTURE": EXPLORING THE TREATISE
Paul Memmott and James Davidson

This paper explores how a theoretical framework of "architecture" might be configured that would serve as a cross-cultural tool for understanding the nature of all constructed and composed environments used as human habitats. A corollary of this question is why the Western concept of "architecture" has so far not achieved such a unifying position, at times excluding non-Western and indigenous building traditions. Contemplation of the qualities and properties of people's architectures and building traditions requires that our attention, as well as our data, address all human landscapes, in all historic periods. Such a construct of architecture cannot be dominated by period aesthetics or popular Eurocentric philosophies, but must be useful for both theoretical and practical application to all human settlements.

Central to the task of accommodating the world's diverse cultural traditions is the development, analysis and comparison of case studies, which deal adequately with a number of topics. Among these are the following: (1) the dynamic properties of architectural activity occurring both within and between cultural groups and longitudinally through time; (2) the study of the biological, social, economic and cultural origins of places and buildings; (3) the full complexity of architectural articulation, from the minimalist adjustment of natural environments to highly complex structures with multiple overlays of properties; (4) consideration of the full range of properties of people-environment relations that might contribute to what or how architecture is defined; and (5) the sociology of power and authority in environmental decision-making, and the ways that different authority systems can result in culturally distinct differences in architectural design.

Drawing on an overall framework of theoretical ideas, the paper derives a working definition of architecture as a selected, arranged and constructed configuration of environmental properties, both natural and artificial, in and around one or more activity spaces or behavioral settings. This combines with patterns of behavioral rules and meanings and incorporates cultural constructs of space and time to provide human comfort and quality of lifestyle. Within this broad definition sits the entire genre of Western architecture. But it also contains many other genres, from all of human societies and cultures, past and present. And within these diverse cultures there are a range of cognitive, invisible, ephemeral and symbolic properties that can instill architecture with

a culturally distinct nature, in addition to the physical attributes of buildings. Throughout this analysis, examples are drawn from Australian, Central American, and Pacific indigenous cultures.

GENDERING THE SPACE OF DIFFERENCES
Wijitbusaba Marome

Space-time studies have frequently stressed the extent to which women's movements are constrained by ideological and traditional notions of how women's space should be confined to private domains of reproductive work, while men's space should include the public domain of productive work. I implicitly assume that the spatial context of traditional culture is preoccupied with this norm of patriarchal mobility. As a result, the purpose of most of women's trips still largely reflects their role in household maintenance.

Although men's and women's separate spheres are not solely urban creations, the urban setting gives them distinct dimensions. Furthermore, contemporary urban practices — while still patriarchal — are revealing new divisions between the public and private spheres. This is partly the result of a changing global economy, which has transformed the nature of productive work and changed perceptions of the type of work that is suitable for (and available to) men and women.

The paper argues that the division of public and private spheres is still relevant; however, it has been historically transformed in complex ways. By theorizing an agency of space, the study also looks at the separate and integrated domains of women's and men's interests and social ties. In this regard, spatial separation does not just involve gender identity. Marriage and lifecycle also play important roles in shaping the space of difference in "real" places.

These variables have combined to produce a hyper-tradition in the practice of women and men's mobility in "real" places. Accordingly, urban space is not only socially and culturally constructed, but varies across stages of lifecycle and marriage. Spatiality, in fact, is embedded with kinship networks and a web of relations, economic institutions, and culture. In other words, economic, cultural and lifecycle factors are essential to constructing agency in space. The paper expresses the correlation among household structures, work types, spatial mobility, and gender differences in the context of Bangkok. It shows how the division of public and private spheres there is being complexly renegotiated by the practices of gendered mobility.

HOUSING ENCLAVES: BETWEEN REALITY AND IMAGINATION
Eka Permanasari

The May 1998 riot in Jakarta changed the reality of daily life in the city. Within two days, a place that once seemed to represent the idea of stability and order was replaced by one of chaos and disorder. As the riot was depicted as the product of Pribumi jeal-ousy toward the wealthy Chinese, the relationship between Chinese and Pribumi was tested and reframed as a shattered picture. Feeling threatened, some Chinese sought refuge in other countries, while others retreated to gated communities complete with barricades, boundary walls, and 24-hour security.

The new lifestyle of "cocoon" housing and segregated community marks the birth of a new tradition — a society that is out of place, living in a utopian site. However, the surface image of such enclaves overlooks their mixed surroundings. While jealousy between the two groups remains perhaps greater than ever, soap operas portray enclave housing as offering a glamorous lifestyle, while newspaper advertisements promote its harmonious qualities. Everywhere, enclave housing is presented as the best living option — with education, shopping centers, security, and workplaces all together in one package. Within the gated community people need not worry about the hectic world outside. The poor seem not to exist, kept invisible by walls that promise safety, accessibility and comfort.

This paper examines the way housing enclaves have become a new form of a "traditional living" in Indonesia. The segregated design, the advertisements, and the soap operas provide guidance for how to live a normal life in a state of danger. The imagination of such utopian sites is deeply lodged in people's minds. Everyone dreams of living in wonderland; but can such places exist without the support of people outside the gates? Can life within such gated communities exist without being sustained by these "invisible" neighbors?

My analysis of new gated communities in Indonesia has three main points. First, I will study normalization of the idea of living in a segregated community as it has been promoted by media — the imagination of an ideal life. Second, I will investigate enclave designs as a key feature of utopian ideas. Finally, I will examine the interaction between the gated and the out-gated communities — the way they live and support each other.

A.7 FILM, CULTURE, AND THE PRODUCTION OF TRADITION

BETWEEN *SADHUS*, CYBER-GURUS, AND BOLLYWOOD STARS: EXOTICA AND POSTCOLONIAL POWER GAPS IN CONTEMPORARY WESTERN REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIA
Paolo Favero
Stockholm University, Sweden

IMAGING THE (UN)REAL: SPACE IN BOLLYWOOD FILMS
Vandini Mehta
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

REIMAGINING MYTHIC CONSTRUCTIONS: BANARAS THROUGH SATYAJIT RAY'S *APARAJITO*
Rohit Raj Mehndiratta
Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.

***BLISSFULLY YOURS*: READING THE "REAL" TRADITION OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS**
Soranart Sinuraibhan
Khon Kaen University, Thailand

BETWEEN *SADHUS*, CYBER-GURUS, AND BOLLYWOOD STARS: EXOTICA AND POSTCOLONIAL POWER GAPS IN CONTEMPORARY WESTERN REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIA
Paolo Favero

In Western mass media, literature, and tourism marketing, India is conventionally presented as "the land of contrasts." As it first appeared in descriptions of British missionaries and colonial administrators, the notion of the land of contrast was epitomized by India's masses of poor people, incomprehensible spirituality, and magnificent palaces of maharajas.

While reproducing itself through the decades and appearing in literature, film and photography, this stereotypical image of India has recently undergone a few changes. With the economic boom a new phantasmatic India has emerged in Western culture. This is the image of a country where maharajas, *sadhus* and beggars still roam the streets, but where they go hand in hand with high-tech gurus, call centers, and Bollywood stars. Thus, India today appears as a kind of surrealistic vision blending future and antiquity. However, these newer contrasts have seemingly increased the exotic charms of this "land of contrasts."

This paper addresses the re-production of this phantasmatic construction of India in the European imaginary. Based on an analysis of recent visual and textual representations in European media and material gathered among tourists and visitors during fieldwork in New Delhi, the paper addresses the role played in these representations by the notion/idea/image of tradition.

As a central trope in most representations, tradition is the key to understanding Western representations of India and to understanding their postcolonial character. To the Western observer, India has historically constituted the place where, to quote the Lonely Plant guidebook, "time stands still." It has retained all that the West believes to have lost: its past, its heritage, and its spirituality. India's role as the place of tradition is, however, also a mirror of a modern Western discourse on itself. In a continuous projection, India has been given the role of the ideal alter ego of the West — i.e., a place, one tourist told me, "[that] has still got what we have lost for good."

In my presentation, I also suggest that the most recent images of India — i.e., those likely to reflect India's recent boom, its emerging middle classes, its technological improvements, etc. — have not freed themselves from colonial power differences. Images and narratives on India's changing economy and culture are still filtered by a nostalgic discourse, whereby the European observer looks back upon all that the West has already lost in the name of modernity — but that today, India is at risk of losing, too. Armed with an instrumental use of the notion of "tradition" and blending the aesthetic enjoyment of exotic difference with post-colonial power gaps, these contemporary representations constitute a prolongation of a colonial discourse, turning the Indian people's right to cultural difference into a duty.

IMAGING THE (UN)REAL: SPACE IN BOLLYWOOD FILMS
Vandini Mehta

It can be said that films, and especially Indian commercial films, have always excelled in idealizing and fantasizing spaces of escape from the oppression of "real" life. However, the scales of production and the extreme (dis)continuity of fantasy and leisure seen in the Bollywood films of the last twenty years are acutely synchronous with a space-time compression and homogeneity that can be understood as endemic to our times, and that consists of the valorization and predominance of the image and the commodification of culture at large. These conditions are tied to the transnational character and surplus wealth accumulated by a few. But they are also reflective of the values, anxieties, and fantasy of a "real" India, uncomfortably coupled with and set in the imagination of luxuries and opulence in India and the world.

I will analyze a Sooraj Bharjatiya film *Hum Aapke Hain Kaun.* Released in 1995, it was part of a new genre of high-budget super hits (blockbusters) of the last decade: romantic films that depict sex, romance, and the family in the context of the super rich. These films have also been seen as a revival of earlier feudal family films in a new, stylish, and unmistakably Hindu patriarchal structure.

Through my analysis, I argue that mass-mediated representations in Bollywood cinema over the last two decades naturalize (even though with complete lack of context — in fact, in the utopia of it) the real lived practices of a narrow elite with the luxury and surplus wealth to imagine these fantastical lifestyles. The marketing and financing of films and their circulation within late-

capitalist flows is increasingly monopolized by fewer filmmakers and multinational media companies. Successful image-makers imagine films through the symbolic spaces of nostalgia and fantasy that appeal to (and sell) to audiences. But this audience is increasingly constituted of Indian diasporic communities and middle- and upper-class audiences in India who are able to influence the representation of space and place in the films.

The staging of the exuberant spaces of leisure and celebration is seamless and indiscriminatory, making it seem that everyone partakes in them — class, caste and gender differences alike. The representation is of homogenous time and space, fused into a continuum that suggests a natural and real simulation of life. This naturalization is further legitimized by strategies to make the films appealing and even entertaining to the "masses." In that sense, the films no longer distinguish bourgeois high art from vulgar popular art. By fusing the rich and the poor this makes their images seem even more natural. This is not to say that the masses buy into this portrayal, or that the elite create these images for strategic domination. However, the connections between them are revealing of the symbolic worlds that are imagined in simulated cinematic space.

REIMAGINING MYTHIC CONSTRUCTIONS: BANARAS THROUGH SATYAJIT RAY'S *APARAJITO*
Rohit Raj Mehndiratta

This paper interrogates the imagination of Banaras, a sacred Hindu city located in the northeastern part of India, through the film *Aparajito* (1957) by Satyajit Ray (1921–1992), one of India's leading film directors. What is Banaras? How do we describe it? Where is it in our imagination? These are the questions I pose through an analysis of the film and an extrapolation into the domain of urban history. Late-nineteenth-century Oriental writings and urban construction helped establish "mega-myths" that reorganized the historic perception of Banaras away from its Mughal past and colonial interventions to define a city steeped in Hindu ideals and rituals.

Satyajit Ray's Banaras is both an urban site and a cliché. Ray's work was part of a larger nationalist discourse that sought to define an "inner" national identity outside the cultural construction that came from Oriental writings and colonial practices. Allegorizing the growth of a nation, Ray engages with the city, so to speak, and brings sacredness back to the realm of the individual and everyday life. I use Ray's Neorealist effort to capture Banaras as experienced by a traditional priest, a domestic wife/mother, and a young novice, all of whose explorations unconsciously question and tug at the boundaries of tradition and modernity. As these characters interact with Banaras, events across different spaces unfold a series of cultural practices and embedded histories that form the city.

The paper analyses the film's allegories of traditions and modernity as imagined by nationalist thought, and how the urban identity of Banaras is reframed. The city framed in multiple realities, fictions and allegories allows one to understand the power of the visual realm to transform and rework urban identities. Yet, the popular identity of Banaras as an urban "other," defined and validated by its spiritual underpinning, remains, as Hindu rituals are fused to the city's urban setting to form a different imagination that is set in everyday life.

I end the paper with a discussion of the power and limitations of simulated space in defining traditions and urban identities. I use the film as a tool — as an "in between" — to offset the mega-narratives defining Banaras. Yet, the visual ideology is but an extension of cultural systems prevailing in a given time and space. The power embedded in visual representation is then an accrual over time, in its positioning within economic–political systems and in the way cultural shifts allow simulated spaces to form new imaginations.

BLISSFULLY YOURS: READING THE "REAL" TRADITION OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS
Soranart Sinuraibhan

The flow of illegal Burmese migrants to Thailand increased dramatically after 1990, as economic hardship, increased political turmoil, and human-rights violations against rural people forced young men and women to flee across the border. This essay aims to demonstrate how the storytelling in the film *Blissfully Yours* (Weerasethakul, 2001) is relevant to the tradition of these illegal immigrants from Myanmar, particularly one that links identity and place.

Blissfully Yours is set in a small Thai town land near the border. The film captures the pleasure and suffering of the main character (Min), an illegal Burmese immigrant, as he struggles to live with his Thai lover (Roong) within an oppressive environment. It unfolds through common everyday scenes — sensually played out from movements of the two lovers and the way their bodies occupy and react to different spaces.

After migrating to a new place, a new identity needs to be formed and changed according to that place. Two different physical settings, where the different identities of the two central figures are formed and changed accordingly, are used to narrate this story. Thus, Min has to veil himself in an urban environment, but he can speak and express his love freely within the jungle. The different physical settings of place provide the backdrop to the real tradition of how illegal immigrants live and survive.

My analysis shows how the spaces used within the film and the movement of its characters provide an alternative view of the problems and effects of the displacement of illegal immigrants. The film thus offers a simulated space in which to translate and make legible complicated political issues. This process of translating from the simulated space to the real involves the creation of hyper-traditions that can be used to understand real traditions of immigration.

B.7 TOURISM AND AUTHENTICITY

TOURISM, AUTHENTICITY, AND HYPER-TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF KAFR AL-GOUNA, EGYPT
Khaled Nezar Adham
United Arab Emirates University, El-Ain, U.A.E.

MOUNT ATHOS: NOTES ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF "FAKE"
Mohamed Elshahed
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, U.S.A.

LEARNING FROM LAS VEGAS! THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF MACAU'S MEGA-CASINO/RESORTS
Chung Man Carmen Tsui
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

LOCAL CULTURE IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE: AUTHENTICITY IN A TAI TOURIST TOWN
Sirima Na Songkhla
University of Melbourne, Australia

TOURISM, AUTHENTICITY, AND HYPER-TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF KAFR AL-GOUNA, EGYPT
Khaled Nezar Adham

Cities across the globe are striving to build their economies based on tourism; in the process, they are competing to project themselves as dreamscapes of visual consumption. At the same time, tourists and visitors expect to consume the culture, heritage and architecture of these cities "authentically." These processes are of long standing in Egypt. Up until the 1960s, the paintings, writings and travelogues of scores of European scholars, writers, adventurers and artists created a desire to experience the exotic dreamscape of the Orient. Egypt's tourism industry was one of the earliest to satisfy this yearning, based on trips along the River Nile to see its traditional heritage. Here, the authentic experience of the visitor was woven into the fabric of everyday life, history, work relations, culture, nature, and architectural heritage.

Today, leisure activities constitute most of the tourism industry in the world. Thus, in Egypt the tourist industry has expanded to include the development of pristine and sparsely populated regions along the Red Sea and the Sinai Peninsula. But Egypt's tourist industry also remains preoccupied with shaping and responding to the paradoxical desire for both modern amenities and extraordinary, "authentic" traditional experience. Thus, many architects working in the new resort areas have attempted to establish an image of authenticity by glibly masking the facades of modern buildings with images from a variety of historical and regional contexts. Although motivated by similar marketing imperatives, the developers and architects of Kafr El-Gouna, part

of an integrated resort by the Red Sea, came up with a different solution: heritage was reinvented to "simulate" an authentic experience for the international tourist.

My presentation will discuss in detail the case of Kafr Al-Gouna — its visual and conceptual connections with the earlier work of Hassan Fathy; how its "traditional" setting eventually inspired the American superstar architect Michael Graves to design postmodern additions to it; and finally, how it became an international signature design that has been used in various locales around the Middle East, including in Jordan and the United Arab Emirates, as a model for how to re-create traditional urbanism and architecture in places that never them. In doing so, I will shed light on the interrelationship among authenticity, regionalism, tradition, simulation, entertainment, and the production of tourist spaces in today's Egypt.

MOUNT ATHOS: NOTES ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF "FAKE"
Mohamed Elshahed

As in a well-manicured garden where nature becomes hyper-real, the monastic community of Mount Athos seems to suffer from a symptom of postmodern culture — that is, hyper-realism. Mount Athos is a real place, whose history and traditions originated in the tenth century. However, the monastic culture in this "real" place today utilizes modern technologies such as electricity and refrigeration to maintain its "tradition." Furthermore, the utilization of modernity is often concealed so as to maintain a certain "authentic image" for visitors and pilgrims.

This construction of an image of the past — a persona — is part of what Baudrillard has called "reality by proxy," a simulated environment. Today the Mount Athos experience is exemplified, within its own tradition of producing handmade religious iconography, by a process that involves a LaserJet printer and a series of aging liquids to make souvenirs for tourists. The monks of Skete St. Andrew seem to share a sentiment about their predecessors: "they were real, and we are trying to be like them." But this may now provide a case study of what Umberto Eco has referred to as "the authentic fake."

Mount Athos is witnessing a sort of renaissance, with funding newly allocated to restore and rebuild many of its monastic complexes and communities, which have been destroyed or neglected over time. Abandoned completely for forty years following a large fire, the Russian-built Skete of St. Andrew is one of these complexes that is undergoing a massive project to re-create its "traditional" forms. Hyper-tradition, in this case, takes place in the very location from which the tradition originated. Furthermore, the process of reengagement with heritage is being conducted by those who fear its loss, and who view themselves as the continuum of past generations.

This essay will use Mount Athos as a case study in hyper-reality and hyper-tradition that was not imported or exported by means of globalization. Rather, this is a hyper-tradition that has emerged in the birthplace of the tradition it is simulating.

LEARNING FROM LAS VEGAS! THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF MACAU'S MEGA-CASINO/RESORTS
Chung Man Carmen Tsui

In his influential book *Learning from Las Vegas*, Robert Venturi pointed out that visiting Las Vegas in the mid-1960s was like visiting Rome in the late 1940s. To Venturi, there were many parallels between Las Vegas and Rome; the only difference was that Las Vegas was built in one day — the small desert city's short history was not comparable to the long history of ancient Rome.

Since the 1972 publication of Venturi's book, Las Vegas has changed dramatically. If Venturi considered the city to be the paradigm of North American urbanism in the 1960s, today's Las Vegas can be considered the paradigm of neoliberal urbanism. In seeking to attract visitors, its thematic mega-casino/resorts today all reproduce historic icons, including the Pyramids, the Statue of Liberty, the Eiffel Tower, the Grand Canal of Venice, etc. Many scholars have highlighted how this involves a process by which traditions and heritages from other parts of the world are being decontextualized, mimicked and transplanted. As a result, traditions and heritages are no longer place-specific. Nevertheless, few are aware that the borrowed traditions and heritages have now been localized in Las Vegas, and it is precisely the concentration of mimicked heritages and commodified experiences, embodied in a space of spectacle, that creates the city's unique sense of place. The meaning of "place" has been problematized in this special case.

Interestingly, the borrowed heritages in Las Vegas can be further transplanted to places such as Macau, a small city in southern China. Commonly known as "Las Vegas of the Orient," Macau is a former Portuguese colony that was handed back to China in 1999, and that, along with Hong Kong, is one of two Special Administrative Regions (SAR) in the country. Because of its colonial legacy, Macau is the only place in China where casino gambling is legal, and the gambling industry is today a major revenue generator there. When Macau relaxed the restrictions on casino licensing in early 2000s, the city began to follow the footsteps of Las Vegas. TNCs poured into Macau and built mega-casino/resorts with themes the same as those in Las Vegas, allowing "Las Vegas traditions and heritages" to be transplanted to Macau within few years time. In many ways, visiting Macao today is the same as visiting Las Vegas; however, if Las Vegas was built in a day, then Macau was built in, perhaps, one minute.

Nevertheless, as in Las Vegas, the transplanted heritages have intertwined with Macau's local heritage to form a unique hyper-tradition. This paper discusses the contesting forces of globalization and localization involved in such cultural transfers. It argues three points: 1) that traditions can be decontextualized and transplanted multiple times; 2) that each time, the transplanted traditions are localized to form new hyper-traditions; and 3) that the wide spread of globalization is creating a condition where it is taking ever less time for traditions to be transplanted and localized.

LOCAL CULTURE IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE: AUTHENTICITY IN A TAI TOURIST TOWN
Sirima Na Songkhla

The concept of globalization is an obvious object for ideological suspicions because, like modernization, an earlier and related concept, it appears to justify the spread of Western culture and of capitalist society by suggesting that there are forces operating beyond human control that are transforming the world.
— *Watter, 1995*

The notion of ethnicity and globalization can be evaluated according to different dialectical scales of spatial, temporal and cultural transformation. Thus, ethnicity is often considered a marker of identity and belonging in place; but it also enhances the contestation between a locality and global economic and political forces. In this sense, postmodernists have argued that ethnicity is not subject to biological origins, but rather emergent within a continuity of history, culture and power, and that it can fluctuate over time. To the extent that landscapes may be seen as cultural representations, they also represent this contestation between ethnicity and globalization. However, although the process of globalization can be seen as shrinking and homogenizing local space through the impact of economic, cultural and political flows, it can also be seen as reinventing the distinct qualities of a locality for global consumption. Thus, globalization is not merely a one-way process, but a complex phenomenon.

Representations within tourist cities are becoming closely associated with the marketing of authenticity and cultural identity. However, to understand ethnicity requires understanding its tradition, which influences social perception and behavior. An authentic tradition of local culture therefore attracts Western tourists, who "pay to see" its "realness." This attraction re-creates the phenomena of "hyper-tradition" of local culture in the global village. The process of trans-culture between West and East enforces the ideal acculturation and assimilation of tradition in reality. However, the concept of tradition is identified by the importance of continuity and change in the society. Authenticity can be seen as both spectacular and exotic, and a new form of invented culture.

As Thailand has boosted tourism to improve the economies of provinces with rich natural and cultural resources, it is inevitable that the characteristics and meanings of traditional urban forms and spaces will be changed. Traditional urban forms and spaces are some of the attractions to the tourists. This paper explores the interpretation of landscape representations from the local perspective in a small tourist town in the municipality of Mae Hong Son in northwestern Thailand. In this case, the "Tai-ness" of a major ethnic group has created a shift of both physical landscape and meanings toward a hybrid condition. Evidence from in-depth interviews and photographic representations taken by local residents reveal the meta-narratives of evolving authenticity in the change of Tai traditional landscape in the past decades. In particular, the symbolic landscape of the Tai Buddhist town is now under pressure from both hyper-conservation and hyper-development. The discussion focuses on the conflicts generated by these extreme dualities.

C.7 FIXING IDENTITIES IN SPACE AND PLACE

THE INVENTION OF A NEO-UYGHUR STYLE: A CONTEMPORARY PLACE-BOUND ARCHITECTURE
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SITES OF "CHINESENESS": RECONSTRUCTING THE IMAGERY OF THE CHINESE GARDEN IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE ART AND ARCHITECTURE
Chan Yuen Lai
Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

SPATIAL FORMS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE
Nadia Charalambous
Metsovio Polytechnic, Athens, Greece

SPACE AS "PUBLIC RELATIONS"? URBAN MORPHOLOGY AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN MACAU
Paula Engrácia Martins
University College London, U.K.

THE INVENTION OF A NEO-UYGHUR STYLE: A CONTEMPORARY PLACE-BOUND ARCHITECTURE
Jean-Paul Loubes

In the area of the production of new architectures, globalization articulates the deterritorialization of images and references with a repositioning of identifying references. In the context of the Big Bazaar of Urumqi, this has involved the importation of architectural references from Central Asia (Uzbekistan) that marked the identity of the Ouigours there, and not the updating of a local architectural tradition. This architectural construction can be seen in parallel to the formation of the Ouigour ethnic group itself.

The naming of the Turco-Mongolian people of Xinjiang by the ethnonym Ouigour is a recent phenomenon. Its origin goes back to one of the last episodes of the Sino-Soviet "Great Game" (Gladney, 2004). During a 1921 conference of regional Soviet delegates in Tashkent the question arose of finding a name for the sedentarized populations of Turkish origin in the basin of Tarim. The proposal then was to update the old ethnic name of "Ouigour," formerly used to indicate a gathering of peoples of the steppes since the eighth century, but whose history had become obscure since the seventeenth century. In 1943 "Ouigour" was subsequently reused by the administrations of the Kuomintang, and in 1949 it was picked up by the Chinese Communists as well. Finally, in 1955 the "Xinjiang Ouigour Autonomous Region" was established, which today includes a contemporary "ethnic con-

struction" of nine million people, composed of a wide diversity of peoples, languages and religions.

Under the aegis of Beijing, and according to its view on nationalities, the architectural and urban complex of Urumqi has recently attempted to contribute architecturally to the construction of this national Ouigour identity. The urban ensemble is located in the old town of Urumqi and includes a Cultural Ethnic Street (or Big Bazaar Carrefour) articulated around a public urban space, a big shopping center of the Group Carrefour (the 42nd Chinese hyper-market of the group), a mosque, a bazaar, and a forum for public festivals. Elements of this modern architectural ensemble are certainly connected with traditional Islamic forms, but these traditions are not those of the Ouigour. Indeed, it is necessary to go westwards — to Samarkand, Khiva or Bukhara — to discover the origins of the these forms.

More specifically, the created urban space is an importation of the model of the *kosh*. Characteristic of the old cities of Uzbekistan, this involves the opening of a regular, monumental space in a dense and irregular urban fabric, delimited by the large gates of two, three or four mosques or madrasas. The best-known example of this urban form is in Samarkand; however, Bukhara also has a diversity of examples.

Other elements of architecture have also been explicitly borrowed from Uzbekistan. A copy of the Kalian minaret, Bukhara's most emblematic monument, is situated on the main square in Urumqi. Pinnacles also frame the entries to the supermarket in a recall of this architecture. The article describes and analyzes this curious borrowing by China of an Uzbek model for the construction of a modern Ouigour identity, as well as the success of this architectural and urban model among the Ouigours themselves. The "new silk road" seems here to update a flow of exchanges which formerly also allowed a circulation of architectural influences.

SITES OF "CHINESENESS": RECONSTRUCTING THE IMAGERY OF THE CHINESE GARDEN IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE ART
Chan Yuen Lai

Images play a predominant role in the making of new hyper-traditions. If the Chinese garden is seen as a "discursive object," whose meaning "remains contested" (Clunas, 1996), then the making of contemporary Chinese gardens may be defined as a highly interpretative act, largely influenced by represented images. If we apply Becker's theory of "art world" (1982), this "work of art," can be seen as a truly "collective activity," influenced by the different members of the "Chinese art world" both inside and outside China.

Such a multiple reading — as opposed to earlier studies that tended to reduce a complex inheritance to "one single 'real' thing (property, the cosmos, the retreat)" (Clunas, 1996) — has brought new insights into the realm of contemporary Chinese art and architecture. This has been particularly important in recent years as the imagery of the Chinese garden has become a popular theme in the search for a new "Chinese" identity in international artistic and architectural circles.

This paper will offer an interpretive reading of a work of art — the "Virgin Garden: Emersion," at the Chinese Pavilion, the 51st International Art Exhibition of la Biennale di Venezia (2005) — and two architectural projects — "Commune by the Great Wall," Beijing, China (2002), and "Three Castles in the Sea of Bamboos," an entry in the International Competition for Conceptual Planning of the Liusha Peninsula in Nanning, China, by Atelier FCJZ/Yung Ho Chang (2002). The works are "Chinese" not just because they come from/within China and are by Chinese artists and architects, but because they constitute part of the contemporary reconstruction of the imagery of the Chinese garden as a site of "Chineseness." Such works show how the new forces of reinterpretation have already had great influence on Chinese garden design.

In reference to Chinese garden design, the paper will argue 1) that tradition is highly interpretative through forms, words, and especially images; 2) that images play a predominant role in the making of new hyper-tradition; and 3) that the new imagery of the hyper-tradition is allowing reinterpretations of an older tradition, especially through artifacts presented by means of exhibitions and competitions.

In the past, the interpretation of Chinese garden has come through poetic analogies, landscape theory, and garden theory, in ways that were related to a literary sense of perceiving spaces. In works of contemporary Chinese garden design, these ideas are being borrowed, reinvented, or sometimes misread (or questioned). In the Chinese art world, imagery emerging from exhibitions and competitions continues to give new interpretations to the garden tradition. The meaning of the Chinese garden remains contested and continued to reaffirm its previous one. And the process goes on and on. . . .

SPATIAL FORMS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE
Nadia Charalambous

Visualization has been defined as an attempt "to form a mental image of something incapable of being viewed or not at that moment visible; . . . a tool or method for interpreting image data fed into a computer and for generating images from complex multi-dimensional data sets" (McCormick et al., 1987). In virtual heritage projects, the aim is typically to "re-create" or "reconstruct" the past — what is not at this moment visible — through three-dimensional modeling and animation. Ancient structures have suffered severe damage over the centuries and are therefore extremely difficult to visualize in their original state. Thus, virtual reconstructions facilitated by emerging digital technologies are an important tool of ancient heritage presentation.

If the cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan is to be believed, culture is that which is not seen ("Seeing what is not there lies at the foundation of all human culture"). Such a definition raises an interesting paradox for the visualization of past cultures. How do we see what is not there? The focus of this paper is the analysis of built form in such a way that we can understand the transmission of culture through it.

The paper investigates current virtual methods of interpreting cultural heritage, through archaeological sites in particular, and through tradition in a broader sense. Existing ruins that are widely considered major evidence of cultural heritage have recently been studied, analyzed and interpreted using computer simulations. The paper argues that in these works the relationship between built form and social organization — the embodiment of tradition — has either been neglected or not properly interpreted.

Scholars who study, analyze and interpret cultural heritage through existing ruins use methods such as on-site visits and observations and thorough study of verbal or written history. The existing ruins may then be reconstructed through three-dimensional modeling software (architectural visualization and multimedia techniques). However, when using these processes to create narrative representations of history that employ graphical and audio effects to help immerse visitors, the cultural heritage decidedly humanistic concerns emerge. One can characterize these as "the ethics of virtual history." Such concerns include the challenge of making the right choices in preserving authenticity while engaging the targeted audience, as well as balancing historical realism against rational necessity in achieving a sense of completeness within the limitation of a digitally constructed environment.

The paper questions the implications of current methods of simulating ancient sites, and suggests a new methodology that will help bring together humanistic and technical viewpoints. First, on-site investigation of ruins is required in order to record whatever is visible to the observer. Second, the relationship between space and social life must be examined and analyzed. According to the proposed method this may be carried out using the theory of space syntax, which allows social concerns to be incorporated in spatial analysis, producing both quantitative and qualitative information. Through this paper, I explain how this method may be used to investigate the relationship between the spatial layout of historical monuments and the social world of the inhabitants during the period under study. Following the spatial analysis, I argue that existing written documents describing the social and cultural information of the particular civilization should be thoroughly studied.

The aforementioned methods are considered vital in facilitating the 3D virtual reconstruction of historical monuments and the animation of a virtual society to accompany them. The paper suggests that the proposed methods for analyzing and presenting virtual worlds will reveal new historical information which takes into consideration both humanistic and technical issues.

SPACE AS "PUBLIC RELATIONS"? URBAN MORPHOLOGY AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN MACAU
Paula Engrácia Martins

Macau was a unique place, an urban interface. The "City in the name of God in China" was a place of "public relations," one of the few constant points of contact between China and Europe, negotiating between two distinct civilizations. Yet, during its years

as a Portuguese territory, Macau's population was in a constant flux, and its political status suffered from a great ambiguity of power between the Portuguese and the Chinese. The territory was characterized until 1987 (the year it was handed back to Chinese administration) by an unclarified situation of ethnically divided sovereignty. Lacking serious democratic institutions, the inhabitants of Macau felt and exercised different rights of citizenship and sovereignty.

In this intercultural condition there were three main ethnic identities: Portuguese, Chinese and Macanese. The principal line of differentiation was a "sense of belonging" to the city, or the condition of being an immigrant. This separation affected patterns of social behavior and personal identity.

Macau's identities were progressively built on instances of identification, and new polarizations emerged from the combined force of symbolic processes and verifications of power. Public spaces were frequently the stage for this "power struggle" and sense of "identification." Thus, the erection of symbolic statues on main public squares served as an aggressive process of ethnic affirmation in the city. In particular, Leal Senado square played an important role over time in public manifestations of joy and bereavement.

Adopting an historicist perspective, the paper aims to understand how these feelings of differentiation were structured in terms of collective action (power relations/identity), and how those forces were expressed, shaped and translated in the urban morphology — in particular, in public spaces. Over time the urban morphology of Macau has been radically transformed: its coastline has been dramatically altered by landfills, and its public squares, streets and markets — always full of local human activity — have frequently been paved over for new urban constructions. However, today the relationship between old and new identities and the role of cultural roots in the processes of urban transformation is being questioned in a special way, following the designation of Macau's historical center as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

The paper relates to Sharon Zukin's definition of "identity" as a combination of spatial and social practice, and "culture" as a possible strategy of reconstructing the meaning of urban spaces which will endorse the hint of a "common public culture." It concentrates on using space as a "public relations" role, creating the illusion of a transparent and "neutral" attitude in the study of the city. In this way, the paper aims to spur a better understanding of the tension between identity and change in the city of Macau.

A.8 HYPER-TOURISM AND CULTURAL CHANGE

REINTERPRETING TRADITION: CANALS AS VISITOR ATTRACTIONS
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MORE THAN PARADISE: DILEMMAS OF AUTHENTICITY IN A WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL
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REPRESENTING THE LEGACIES OF CONFUCIUS: MODERN MEANINGS OF AN ANCIENT HERITAGE SITE IN CHINA
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CHINESE TOURISTS IN THAILAND: THE INVENTION OF A TOURIST EXPERIENCE
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TRAVEL, SELF, AND OTHER: EXPLORING TRAVEL AS RITUAL, EGO LOSS, AND RECONSTRUCTION
Emily Kearns
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REINTERPRETING TRADITION: CANALS AS VISITOR ATTRACTIONS
Julia Fallon

This paper will discuss canal restoration and, in the process, address the nature and role of tradition in the tourism experience in the U.K. today. During the past sixty years, Britain has seen the transition of canal transport from "an outdated liability to an environmental asset that could bring great pleasure to many people" (Bolton, 1990). In particular, many canals have changed from being worthless as routes for freight transportation to being extremely valuable as routes for tourism and leisure.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the U.K witnessed "the birth of an obsession with the technology of the Industrial Revolution" (Black and MacRaild, 2000). Among other things, this led to the formation of the Inland Waterways Association (IWA) sixty years ago, whose simple aim was to save its industrial canals. One of the founders of the IWA was L.T.C. Rolt, a member of the Organic Movement who wished to preserve and retain traditional ways of life and work, and who saw the demise of canals as representative of a more general decline in the quality of life.

Rolt's original motivation has found a place in twenty-first-century Britain. More than half the population of Britain lives within five miles of an inland waterway (Glyptis, 1991), and these spaces have become a focus for restoration and regeneration. Correspondingly, a forceful blending of reality and fantasy has also occurred involving the selective interpretation of Britain's industrial history for visitors (Norkunas, 1993). As a result, a package of elements (bridges, water, boats, nature) can now be offered together as an experience. It has been through this construction that the canals themselves have also become more socially valued.

Interestingly, the past has also been reconstructed to convince the local community that this is their history and their reality. To a certain extent these locals have become co-conspirators in re-creating the past for public consumption.

With the number of visits to canals exceeding 150 million every year (Harrison, 1994), there is evidence of an increasing appreciation for the extensive combination of natural and man-made attractions existing on or alongside them in both urban and rural environments. Like parks, canals are congenial places offering contact with nature and water and the opportunity for leisure and reflection (Greenbie, 1981). It is this space to reflect that has been highlighted by focus groups conducted by Visit Britain, and which offers insights into the nature of the experience of reality and tradition sought by visitors to the U.K. today.

MORE THAN PARADISE: DILEMMAS OF AUTHENTICITY IN A WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL
Stephen McElhinney

The Rainforest World Music Festival (RWMF), held in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, provides a perfect backdrop to contemplate the dimensions and dilemmas of Richard Florida's (2002) observations about "experiential life" and the "packaging and selling of experience" in international tourism. It also provides a platform to assess the quandaries faced by cultural entrepreneurs who promote tourist events that present authentic cultural performances at the same time that wider social and commercial changes are extinguishing traditional and exotic cultures (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999).

Florida has noted that authenticity and exotic sensations are strong marketing lures to consumers in Western and other advanced economies, who respond by seeking exclusive experiences in preference to routinely available products and services. However, truly exclusive or exotic experiences have become increasingly rare in a world compressed by economic and social globalization and the universal reach of media (Appadurai, 1990). Moreover, these processes are also reconfiguring local tradition in the pockets of the world that are geographically and culturally remotest to the experience of sensation-seeking international tourists.

One place where the lure of authentic exotic experience is strong is Sarawak. Home to more than 25 ethnic communities, a fabled tribal history, and a wide range of environmental attractions, the Malaysian province on the north of the island of Borneo retains

elements of authenticity that are freely promoted to international tourists seeking unique adventures and access to traditional cultures (Sarawak Tourism Board, 2006). Among these attractions, the three-day RWMF, presented in the Western marketing rubric of "world music," provides tourists with a mixture of performances from the interior of Borneo and opportunities to participate in workshops and ethnomusical lectures featuring local and international musicians in a specially constructed cultural village.

Tradition and authenticity, where feasible, have been guiding principles for the organizers of the RWMF (Yeoh, 2006). Its success, however, has also captured attention from entrepreneurs who are interested in maximizing the commercial potential of the festival and drawing it away from its roots of "authenticity." Here, as in the case of tourist t-shirts featuring unauthorized reproductions of traditional motifs (available in Sarawak's capital of Kuching), it is possible to see an ongoing collision between the presentation of cultural authenticity and the commercial imperatives of the inbound tourism industry. This paper is based on empirical material collected in Sarawak in July 2005 and February 2006.

REPRESENTING THE LEGACIES OF CONFUCIUS: MODERN MEANINGS OF AN ANCIENT HERITAGE SITE IN CHINA
Hongliang Yan

Since Deng Xiaoping's Open Door and Reform policies of the late 1970s, China has actively been pursuing an agenda of "modernization" in many aspects of the economy and society. At the same time, the tensions generated between the demands of economic development, the rigid application of socialism, and the conservation of Chinese "tradition" now not only preoccupy the Chinese Communist Party authorities, but are also dominant in public discourse.

Notions of the "traditional" and the "modern" continue to be strongly contested concepts for the Chinese people. While ideas of Western modernization are being used as benchmarks for the economy, alternative strategies of development (so-called Confucian capitalism) are also being adopted which seem to allow for positions of modernity while not abandoning Chinese tradition. From this perspective, the relationships between tradition and modernity are viewed as socially constructed, contingent and interrelated. Furthermore, the view from the present, either looking backward or forward, problematizes the concept of "heritage" and how it should be mobilized.

Tourism, which is a key part of the Chinese modernization agenda for economic reasons, and also for reasons of global imaging, has been drawn into the wider debate as to what heritage represents and how it should be utilized. This paper examines how one particular heritage-tourism attraction exemplifies how notions of Chinese tradition are being challenged — not only by these internal drivers of development, but also by the needs and demands of tourists.

Through the case of the World Heritage Site in Qufu (including the temple, cemetery, and family mansion of Confucius), a

major symbol of traditional Chinese values and philosophy, I argue that the processes of negotiation that are taking place between locals and tourists (both domestic and international) and between the various local stakeholder groups around issues of presentation and interpretation are reflective of wider debates regarding what do with the concept of tradition.

CHINESE TOURISTS IN THAILAND: THE INVENTION OF A TOURIST EXPEREINCE
John Walsh and Pawana Techavimol

Although tourism is an extremely important industry for Thailand, understanding and researching it has been a significantly unbalanced business. While Western tourists may be subject to a barrage of questionnaires about their interests and experiences, the more numerous Malaysian and Chinese visitors pass in and out of the country with scarcely a second glance. The result is that there is very little understanding of the type of experience these visitors desire versus what they actually experience.

Chinese have been traveling to Thailand for centuries as merchants, migrant laborers, and prospective wives. However, the dominance of the Chinese Communist Party following 1949 prevented the outward flow of people, and it was not until three decades later that the Open Door Policy permitted Chinese to once again travel overseas. At first, of course, only elites were permitted to travel overseas, and it was a number of years before middle-class Chinese were able to consider tourism. Thereafter, their first experience of Thailand, as in other countries, was often zero-dollar tourism, in which they paid little or nothing for a trip, but were subject to a program of sightseeing and stops at tourist traps at which they were repeatedly asked to buy souvenirs. Such zero-dollar tourism eventually came into disrepute, however. Today Chinese package tours feature a series of cultural tours interspersed with retail stops, visits to which may be fewer in number but where the sales staff is no less insistent.

Although a large proportion of this travel business is controlled by ethnic Chinese Thais or Chinese working in Thailand, little effort has been made to discover what Chinese tourists would like to see and do in Thailand — how they visualize or contextualize a holiday there. Further, there has been little evaluation of the relation between tourists and the ethnic-minority Chinese in Thailand and the cultural institutions they have both retained and developed. Packages offered to Chinese tourists are distinctively different from those offered to people from other countries — why and how?

In this paper, we report on research into Chinese tourism in Thailand, the experiences and satisfaction of Chinese tourists, and their desires to create a new vision of Thailand for their enjoyment. To what extent are they complicit in or willing to consume a Thai experience that is as mannered and artificial as, for example, the Ethnic Minority Tourist Village in Yunnan Province?

TRAVEL, SELF, AND OTHER: EXPLORING TRAVEL AS RITUAL, EGO LOSS, AND RECONSTRUCTION
Emily Kearns

This paper articulates a theoretical framework for examining travel as ritual passage that creates liminal space to reconstruct subjectivities — Self and Other. It examines travel as providing the opportunity to experience loss of the familiar, loss of home, and to reestablish the Self through construction and consumption of an Other place, time and people. While primarily theoretical, it is informed by the author's ethnographic work in a wide array of research sites including Tibet, Malaysia, Cuba and Indonesia.

The paper is organized in three parts. Focusing on the ideas of Victor Turner and Georges Bataille, the first examines tourism, pilgrimage and ritual literatures as valuable theoretical framings for exploring travel in terms of transformative liminal spaces. Part two focuses on the psychological workings of the ego within travel's ritual liminal space. Through the work of Jacques Lacan, it suggests that the experience of travel is about ego, loss, desire, and human psychological development — specifically, the loss of a sense of self tied to the familiar, the mother culture, the home.

The third and final part employs Carl Jung's personal narrative of travel experiences to explore the individual and collective impact of this ego development inscribed through travel ritual. Here, the paper suggests that although the ego development process is universal and organic, it is incited by a specific liminality tied to travel, and is not ahistoric. Rather, Jung's work illustrates how the experience of ego loss and reconstruction in travel may be contextualized within and mediated by powerful and historically specific institutional forces and globalization.

In summary, this work suggests that, as ritual, travel facilitates a constructive process paralleling that of a child's ego development. Travel provides the opportunity for individuals to experience loss of the familiar, loss of the protective mother — one's comfortable home culture — and the reestablishment of self through the construction and consumption of an Other place, time and people.

B.8 ARCHITECTURAL MANIFESTATIONS OF GLOBAL CHANGES

HOUSES OF GUANGZHOU: SHIFTING IDENTITIES AMID MORPHOLOGICAL WARFARE
Howard Davis and Matthew Brown
University of Oregon, Eugene, U.S.A.

SPIRITUALITY AND HIGH TECHNOLOGY COMBINED: THE SWAMINARAYAN AKSHARDHAM COMPLEX AT GANDHINAGAR, INDIA
Renu Desai
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

FROM DESTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY TO AMAZING REALITY: HYPER-TRADITIONS IN THAI HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Karin Klinkajorn
King Mongkut's Institute of Technology, Ladkrabang, Thailand

DISJOINTED JAKARTA: HYPER-TRADITIONAL PLANNING ATTITUDES VS. RHIZOMATIC GROWTH IN A POSTCOLONIAL CITY
Dewi Susanti
Universitas Pelita Harapan, Jakarta, Indonesia

KAMPONG TUA TUNU: HYPER-TRADITION AND POWER-SPACE-PLACE MAKING
Undi Gunawan
Universitas Pelita Harapan, Tangerang, Indonesia

HOUSES OF GUANGZHOU: SHIFTING IDENTITIES AMID MORPHOLOGICAL WARFARE
Howard Davis and Matthew Brown

In the midst of current economic reforms, Chinese urban centers have become a morphological battleground between large-scale redevelopment and an emerging movement for "heritage conservation." In Guangzhou, China's 2,500-year-old southeastern commercial capital, neighborhoods are either being razed and replaced by concrete-and-glass hulks or are undergoing facade renovations to reflect "traditional" Chinese urban settings. As a port city distant from Beijing, Guangzhou has long been a place of fluid social and political formations, and such morphological transformations are not new. However, current redevelopment jeopardizes the historical continuity of its built environment by deleting it altogether or substituting a dubious, hyper-traditional replacement.

The need to investigate buildings within Guangzhou's surviving urban fabric is intensified by the numerous cycles of change

there since the Qing dissolution. After 1912 the city experienced a series of major dislocations and migrations during the convulsive decades of the Republic, the Japanese occupation, the Liberation era, the Cultural Revolution, and now economic liberalization. Remarkably, while the use of the city's traditional houses changed repeatedly, with little regard for their formative typological meanings, during these years, their basic form endured.

This paper constitutes an investigation into the specific transformations of Guangzhou houses in the context of post-Qing political-economic change and an examination of contemporary patterns that threaten their historical continuity. It compares built heritage to emerging hyper-traditions in an attempt to inspire further research into a subject highly relevant to the current planning environment in urban China.

Based on primary site research in Guangzhou conducted in 2005, the core of the paper is a description and analysis of houses in the city's Liwan and Yuexiu districts. The cases span different economic situations, locations, populations and architectural types, and many involve people who migrated to the city. One house tells the story of small satellite farming communities engulfed by rapid urban expansion. Another house, occupied by a family for four generations, and having accommodated such diverse enterprises as powdered-sucrose manufacturing and antique sales, highlights changes in economic policy. A third house, along a recently renovated street, is today occupied by a ground-floor clothing store, but contains numerous one-room apartments on the floors above that are occupied by poor workers who commute to outer-urban industrial work-unit facilities; it thus describes the jarring present-day overlap of two Chinas. A fourth case, an apartment building-cum-warehouse occupied by a mother of a local wholesaler, who has become his watchperson, illustrates the new opportunities in China's liberalizing economy.

Together, these buildings and the stories of their transformations (in addition to others included in the research), describe the changing identities of urban Guangzhou over the last century; the dislocations and migrations that accompanied those changes; the efforts of the present government to use heritage planning as a means to temper the story of that change; and the typological flexibility of buildings that allows them to maintain their usefulness. Finally, the paper will ask whether and how these buildings will survive the current phenomenon of Guangzhou's redevelopment.

SPIRITUALITY AND HIGH TECHNOLOGY COMBINED: THE SWAMINARAYAN AKSHARDHAM COMPLEX AT GANDHINAGAR, INDIA
Renu Desai

This paper examines the Swaminarayan Akshardham complex located in the city of Gandhinagar in western India. I argue that Akshardham, as it is commonly referred to, represents a new kind of religious space, one that is not meant to be simply spiritual and communal, but also entertaining and fun, a place where the devotee/visitor engages with a particular experience of modernity. Here, the reproduction of religious identity takes place not simply

through the act of worship and participation in the religious community, but equally through the mesmerizing technologies deployed in its spaces. This is hyper-tradition *par excellence*, for it seeks to create the ultimate "traditional" space (religious space) and reproduce the ultimate "traditional" identity (religious identity) through an unabashed engagement with modern technology.

Akshardham is an important site for the members of Bochasanwasi Shree Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha (BAPS), a religious sect that is perhaps one of the most influential of Hinduism today. Described on its website as "the most powerful experience of Indian culture," Akshardham is a new religious and cultural complex inaugurated in 1992. Built on a 23-acre site, it combines "art, architecture, education, research, exhibitions and devotion at one place." Although BAPS has a large presence in the Indian diaspora, and has centers and temples across 45 countries, these form a global network that is anchored in its international headquarters near Gandhinagar. The decision to build the first Akshardham complex in Gandhinagar was therefore not incidental, and it has resulted in visits by two million devotees and visitors from around the world every year. A second Akshardham complex was recently inaugurated in 2005 in New Delhi. It is in this context that this paper examines this "hyper-tradition."

In examining the Akshardham complex as a "hyper-tradition," I explore a number of questions. What are the spaces that constitute Akshardham, how are they organized, and what kind of modern technologies are deployed in them? How is Akshardham not simply a local site but also a transnational site? What are the narratives produced around/within Akshardham? What is the nature of religious identity produced by these narratives?

Through these questions, I attempt to show that the religious identities produced at/through Akshardham are not timeless and unchanging, but rather specific to and constituent of the current moment of resurgent Hindu nationalism. Furthermore, the experience of modernity at Akshardham somehow serves to legitimize, or make invisible and ambiguous, the exclusionary nature of these identities. The paper thus seeks to contribute to an understanding of how religious space might constitute the current moment of both accelerated global flows and resurgent religious nationalisms. The paper will draw upon interviews with devotees, visitors and volunteers at the complex; participant observation in its spaces; a study of its website and audio-visual material produced about the complex; and existing research on the BAPS sect. The paper will also draw upon some of the narratives produced around the new Akshardham complex at New Delhi.

FROM DESTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY TO AMAZING REALITY: HYPER-TRADITIONS IN THAI HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Karin Klinkajorn

Following its establishment in 1782, Krung Rattanakosin became the preeminent focus of the Thai Chakri dynasty's legitimizing symbols and rituals. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the threat embodied by nearby colonial incursions led the Thai monarchs to seek other, more explicit ways to identify their state and society. One of these was the creative use of heritage conservation to authenticate the culture, unity, continuity and legitimacy of the Siamese state and its rulers. Eventually, the kings' policy on international relations, heritage conservation, nation-building, and modernization along Western lines allowed the nation and its absolute monarchy to survive.

In 1932, however, a small group of European-educated civilians and discontented military officers toppled the absolute monarchy and introduced s democratic form of government with the king as a constitutional monarch. In the years that followed, the status of the Siamese monarchy and its sacred representation were suppressed, and in 1939 the country was renamed Thailand to popularize Thai identity. During this time, the connection between nation-building and built heritage was strongly emphasized. However, little was achieved in terms of archeology and conservation. Instead, the symbolic interlacing of national unity, city history, and heroism achieved through literary and dramatic fantasies provided a nationalistic foundation for the valuing of built heritage. Newly invented (Western-based) rituals and festivities were also introduced, detracting tremendously from Thai cultural heritage. At this time, heritage conservation came to be seen primarily as a way for nationalist dictators to achieve their political interests.

During the Cold War, the Thai government sought to restore the prestige of the monarchy and to forge a new sense of national unity through order, hierarchy and religion. The monarchy and its sacred representation were revitalized, focusing attention once again on Krung Rattanakosin as a ceremonial site. In 1995 the government released the Krung Rattanakosin Conservation and Development Plan, which was heavily influenced by an evocation of neotraditional Thai royal urbanism, and which stressed a desire to create new vistas and recreational open spaces at the expense of traditional places and communities in the city.

After the Asian crisis of 1997, the government's striving for economic recovery gave rise to the notion that the only way to be truly creative was to be different — making things new, original and unexpected. New development strategies and programs were introduced and implemented to promote economic growth, pushing destructive creativity to the extreme. At Krung Rattanakosin and other cultural heritage sites in the country there is now great pressure to replace traditional environments and communities with hyper-real construction projects and tourism developments. Such attempts are pushing forward to create an artificial whole, racked with tensions and contradictions — like Songkran, a festival of blessing which has been remade as a real-world version of a splash-fest video-game for the tourist market. What is most frightening is that public policy and the private market are becoming more creative than ever in promoting such amazing levels of destruction.

By presenting case studies from many parts of Thailand and highlighting initiatives and practices where conflict can be replaced by consensus and effective management, this paper examine the complex relationships between identities, festivities, cultural events, politics, and tourism, focusing in cultural heritage conservation and development.

DISJOINTED JAKARTA: HYPER-TRADITIONAL PLANNING ATTITUDES VS. RHIZOMATIC GROWTH IN A POSTCOLONIAL CITY
Dewi Susanti

This essay discusses transportation systems in Jakarta as means to illustrate urban experiences and a conceptual framework for the city. Jakarta's transportation systems can be categorized into five modes: planned, privatized and informal public transportation; and private transportation, consisting of passenger cars and motorcycles. The relationship between these five modes can best be described as disjointed, as they do not compose a unity, a connection, or a coherent whole.

Mappings of individual transportation routes reveal that the disjointed quality of Jakarta's transportation systems has resulted in four conditions. The first two involve the significant amount of time wasted and the heavy cost placed on Jakartans, particularly users of public transportation, and especially the lower-middle class.

The third condition is that the privatized — and, to a higher degree, informal public transportation systems — create a rhizomatic network as a result of independently determined routes and terminals. Jakarta's transportation systems are organized based on differing logics, creating problems specific to each type.

The fourth condition is the differing experiences of Jakartans — whether they use private cars, motorcycles, planned public transportation, buses, and minibuses, *angkot* (small vans) and informal public transportation, or walk. Each category represents people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, who know assorted areas of Jakarta, and experience them independently of one another. The disjointed transportation systems create disjointed experiences, and heighten socioeconomic divides within the city's population.

The paper attempts to map the development of Jakarta's transportation system vis-à-vis its geographic expansion, revealing three possible explanations for its transportation-experience-area-class disjointedness. The first is the inconsistency between planning and implementation — which has partially been caused by the government's authoritarian leadership style and interest in monumental (rather than everyday) constructions. Such attitudes have resulted in the creation of spatial experiences not much different from those of colonial times. If anything, the fast growth of the city has exacerbated the problem, creating a multilayered city in which each layer is removed from the others.

The second plausible explanation is that the present disjointedness is driven by political and/or economic motives. Thus, planning approaches focused on an imagined Jakarta overlook the reality of its middle and lower classes. The third explanation, which is commonly voiced by politicians, is that the middle and lower classes persist within environments that are out of sync with the modern metropolis. In other words, their lives are still dominated by old traditions that persist from rural contexts.

KAMPONG TUA TUNU: HYPER-TRADITION AND POWER-SPACE-PLACE MAKING
Undi Gunawan

Since colonial times the basis of the economy of Bangka Island, Indonesia, has been the production of tin and pepper. Today, the physical environment of the island is formed according to the location and distribution of these natural resources. Kampong Tua Tunu is one of many scattered villages on the island that has played an important role in pepper cultivation and production.

As one of the earliest forms of globalization — of modernity — colonialization by the Dutch changed spatial relationships throughout the island. For example, colonists forced the island's originally nomadic population to create compact villages along the major paths across it. This condition can be seen in the location and linear arrangement of Kampong Tua Tunu. Such foreign influences, together with an underlying social pragmatism within Malay identity can be used to understand the formation of traditional settlements on the island.

The paper examines the relationship between traditional settlements, ideological impacts on physical-spatial relationships, and theoretical understandings of spatial traditions originated by colonialization.

C.8 GLOBAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND LOCAL TRADITIONS

GLOBALIZATION AND HYBRIDIZATION IN A POSTNOMADIC NATIVE COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF VASHRA'II K'OO, ALASKA
Steven C. Dinero
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MUSCAT: RETHINKING ITS HERITAGE
Mohamed El Amrousi
United Arab Emirates University, Dubai, U.A.E.

ASCENDING DRAGONS OF THE MEKONG: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN CAMBODIA, LAOS AND VIETNAM
Joseph Aranha
Texas Tech University, Lubbock, U.S.A.

A VILLAGE IN THE *GARRIGUE*: COMPETING VISIONS FOR THE *MIDI* OF CÉZANNE AND THE ARTISTS
Elizabeth Riorden
University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.

THE FRONTIER OF A THEME PARK: A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN BOWANG
Liang-yi Yen
Feng Chia University, Taiwan

GLOBALIZATION AND HYBRIDIZATION IN A POST-NOMADIC NATIVE COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF VASHRA'II K'OO, ALASKA
Steven C. Dinero

For 10,000 years, Alaska's Native peoples lived as nomadic hunter-gatherers, surviving off the land against difficult odds in one of the most severe climates on Earth. This began to change following European "contact" about 250 years ago. With contact, Alaska Native social, economic and political structures were actively altered by the colonizers as they conquered the vast territory that would eventually become the forty-ninth state. The rifle replaced the bow and arrow, the fur trade augmented subsistence activities, and Christianity was adopted by all of Alaska's Native peoples (nominally, if not in actual practice).

These changes were most clearly brought to the fore through the settlement of the Native peoples during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into small villages scattered throughout the wilderness. Settlement was fostered though the formalization of educational and religious institutions, centered round the local school building and the church. However, jobs in the new villages were few, and subsistence remained a mainstay; by the lat-

ter part of the twentieth century, such villages could be typified as economically disadvantaged — suffering from high wage-labor unemployment and from numerous social problems including high rates of alcohol/drug abuse, wife/child abuse and suicide, and political structures dominated by familial/tribal influences.

Using data collected in one village, Vashr'aii K'oo, the paper examines how the village continues to develop and evolve as a Native space since its initial creation in 1908. I compare and analyze data I collected using a household survey in 2006 (following the completion of a number of community development projects) with that I collected in a 1999 survey. In this way I have been able to address and measure a number of issues, including the village residents' economic standing; subsistence activities; attitudes toward their children's education; use and attitudes toward their healthcare service; satisfaction with the governance of the village; residents' overall attitudes toward the degree to which their village actually functions as an "ethnic space" (measured indirectly through a variety of pieces of data).

It was my previous conclusion (2005) that the residents of Vashr'aii K'oo have used globalizing forces to their advantage, effectively bridging the Native and white worlds in a manner which allows them to live in both, yet retain a strong sense — or perhaps, a stronger sense — of their ethnic identity now that they reside in a settled, postnomadic environment. The paper concludes by suggesting that the development of this hybridized Alaska Native — one who hunts caribou by day and surfs the Web by night; who fishes with a line wrapped round a coffee can before going home to watch Dish television; who heats his home with wood, but fetches his wood with a snowmobile and chain saw — may be viewed as yet a further adaptation to an ever-changing environment by a population that remains who they are and always have been: the Caribou People of the Chandalar.

MUSCAT: RETHINKING ITS HERITAGE
Mohamed El Amrousi

The emergence of Dubai as a modern Arab city that caters to a society of the spectacle has evoked abrupt changes in the urban milieu of neighboring cities like Muscat, in Oman. Muscat, with a rich multiethnic background dating to the time of Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century, and including a well-developed Arab-Indio architectural heritage, is currently undergoing a major reconstruction. However, by reconstruction I do not mean a process of technical restoration, but one of cultural inclusion and exclusion.

Today Muscat's Indian/Shia quarter, al-Lawatiya, with its ornate facades, projecting balconies, poly-lobed arches, has been included in this process. Known as Matrah, this part of the city underwent restoration in the 1990s and has been reinhabited by its Shia community, contingently placing it beyond hyper-realism. However, Muscat's administrative center is today undergoing cultural and physical fragmentation. Much of the fabric of the old city has been bulldozed, and only selected buildings remain intact. Muscat's plan to evolve into a modern/global city has contributed

to this erasure of collective memory. Today, the reshaping of its central district has brought urban simulacra and entangled orders of cultural simulation. Since the seventh century Ibadies have managed to preserved Muscat via a religio-political dogma that promoted a small-scale, unpretentious urbanism. However, a series of ambivalent results have emerged as these policies have intersected with global challenges.

Muscat's contemporary urban evolution has also involved creation of monumental religious institutions in new parts of the city. The neo-Mughal-styled mosque of Sultan Qabus al-Akbar, accessible only by car, transcends the physical scale of any mosque in Oman. Furthermore, its choice of a representational architecture seems to pay greatest tribute to Raj architecture in New Delhi — in particular, the Government and Secretariat buildings. In reference to postcolonial discourse, these new "forms of dominance" attempt to replace Ibadi urban traditions. Furthermore, while Ibadi mosques are generally modest, the interiors of this grand structure employ elaborately netted stucco, extensive surfaces of marble, and finely executed tile mosaics. The allegorical reference here is to Ibn Battuta's visit to the Omani coast in fourteenth century, and his allusion to a mosque with tile mosaic *zelij*. However, Ibn Battuta's words have been transformed to representational imagery — then sublime reality.

The paper explores the contemporary urban facets of Muscat as an emerging modern capital city. It highlights Muscat's urban policies of inclusion and exclusion of pasts, employing representations that transgress reality.

ASCENDING DRAGONS OF THE MEKONG: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN CAMBODIA, LAOS AND VIETNAM
Joseph Aranha

Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, formerly known as Indochina, are countries linked as well as divided by the Mekong River. During the latter half of twentieth century this region was torn apart, fragmented and impoverished by war, genocide and political change. These countries were also isolated from the rest of the world until relatively recently. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, this region is one of the most rapidly growing and developing regions of Southeast Asia. These nations of the Mekong are now at peace, and have reopened their doors to tourism and the free market.

While trying to fulfill aspirations for the future by creating buildings and places that convey modernity, these countries are also being challenged by the realities of the present, such as urban growth and the condition of traditional river communities. They are simultaneously being energized by new freedoms that provide opportunities to continue or to revive traditions of the past. These forces of change are creating a dynamic mosaic consisting of traditional landscapes, ancient temples, and restored shophouses, together with newly created "hyper" places for tourists and the newly wealthy.

This paper addresses notions of "hyper" versus "real" places through an observational field study of four cases from the region. It will describe and discuss landscapes of tourism, floating communities, urban heritage preservation, and the changing character of cities in this region.

A VILLAGE IN THE *GARRIGUE*: COMPETING VISIONS FOR THE *MIDI* OF CÉZANNE AND THE ARTISTS
Elizabeth Riorden

The traditional regions of Southern France, as is the case with many cultural landscapes worldwide, are threatened by development pressures and new settlement patterns. Unlike many other cultural landscapes, however, the *Midi* is known to a wide audience through the images of artists such as Paul Cézanne. At the extreme, Van Gogh's "Starry Night" has become something of a regional cliché. However, the devaluation of these images through overuse has done little to diminish their potency in the popular imagination.

The cultural landscape of the *Midi* received attention from scholars in the 1960s. Recently, however, the literature is relatively silent about the region, almost as if the painted images we know so well suffice, and as if further study, reflection, and conservation proposals are unnecessary. Based on observations made over a period of 34 years, this paper begins to address the lack of analysis of a place subject to rapid, and possibly irrevocable, change.

By the mid-twentieth century there were already two distinctly opposed populations in the area: the indigenous ex-rural ("residents"), and the seasonal aesthetes ("visitors"). Each group had a differing relationship with authenticity, vis-à-vis cultural representation, and each also had corresponding preferences for living space. The "residents" preferred new buildings, identifiable as houses with yards and areas for parking. The "visitors" preferred old buildings, usually vernacular and recycled, within traditional organic village formations, or otherwise integrated into the landscape. For years, the "residents" have taken their cultural heritage somewhat for granted (at least, it was not exotic to them, because familiar). However, it has remained an important alternate source of income, especially for those who once struggled to farm marginal land, such as the rocky, scrubby *garrigue*.

Recent infrastructure advances (high-speed trains, abundant electricity from nuclear plants, low-cost airlines), have accelerated development growth for both populations. As with the recent protest against a proposed wind farm, the stage is being set for possible confrontation.

The common pattern of artist colonies leading the way to gentrification has happened here on a macro-scale. The "visitors" have put the traditional farmsteads, or *mas*, to new uses, many converted to holiday homes and hotels — their owners often British, German, Swiss or American. Such people invest in the region because they understand and appreciate its cultural landscape. For them, it is unique and evocative, despite its diminishing authenticity.

For the "residents," however, the situation looks different. Urban growth has long attracted young people with jobs that appear more glamorous than agriculture. And when this ex-rural population begins growing a family, their ideal is a new house in a suburban setting. These new houses are a form of kitsch, since they mimic elements of the traditional rural vernacular without authenticity. Such a settlement pattern is damaging to local heritage value, however, since it is completely alien, and destroys the uniqueness of the traditional landscape.

In the end both populations contribute to the deterioration of historic landscape values. We need further study and critical thinking to find alternate approaches which satisfy both groups.

THE FRONTIER OF A THEME PARK: A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN BOWANG
Liang-yi Yen

This study focuses on the community development process of Bowang Village in the context of the theming of built environments in Taiwan. Located on the edge of Qingjing Area, in the mountainous country of central Taiwan, Bowang Village is one of the three servicemen's residential compounds set up in the 1960s by the government to settle Dianmian guerilla veterans, who had fought against Communist troops on the southern border of China for ten years.

From the 1960s Qingjing Area provided agricultural land as well as new home villages for Dianmian veterans and their families. However, after 1992, when the government began to lease Qingjing's public lands, theme-hotels that imitated European vernacular houses also began to grow rapidly in Qingjing, making it a "theme park" featuring European countryside landscapes.

While most places in Qingjing have since been converted into themed environments by investors, Bowang Village did not participate in this process because of its remoteness from the core of Qingjing. What are the responses of the Bowang villagers now that the village has been surrounded by such themed environments?

Inspired by the theoretical discussions of themed environments, simulations and hyper-reality, this study examines the physical and social space of Bowang Village, and explores ways it could survive the threat of theme tourism. At the end of the paper, I suggest that the theming of Qingjing Area has generated both economic and cultural crises for the Bowang villagers. But it has also produced a real and imagined site in which the Bowang villagers could struggle against the dominating force of investors, revitalize the local economy, and reshape the local identity by creatively reconstituting hyper-reality in a themed environment.

A.9 SELLING THE PRODUCTS OF TRADITION

FOR EXPORT ONLY: *AYAHUASCA* TOURISM AND HYPER-TRADITIONALISM
Daniela M. Peluso and Miguel Nomikós Alexiades
University of Kent, Canterbury, U.K.

MADE IN CHINA: A CYPRIOT VILLAGE IN TRANSITION
Rosemary Latter
Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, U.K.

ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION AS A PRODUCT OF TOURISM: REPRODUCING ABORIGNAL BUILT ENVIRONMENTS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Tim O'Rourke
University of Queensland, Australia

THE LOSS OF VERNACULAR REFERENCES: PRIVATE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN KOTA WISATA, INDONESIA
Triatno Yudo Harjoko and Peter Yogan Gandakusuma
University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

FOR EXPORT ONLY: *AYAHUASCA* TOURISM AND HYPER-TRADITIONALISM
Daniela M. Peluso and Miguel Nomikós Alexiades

This paper will discuss an example of hyper-traditionalism that is increasingly widespread throughout the Amazon: the intensification of the *ayahuasca* healing ritual as a product for sale in shamanistic tourism. Like many hyper-traditions, the *ayahuasca* ceremony — as marketed to Westerners through new technologies and in its own local post-traditional discourse — makes reference to distorted histories about the "indigenous" use of the hallucinogenic plant *ayahuasca (Banisteriopsis caapi)*. In this global context, the use of *ayahuasca* and the practitioners who use it are de-linked from the cultures and locations from which they are assumed to have originated. Moreover, the ritual itself has been sanitized and purged of its more ambiguous aspects that contradict global tourism philosophies or which are unpalatable to outsiders.

Ayahuasca tourism is a form of shamanistic and "new-age" adventure tourism whereby mostly Westerners travel to exotic locations to ingest *ayahuasca* (an admixture of *Banisteriopsis caapi* and other admixtures containing DMT) under the guidance of an *ayahuasquero* — a person, perhaps a specialist. The promotion of this ritual has created geographical pockets of places where the drinking of *ayahuasca* is nearly exclusive for *ayahuasca* tourists — "for export only." In this case study of the southeastern Peruvian Amazon, we will examine the conditions for the intensification of

the *ayahuasca* ritual performed for global tourists as it takes place among "local" specialists, who themselves have learned these traditions from individuals of other ethnic groups from distant geographical regions. Accordingly, we will also look at practitioners who travel from cosmopolitan settings to place themselves in a local setting so as to render their services more appealing.

On a broader level, the proliferation of this practice can be seen as a response to conditions of globalization that propagate exotic tourism, leaving no point on the map "unvisited." Locally, globalization is still seen as an encroaching modernity — something lingering in the near horizon — in a setting where socio-political and economic conditions have not changed or improved people's livelihoods in any significant way. The sudden accessibility to Web advertising and electronic articles — mediated by tourism companies, new-age publications and journalists — has marketed what was once a sporadic occurrence between local people and visitors as a possibility for mass consumption and comfort. Together, these local and global circumstances meet several of the global tourists' needs: "authentic" experiences in traditional or indigenous communities, mystical quests within "genuine" religious traditions, and "ritual" forms of recreational drug use. All this takes place is the lush tropical landscape, inhabited by underprivileged people, in and out of which global tourists may go as they please.

Ayahuasca tourism, in its de-linking of identity and place while simultaneously intensifying a traditional healing tool in response to a global market, offers yet a further dimension to the notion of hyper-tradition. In the very encounter between the global tourist and the accommodating host, there is an implicit dual significance of dislocation — both in the use of *ayahuasca* out of place and context, and in the tourists dislocation from his or her own place and spiritual traditions. As such, hyper-traditionalism also implies a theoretical discussion of the notions of tradition, post-tradition, and mimesis.

Furthermore, we suggest that globalization and hyper-traditionalism, in the case of *ayahuasca* tourism, have also changed the character and milieu of *ayahuasca* rituals. Whereas the "local" use of *ayahuasca* is centered on healing and sometimes harming through dieting, visions, singing, guidance and purging, the marketing to and desires of the global tourism has purged it of its more ambiguous negative associations and combined it with other Western forms of organization and new-age spirituality such as safety, hygiene, nudity, music and dancing. Whereas such transformations have been lucrative for particular *ayahuasqueros,* locally, this new image has alienated people from practitioners who now cater to tourism and created conflicts among *ayahuasquero* who do not reformulate their images for outsiders. In this sense, hyper-traditionalism can be seen as an obliterating force against the local, more "traditional" use of this healing method.

MADE IN CHINA: A CYPRIOT VILLAGE IN TRANSITION
Rosemary Latter

The village of Pano Lefkara in Cyprus has a long tradition of handmade lace (*lefkaritika*). A skill passed down from mother to daughter for centuries, the lace is of exceptionally high quality and known throughout the world: Leonardo da Vinci is said to have bought some for the altar of Milan Cathedral when he visited Cyprus in 1481. This once prosperous and attractive town still draws tourists to see the lace-making process, but its traditional cottage industry is also facing the challenges of globalization. Due to manufacturing cost differentials and the decreasing number of women taking up lace-making as a living, it is now more economical to import imitation "Lefkara" lace from China. Based on recent fieldwork, this paper examines the impact these changing circumstances have had on the economic, social and built environment of Lefkara.

To maintain the attractiveness of the town as a tourist destination, *lefkaritika* has increasingly been marketed as a brand. Visitors are dropped off by tour buses, and guided along a circuit of shops, past lace table linen displayed in front, facing onto the street. Here, they experience high-pressure selling from the shopkeepers, until within an hour they return to their coaches. Meanwhile, the opportunity to see the rest of the town, with its attractive back streets and churches, is limited, and there are no obvious directions to guide them beyond the main shopping street. Many tourists are unable to afford the "real" lace, but they may be tempted by other, cheaper souvenirs. Goods are either authentic but expensive, or imports of ambivalent meaning, often unrelated to the place. In providing such an extensive choice of disparate items, purchasing patterns become disorientating and hollow, catering to the acquisitive instincts of both parties, while undermining the real product. As a result, Lefkara is becoming a simulated space for the tourist market. Lace, both real and counterfeit, has become symbolic of this identity crisis.

Other factors have contributed to the physical decay of parts of the town. Small shops once had living quarters above them, but they can no longer accommodate families in the way they once did, and suburbs of new housing are being built. Partible inheritance has led to fragmented ownership among extended families, many of whom emigrated during earlier periods of economic downturn. These absentee landowners do not maintain the houses, but they are reluctant to sell a "piece of home"; as a consequence, many buildings have deteriorated, some to the point of collapse. Political and ethnic turmoil also left some areas of Lefkara abandoned by the Turkish Cypriot population in the 1960s. Nevertheless, a small but growing number of outsiders is purchasing what property becomes available, further changing the social balance in the town.

Today, a pilot study of Lefkara is being undertaken as part of a European Union project to rehabilitate settlements around the Mediterranean (Rehabimed). As part of the project, funding has been allocated to repair and conserve some of the plastered facades of particular Neoclassical houses. This will tidy up a

neglected street or two. However, external measures for cosmetic enhancements are unlikely to address the more fundamental challenges of this once beautiful old town. What will the forces of globalization cost in social terms and in the loss of traditional skills? Should this provoke a protectionist response, both to the built environment and the local economy, or is the hyper-tradition of Chinese/Greek lace the new reality?

ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION AS A PRODUCT OF TOURISM: REPRODUCING ABORGINAL BUILT ENVIRONMENTS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Tim O'Rourke

In the more remote parts of Aboriginal Australia, the continuity of precontact traditions can be identified in self-built structures, adaptations to housing, and in persistent Aboriginal ways of occupying indigenous landscapes. Belittled, discouraged, and often expunged since colonization, Aboriginal built environments reveal methods and approaches to ameliorate the cultural and social consequences of ill-considered modern housing.

More recently, the curiosity of tourists has encouraged the revival of lapsed, classical Aboriginal traditions, including the reconstruction of dwellings. Variously reproduced or reinterpreted as tourism products, depending on geography and contact history, the traditions are also germane to Aboriginal identity.

This paper examines the relationship between cultural tourism and the conservation of Aboriginal building traditions (ethno-architecture) in the Wet Tropics of northeastern Queensland. It draws on fieldwork with Jirrbal and Girramay elders who reconstructed dome-shaped dwellings from rainforest materials in the remnant landscapes of their traditional country. Despite the infiltration of modernity during the twentieth century, their knowledge and skills were maintained by necessity and cultural imperative, as seasonal self-constructed camps helped to retain connection to country.

In the Wet Tropics region in the twenty-first century, cultural tourism offers perhaps the only viable method of conserving these traditions. Yet the tourism product changes the function of the tradition, a new symbolic role replacing the utilitarian. One of the consequences of tourism is a transformation of traditions based on skills and knowledge embedded in place to a practice that meets an uneven, nonspecific demand; the response creates a "hyper-tradition."

Although the "hyper-tradition" serves an important political and (potentially) financial purpose, a comparison of the tourism product with a lived-in Aboriginal camp exposes the reduction in content of the tradition, particularly a reduction in ecological knowledge. Among other findings, the research reveals the tenuousness of the extant knowledge and skills that inform the tradition, a loss that underscores the importance of salvaging ethno-architectural knowledge.

THE LOSS OF VERNACULAR REFERENCES: PRIVATE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN KOTA WISATA, INDONESIA
Triatno Yudo Harjoko and Peter Yogan Gandakusuma

The study seeks to uncover a predisposition among private housing developers in Indonesian cities to create schizophrenic urban landscapes. Three factors are cited for this trend. First, mass-communication technology (television, Internet, and printed media) have been effective at selling capitalist ideas and products. Second, educational and professional practices and politicians have been biased toward a dominant and global episteme. Third, capitalism as an episteme has deterritorialized the boundaries of local traditions of housing development that created a new set of vernacular values.

Since the establishment of the Real Estate Indonesia (REI) in 1970s, private urban housing development in has flourished in the country. It has also gradually grown from a "primordial" mode such as with Pondok Indah (Beautiful House), Kelapa Gading, Sunter, Pluit, and Bintaro (which were named after their locations). Today it includes housing estates that attempt to sell "dreams," such as Kota Wisata (literally "Tour City"). Here clusters of housing bear names like Mediterranean Lagoon Apartment, Beverly Hills Cluster, Queen Victoria Residence, Raffles Hills, Vienna Cluster, Monaco, New Orlando, Den Haag, Central Park, The Hollywood Apartment, Alexandria Residence, The Beverly Hills Resort Residence, Gold Coast Apartment, Santa Monica City Home, Paris Residence BSD, etc. Development of this kind has grown at unprecedented rates everywhere in Jakarta and in other big cities in Indonesia.

This study is grounded on the cultural dyad episteme-human living space. It seeks to uncover a predisposition toward alien or unfamiliar agents in the private housing sector in Indonesia. Content analysis is carried out and primarily based on the available media that have been used by the developers.

The study concludes that new media and communications technologies have succeeded in bringing images that trigger human desires to realize dreams of pleasurable living. Architecture, in this context, can be perceived as influenced by a unity of "body" (physical entities) and "mind" (episteme), especially that which is closely related to the idea of global capitalism. In Foucaultian terms, an episteme is organized around and explicable in terms of a specific worldview and discourse that is characterized by particular institutions, disciplines, knowledge, rules and activities. This episteme penetrates educational, professional and public spheres.

Findings show that despite the prevalence of such schizophrenic housing development, anomalies prevail within. Namely, some residents occupying the new architecture will be tempted to "redesign" their houses according to local, familiar values.

B.9 HYPER-SPACES OF DETENTION, EXCEPTION, AND TRANSGRESSION

BEYOND THE SPECTACLE: AL-SAHA HERITAGE VILLAGE, BEIRUT
Mona Khechen
Boston, U.S.A.

THE STATE AND ITS OTHERS: CHALLENGING THE DOUBLE PERCEPTION OF A-LOCALITY
Oryan Shachar, Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, and Rachel Seba
Technion, Haifa, Israel

BETWEEN NATION AND THE WORLD: TRANSFORMING SPACE AND IDENTITY THROUGH THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE
Romola Sanyal
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

THE SEDUCTION OF DESTRUCTION
Aarati Kanekar
University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.

BEYOND THE SPECTACLE: AL-SAHA HERITAGE VILLAGE, BEIRUT
Mona Khechen

With the growth of the tourist and entertainment industries, demand for scenes and experiences that are simulations or representations of reality, rather than reality itself, has increased exponentially. As a result, history and theme-o-centric development are increasingly becoming marketable commodities. As a physical manifestation of this trend, staged heritage villages, theatrical events, and other "hyper"-traditions are being created and re-created to cater to the gaze of consumers seeking new experiences.

The concept of a "heritage village" — a living history museum — is not new. During the second half of the twentieth century, some historical museums — mainly in the U.S.A. — evolved into heritage villages and resource centers. Others were created to celebrate the history and traditions of certain localities or populations (e.g., Ukrainian Cultural Heritage, the Spanish American Heritage, Old Sturbridge Heritage, Dallas Heritage, Pinellas County Heritage, etc.). Ever since, the concept of heritage villages has spread broadly. In the Middle East, Hatta Heritage Village in Dubai opened to the public in 2001, selling the desert experience to adventure-seeking visitors. And Al-Saha Heritage Village opened in Beirut in 2004, selling the Lebanese village lifestyle to an urbanite population.

By putting visitors in an immersive and interactive historical setting, heritage villages provide leisure, entertainment, and

potentially experimental and educational environments. At the same time, they incite a simplistic dichotomy between the village and the city (or the "village-community" and the "city-group"). They also provoke complex questions related to memory and cultural identity. This paper will address such issues by focusing on Al-Saha Village in Beirut, a revenue-generating restaurant/hotel owned by the Mabarrat charities of Lebanon's leading Shiite cleric, Sayyed Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah.

The project was recently awarded the Arab Towns Organization prize for respecting its social, economic and environmental circumstances. According to its architect, Al-Saha Village is inspired by the literary works of the Lebanese writer Anis Frayha. Nonetheless, Al-Saha Village is also promoted as an "Islamic Tourism" destination. According to al-Hamarneh and Steiner (2004), this term embodies three components: 1) an economic concept which aims at increasing tourism between the countries of the Muslim world; 2) a cultural concept which focuses on Islamic themes; and 3) a conservative religious concept, based on promoting tourism based on fundamental principles of Islam (alcohol-free, gender-segregated, and financed by Muslim groups or organizations).

The paper is organized in three parts. The first briefly examines the birth of the concept of the heritage village, its defining characteristics, and its evolution in relation to emerging technologies and new communication and economic patterns. The second investigates how cultural myths and nostalgic fantasies are absorbed and simulated by the makers of these villages, and how the stage-set environment shapes a common understanding of social life and its transformation. The third part discusses Al-Saha Village as a rhetorical creation and how its addresses a growing desire for both a new Islamic kind of tourism and a new Lebanese architectural identity.

THE STATE AND ITS OTHERS: CHALLENGING THE DOUBLE PERCEPTION OF A-LOCALITY
Oryan Shachar, Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, and Rachel Seba

This paper examines the encounter between the modern architecture of Israeli planning institutions and the dwelling pattern of the introverted ultra-orthodox Hassidic community. It focuses on the confrontation between the two traditions and the ways it has challenged both parties' different, yet entrenched conceptions of a-locality.

The dialogue between the two entities was opened in the early 1970s when they set out to plan an ultra-orthodox quarter in the town of Hatzor Haglilit, which had originally been developed in the 1950s. The planner was leading architect David Reznik, whose life history, modernist sources of inspiration, and previous commissions largely embodied the politics of the Israeli state. The clients were the separatist, ultra-Orthodox community of Gur Hassidim, whose communal life preserved a diaspora consciousness within the Land of Israel, despite their residence in a Jewish sovereign state.

At the center of the encounter was a double perception of a-locality. On the one hand was a traditional philosophy that emphasized the spiritual significance of the Land of Israel rather than sanctifying its earthly, local and concrete elements. On the other were more modern notions of Israeli nation-building predicated on a *tabula rasa* ideology that emphasized the spirit of the age over cultural dimensions of place. By engaging in the project of mutually building a new quarter, both parties challenged this common denominator of a-locality, which directly confronted them with issues of settlement, territory, and architectural design. Based on interviews with the architect and members of the orthodox community, archival material, and analysis of the plans and urban design of the quarter, the paper attempts to examine the encounter between the secular criticism of the state's modern architecture and the changes in the ultra-Orthodox Hassidic perception and identification with secular-governmental ideas.

The paper argues that the work with the closed, heterotopic community allowed Reznik to realize his ideas about communal values in urban planning. These ideas about fostering the identity between a group and its residential setting were developed in the context of a generational shift in Israeli architecture. That shift had been inspired by criticism of the modern movement elsewhere in the world, by groups and movements such as Team 10 and New-Brutalism, and it accorded with historical and geopolitical circumstances in Israel.

For the Hassidic community, the opportunity to institutionally tailor a built framework to their unique needs made it possible to create a new type of negotiation with the surrounding Israeli society and its institutions, while engaging its values of settling the Land of Israel and identifying its territory with the Zionist state. This encounter turned the project into a testing ground for the dynamic relationship between the state and its marginalized, separatist communities.

BETWEEN NATION AND THE WORLD: TRANSFORMING SPACE AND IDENTITY THROUGH THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE
Romola Sanyal

In narrating the experience of refugees from East Bengal in Calcutta, Pradip Bose makes a few astute observations. First among these is the notion that refugees crystallize the conflict between two founding principles of modern society: belief in the universal human rights, and the sovereignty of nation-states. The other is that a satisfactory outcome of the adjustment process necessitates a certain complementarity between refugees and their host societies. A degree of similarity between a refugee's traditional culture and that of a host society, as well as a general similarity in social structure, can play a major role in speeding the adjustment process. In other words, the adjustment and transition that a rehabilitation process entails must negotiate past and present, tradition and modernity, culture as exchange, memories and identities. Above all, the process of rehabilitation is a practice in which identities are produced, consumed, regulated, sustained and invalidated.

Keeping these observations in mind, it is perhaps possible to interrogate the condition of "refugeeness" as a unique form of migration that is as much about place-making as identity formation.

Refugees engage in various techniques of survival as they live in the space between international refugee-protection laws and national development practices. This often results in them becoming pawns in larger international conflicts or national agendas. In order to effectively counter such exploitation and survive in alien environments, refugees often engage in unique place-making practices that engage both memory and dependency on kinship networks. Refugee spaces thus become spaces of remembrance and resistance, as they both challenge local hegemonies and become tools of identity formation.

In order to examine these phenomena, this paper will look at two different spaces that evolved around the same time through different social practices. The first site of investigation is that of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, which is unique because it consists of re-created village groups within refugee camps. The camps, set up by the Lebanese authorities and administered by the UNRWA, have become spatial tools that challenge the international community's ongoing effort to deal with the Palestinian question. The second site, on the eastern fringes of Calcutta, originated following the partition of British colonial India in 1947. In this case, however, refugees from East Bengal grew tired of the Indian government's inability to deal with their placeless condition and squatted on open land. In both cases, the separation of refugees from the local population has led to unique forms of association that have kept alive memories of the places left behind. Simultaneously, these forms of association have became a means of survival and resistance within a climate of local animosity toward the refugee presence.

Unlike economic migrants, who can blend into the local landscape, refugees, by virtue of their stateless condition, cannot escape their confinement. It is precisely because of these constraints that hyper-traditions emerge, not only for the refugee, but for the local population as well. Thus, the very label of "refugee" enables the creation of heritage for both the local space and the refugee space, which are often constructed against each other. These spaces may eventually become the physical embodiment of heritage-making and ultimately place- and identity-making.

THE SEDUCTION OF DESTRUCTION
Aarati Kanekar

Theoretical explorations through visual means have been the hallmark of designers for centuries. From Leonardo's sketches and Piranesi's dramatic *chiaroscuro* images of the Carceri, to Hejduk's poetic archetypes and Libeskind's gymnastic explorations, such "paper" architecture has established a unique place in architectural discourse. Within this *oeuvre*, the work of architect and theorist Lebbeus Woods is known for creating "radical new forms of space" that often respond to the uncertainty of contemporary society. According to one critic, reviewing a recent

exhibition of his work ("Lebbeus Woods: Experimental Architecture") at Carnegie Museum of Art: "The kind of work that Lebbeus Woods does is very important to the architectural profession, and the sorts of questions he engages should be of interest to anyone who cares about the future of culture and society."

This paper considers several of Woods's proposals for radical reconstruction projects which respond to unusual conditions of strife in traditional environments such as those of Berlin, Sarajevo and Havana. It specifically focuses on his project for Sarajevo, a city that is rich in history and incorporates layers of meaning within its built fabric. This history includes a fifteenth-century Ottoman settlement, eighteenth/nineteenth-century Austro-Hungarian additions and growth, and twentieth-century modernist incisions. Each of these layers were affected to different extents by the war in Bosnia in the 1990s.

Woods's Sarajevo drawings reveal an almost parasitic appropriation of the existing environment that provokes questions about the role of history and the manner in which this work interacts with the existing fabric. Acknowledging both the restoration of the past and a reconstruction that enables residents to lay claims on the future, Woods envisions spaces of habitation and experience built on the shattered form of the old.

Woods claim, that history is not denied, but rather forms a dialogue with the new, can be critiqued through an investigation of two concepts that he develops: "freespace" and "freezone." These concepts use design operations such as "injection," "scar," "scab," and "new tissue" in order to understand a manner of interaction with and transformation of the traditional environment to create a new reality. For example, Woods proposes "healing" the ruined sections of buildings using elements made from the destroyed remnants of others as a way to provide both signs of survival and reinvention.

Acknowledging that the act of war not only destroys physical buildings and cities but traditional ways of living and the everyday fabric of life, Woods advocates living experimentally when new conditions demand it. He claims this is the reality for people whose lives have been transformed by an intense experience like war. In this sense, Woods wants his work to remind us that a war-torn society can no longer define itself in classically deterministic, objective terms — only in terms of continuously shifting, dynamic fields of activity. In such a society, architecture concerns itself with dynamic structures: tissues, networks, matrices, heterarchies.

What makes Woods drawings particularly interesting is that they offer a dynamic combination and juxtaposition of precision and impossibility. The representations simulate an environment that is not necessarily real, but plausible; one with obvious phantasmal qualities. They challenge the notions of not just traditional, homogeneous settings, but also notions of postwar reconstruction.

C.9 THE HYPER-TRADITIONS OF DOMESTIC SPACE

AUTHORITY IN MAYA DOMICILIARY TRANSFORMATION: A HISTORY OF HYPER-TRADITIONS
James Davidson
University of Queensland, Australia

HYPER-ARCHITECTURE AND LOST TRADITIONS? DWELLING TRANSFORMATIONS ON PONGSO-NO-TA'U
Jeffrey Hou
University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.

HOUSES WHERE GHOSTS DWELL: GHOSTLY MATTERS IN CONTEMPORARY THAI HOMES
Nuttinee Karnchanaporn
King Mongkut's University of Technology, Thonburi, Thailand

COEXISTENCE OF PARALLEL UNIVERSES: A SURVIVAL TRADITION IN DWELLINGS OF NORTHEASTERN THAILAND
Nopadon Thungsakul
Khon Kaen University, Thailand

AUTHORITY IN MAYA DOMICILIARY TRANSFORMATION: A HISTORY OF HYPER-TRADITIONS
James Davidson

Chozas, or traditional Maya houses in contemporary Guatemala and southern Mexico, signify poverty and depression to Maya and non-Maya alike. They stand as historical reminders of a time past but not forgotten. They also embody cultural knowledge related to the traditional beliefs, behaviors and products of the 28 remaining Maya cultures, and are intimately linked to the land, available materials, and climate of the region.

This paper explores Western influence on the creation of "hyper-real" traditions in the directed transformation of Maya living environments. It focuses on how the derivation of these "hyper-traditions" is Western-centric and reminiscent of the invariably unsuccessful colonial-era process of *reducción*. The paper draws on the findings arising from the author's doctoral research on Maya housing traditions in Guatemala and southern Mexico. This research involved measured recording of physical domiciliary traditions, as well as an analysis of the processes and influences of the transformation of these household configurations since the sixteenth century.

Several issues are central to this task: 1) defining Maya housing traditions and their associated household configurations through a combination of ethno-historical accounts and contemporary empirical research; 2) describing the processes and influ-

ences of domiciliary transformation since the colonial era; 3) presenting the findings of postoccupancy evaluations of contemporary housing delivered by a major change agency in the study region; and 4) discussing the direct and indirect impacts of "hyper-real" traditions which are being falsely propagated as the image of a successful and progressive culture to the detriment of traditional environments and their associated behaviors.

The significance of the paper lies in its examination of "hyper-traditions" and so-called "real" places which are not personally created by those who live and work in them. These "simulated" environments are inhabited by actors who are prevented from influencing their design and construction due to their social and cultural circumstances. Nevertheless, they are required to accept such a "hyper-real" built environment and its conditions. Drawing on an overall framework of theoretical ideas, the paper concludes by questioning the relevance of non-self-directed "hyper-traditions" to the future inevitable transformation of Maya domiciliary environments.

Among questions addressed by the paper are the following. What influence do Western-directed change agencies have on forming such "hyper-traditions"? What are the direct and indirect impacts of these externally generated "hyper-traditions"? How do non-self-directed "hyper-traditions" affect the adaptability of the Maya to personally transform their living environments? Who controls the image, and who accepts the image, of the "hyper-real" environment? What will be the impact of false "hyper-traditions" on future generations of Maya peoples? Can "traditional" socio-spatial behaviors synthesize with nontraditional methods of construction to enable Western practitioners to design culturally appropriate small-scale public housing in non-Western and indigenously built environments?

HYPER-ARCHITECTURE AND LOST TRADITIONS? DWELLING TRANSFORMATIONS ON PONGSO-NO-TA'U
Jeffrey Hou

Transformation of the built environment and culture has been a common experience among indigenous communities experiencing modernization and development. How are local building and cultural traditions destabilized in the process of transformation? What are the ways of interpreting the existence and expressions of traditions in the process of change? Would the concept of hyper-traditions offer a useful framework for understanding changes in indigenous culture and society? This paper seeks to address these questions by examining the case of Pongso-no-Ta'u, where the indigenous dwellings and landscape have undergone dramatic transformation and offer evidence of destabilized building and cultural traditions.

The island of Pongso-no-Ta'u sits at the top of an archipelago between Taiwan and the Philippines. Inhabited by the Austronesian Ta'u tribe, it was controlled by Japan beginning in 1895 and ceded to Taiwan after World War II. Since the 1950s military occupation and political control through education and

housing policies have had a dramatic impact on the lives of local inhabitants. Today subsistence agriculture and fishing exists alongside a cash economy. Climate-adapted thatch houses have been replaced by reinforced concrete barracks built by the local government. Cultural assimilation has come both as a result of government policies and life experiences as migrant laborers in Taiwan. Dwellings and villages have become a direct expression of these changes in lifestyle, economy and society on the island.

In the 1990s a series of important events led to a profound and ongoing transformation in the design of Ta'u dwellings and landscapes. A wave of housing construction was coupled with a reawakening of cultural identities in the face of a changing and disappearing culture. Rather than returning to traditional forms and construction, new dwellings have emerged that embody a selective appropriation of traditional architectural and nonarchitectural icons and elements. Traditional building systems have been destabilized with new designs, reflecting the primacy of iconographic expressions over traditional meanings and functions. However, a closer look at the contemporary dwelling environment of Ta'u reveals a more complex juxtaposition of destabilized building elements and traditions of everyday lived space.

Based on findings from participatory observations in the local planning process and follow-up visits, this paper examines the changing expressions of tradition in the recent building activities on Pongso-no-Ta'u. By examining a typology of recent vernacular buildings on the island and their common characteristics, it argues that the contemporary dwellings of Ta'u embody a fluid connection between new architectural expressions, cultural continuity, and transformation. Specifically, the characteristics of destabilization, iconography and hybridity represent the condition and result of new building practices in which a hyper form of architectural production has come to reflect both the transformation and continuity of local traditions in terms of social values, cultural identity, and physical form.

HOUSES WHERE GHOSTS DWELL: GHOSTLY MATTERS IN CONTEMPORARY THAI HOMES
Nuttinee Karnchanporn

Thais in the postmodern period have been living in "a dual world." Their public world involves aspects of life organized toward a modern, Western (hence capitalist) framework. However, in the private sphere, Thais express traditional ways of coping with everyday problems. In this sphere they are reusing and reinventing some of the techniques drawn from traditional domestic sanctification to help solve problems of spiritual anxiety.

However, some householders today describe hostility living in such places, most of which are related to the experience of haunting. This paper investigates and makes intelligible the ambivalent aspects of contemporary Thai homes through the experience of haunting.

COEXISTENCE OF PARALLEL UNIVERSES: A SURVIVAL TRADITION IN DWELLINGS OF NORTHEASTERN THAILAND
Nopadon Thungsakul

The effects of globalization have transformed traditional built forms all around the world, leading to expectations that traditions will eventually be erased or shifted to new identities. The paper argues that this worldwide process will not bring "the end of tradition" as we perceive it.

The paper explores case studies and field research in the northeast of Thailand (Isan) and Laos PDR. It involves examination of the vernacular dwellings of the Tai-Lao ethnic group, who have moved and resettled across the Mekong River several times. This migration of Tai-Lao people eventually led to the adoption of a similar dwelling pattern to that of the Siamese (Thai), creating a hybrid in which a physical form was detached from customary behavior. On the one hand, the physical transformation of this group's house types represents the effect of geographical, political and economical conditions. On the other, the persistence of the symbolic meanings of spaces and social relations, as reflected through domestic behavior, expresses a traditional pattern of living and a sign of authentic identity.

To outsiders, globalization and migration may seem to have caused a dramatic transformation of physical forms. Nevertheless, for insiders, socio-cultural ways of understanding spatial practices often do not change. The observed changes in dwelling types in Thailand suggest that globalization and migration lead to the creation of new relationships between place and identity, which are built on a coherent expression of a new appearance (hyper-place) integrated with an underlying tradition (identity). For contemporary Thai society, the outside world has been globalizing, but the domestic world and inner spirit has been profoundly fighting to survive.

A.10 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, TRADITIONAL ECONOMIES, AND GLOBAL CHANGES

HYBRID URBANISM IN BAHRAIN: FROM PEARL HUNTING TO PEARL MAKING—THE STORY OF ICONIC DEVELOPMENT
Ali Abd Alraouf and Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah
University of Bahrain, Bahrain, and Cairo University, Egypt

FROM MOONSHINE TO SUNSHINE: LANDSCAPES OF LOCAL INDUSTRY IN RURAL IRELAND
Gareth Doherty
Harvard University, U.S.A.

NEW SILICON VALLEYS: INFORMATIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND TRADITION IN BANGALORE, INDIA
John Stallmeyer
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

THE MIGRATION OF INDUSTRIES FROM THE CENTRAL CORE OF THE CITY OF SANTIAGO, CHILE
Marcela Pizzi, María Paz Valenzuela, Juan Benavides, and Martín Durán
University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

STEALTH GENTRIFICATION: CAMOUFLAGE AND COMMERCE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE
Lara Belkind
Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A.

HYBRID URBANISM IN BAHRAIN: FROM PEARL HUNTING TO PEARL MAKING—THE STORY OF ICONIC DEVELOPMENT
Ali Abd Alraouf and Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah

Hybridity, a significant result of cultural interchange and diversity, is one of the primary characteristics of global and post-global society. This paper assesses the spatial impact of hybrid urbanism and postglobalization on architectural and urban spaces and places in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Bahrain, a small island located in the heart of the Persian Gulf, has had one of the fastest-developing economies in the region. Along with Dubai, it also offers one of two models in the region for a post-oil economy.

Bahrain's took a major step toward a post-oil economy when it abolished its Ministry of Oil near the end of 2005. Knowing that its oil resources were about to dry up, it has been forced to bank on other activities, and it has focused on diversifying its economy over the last decade into the financial and tourism sectors. This trend has allowed new models of development based

on hybrid urban spaces and iconic developments. Mega-projects like the Bahrain Financial Harbor (BFH), Bahrain World Trade Center (BWTC), Durrat Al-Bahrain, Pearl Towers, and Bahrain Bay are among the examples of this new urbanism.

We will argue that the transformation of the urban identity of Bahrain into a hybrid is having a huge impact on its development, image, and social structure. The paper will investigate and evaluate the impact of globalization, hybridity, and post-oil economics on the production of urban spaces. It engages this topic from two perspectives. First, we will present a historical review and interpretation of the emergence of hybridity in Bahrain's urbanism and architecture. Second, we will investigate and assess architectural hybridity in Bahrain's contemporary urbanism.

FROM MOONSHINE TO SUNSHINE: LANDSCAPES OF LOCAL INDUSTRY IN RURAL IRELAND
Gareth Doherty

This paper will describe a centuries-old local industry that has provided a flexible support to a local economy in rural Ireland. Historically networked with topography, culture, tradition, and ancillary industries like farming and metalworking, nowadays global markets and hyper-geographies sit alongside, rather than in opposition to local products, offering a new synergy.

Until recently considered one of the remotest parts of the Republic of Ireland, the Clonmany parish and its 3,000 residents are today firmly linked to the outside world. While Clonmany has undoubtedly benefited from the so-called Celtic Tiger economy, an increase in tourism (almost two tourists now visit Ireland yearly for every resident), and the Northern Ireland Peace Process, many locals are still struggling to make ends meet, as traditional industries decline and few new ones take their place. This has a spatial affect, as farmland lies fallow, locals sell their lands to outsiders, village centers decay, and youth move away.

Looking at the historical origins and necessary conditions for whiskey distillation, the paper will addresses precedents for a legalized local whiskey distillation and production process in the parish. Although the product is firmly rooted in local traditions and landscape, it is currently illegal to produce. Nevertheless, it offers one possible way to sustain Clonmany's landscape by embracing the global and the hyper in order to maintain and grow local tradition.

The paper examines how a new boutique cottage whiskey industry might help provide a flexible adjunct to the local economy, helping to sustain the rural landscape. It might also help generate a revived urbanism through the creation of a new public square. The paper will show that industry and economy are inherently interlinked with public space and landscape, which in this rural Irish economy are driven by a curious mix of the local with the global, the rural with the urban.

NEW SILICON VALLEYS: INFORMATIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND TRADITION IN BANGALORE, INDIA
John Stallmeyer

In the past twenty years the processes of informatization and globalization have led to the growth of numerous information and communications technology (ICT) developments in cities around the globe. In their attempts to duplicate the success of California's Silicon Valley, the actor/institutions who are building these new "silicon cities" have adopted a language, both architectural and textual, of high-tech development as deployed initially in places like Silicon Valley. The paper argues that the ICT office park, with Silicon Valley as its referent, constitutes a "hyper-tradition," which emerges in part with "references to histories that did not happen, or practices delinked from the cultures and locations from which they are assumed to have originated." This new globalized Silicon Valley tradition is facilitated by the processes of informatization and globalization.

Using images of ICT development in the popular and architectural presses, the paper begins by considering how the landscape of Silicon Valley, considered by many to be banal and without architectural significance, is constructed as spectacular, and how this image is then invoked as a "Silicon Valley Tradition." It then uses interviews and field documentation to examine the development of the Infosys campus, which belongs to one of India's and Bangalore's most prominent ICT companies. The analysis shows that the architecture of Infosys has followed a shifting image of the corporation, and that it demonstrates why companies like Infosys feel compelled to invoke the hyper-tradition of "Silicon Valley."

The paper concludes with a discussion of how this invocation of the Silicon Valley tradition is in accord with Marcuse's recent analysis of "traditions of power," and how alternative "local" hyper-traditions of Bangalore's ICT development may show a way forward to more liberatory hyper-traditions in Bangalore and elsewhere by using globalization and informatization to their own ends rather than the converse.

THE MIGRATION OF INDUSTRIES FROM THE CENTRAL CORE OF THE CITY OF SANTIAGO, CHILE
Marcela Pizzi, María Paz Valenzuela, Juan Benavides, and Martín Durán

The consolidation of the central core of the city of Santiago took place at the beginning of the twentieth century following the development of an industrial ring related to the railways that brought supplies to the city and the rest of the country. A valuable industrial patrimony was generated then which today lies abandoned and in serious risk of disappearing. Due to problems of contamination, the growth of the city, and the replacement of the railway as the main means of transporting goods, these industries have progressively migrated farther from the city core. The abandonment of this 250-hectare area, which involves thirteen communes, has created an urban scar and produced a discontinuity within a city which has now grown well beyond it.

Today, within the framework of the 2010 bicentennial celebration of Chile as independent republic, the government has promoted a plan for the recovery of this area. The plan envisions it as a site for new housing, urban renewal, and densification. But the plan would also provide the final blow to the industrial patrimony that remains, extinguishing forever its former identity.

We have identified the most relevant cases related to the original seven railway stations in the area, of which only two are still in place: one, called Central or Alameda, still retains its original role; the other, Mapocho, has been converted to a cultural center. The paper also calls attention to the value of the remaining industrial patrimony associated with the area, which should be preserved and reused.

The effects of industrial migration from the central cores of cities is a global problem and a hyper-tradition from which all of us can learn. Santiago is an example of a city that stands at a turning point, beyond which tradition and heritage may be either recovered or disappear. Through our research we provide evidence of a need to preserve tradition, which will mitigate the loss of identity in our increasingly globalized cities.

STEALTH GENTRIFICATION: CAMOUFLAGE AND COMMERCE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE
Lara Belkind

This paper presents some current "hyper-traditions" and their place-making roles on New York's Lower East Side. It examines how global factors such as expanding "content" industries, market differentiation, and the Internet have reinforced perceptions of the Lower East Side as real and authentic, while at the same time opening the neighborhood to dramatic urban change.

The subject of the paper is a recent trend of commercial camouflage — hidden shops, restaurants, and clubs that "re-present" neighborhood tradition by meticulously preserving the defunct facades, signage, and other physical traces of the Lower East Side's working-class and immigrant past. At the Arlene Grocery, for example, bands perform in a former bodega, or typical neighborhood convenience store. Meanwhile, down the street is a still-functioning bodega, with identical décor. Occasionally, more than décor has been preserved. At the Beauty Bar, patrons sip cocktails seated in the hair dryers of a recently colonized beauty parlor, while the salon's former owner — in her eighties — gives manicures. Other recycled spaces include an old dress shop, a retailer of Jewish religious articles, and a Chinese massage parlor.

Recycled storefronts are just one manifestation of stealth aesthetics and camouflage strategies of spatial occupation that have played a continuous, though shifting, role in the transformation of the Lower East Side over the last several decades. Stealth tactics have been deployed by a diverse group of actors — artists and squatters, local entrepreneurs and hipsters, and even large investors and global brands. Each of these new arrivals has adopted the found terrain of old buildings and shops or sought to re-create the aesthetics of this environment from scratch.

In the early 1980s, for instance, squatters and artists formed collectives concealed from the authorities within a landscape of abandoned buildings. Meanwhile, middle-class "pioneers" created home-ownership opportunities for themselves within a bohemian atmosphere of crumbling tenements and warehouses. In the 1990s, local entrepreneurs claimed the neighborhood's defunct storefronts as sites for hidden bars, theaters and restaurants. These spaces were sites for the production of cultural content, sometimes known to a Web-based community of global hipsters while remaining invisible even to local working-class residents of various ethnicities. More recently, larger commercial entities have borrowed the area's image and mythology to sell a range of goods and entertainment. But whether stealth has been an expression of counterculture, solidarity with a legacy of working-class activism and ethnic diversity, social exclusivity, or a themed celebration of the Lower East Side's material culture, all of these expressions have been translated by the market into commercial and real estate value. This value has heightened the struggle for space between new and existing demographic groups and their preferred land uses.

This paper examines stealth practices and their relationship to neighborhood transformation on the Lower East Side from the 1980s to the present. It argues that, while such factors as economic restructuring and city policy have been important contributors to neighborhood change, local cultural phenomena engendered by restructuring have resulted in a pattern of gentrification different from that seen in other Manhattan neighborhoods. Such phenomena include the increasingly sophisticated production of information and culture targeted to niche consumers, making it possible to sell the neighborhood's authenticity and urban "edge" despite barriers to upscaling that have endured for more than half a century. These barriers include a politically organized local residential community and an urban fabric of low-quality tenements without convenient access to transportation. Stealth aesthetics and camouflage strategies have continuously generated value — first as an expression of bohemian cultural identity, then as content for cultural consumption and entertainment, and most recently by larger commercial entities as a market differentiation strategy.

B.10 TRADITION IN ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TOWERS
Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Keith Loftin, III
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THE REGENERATION OF *BAN SUAN RIM KHLONG*: STEPS TOWARD SUSTAINABILITY FOR THAI COMMUNITIES
Cuttaleeya Noparatnaraporn
Kasetsart University, Bangkok, Thailand

THE EARTH = THE SITE: FROM THE ENRICHING DIVERSITY OF BUILT FORMS TO THE ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR KINSHIP
Andre Casault
Université Laval, Quebec City, Canada

HYPER-TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN RIVIERA OF TURKEY
Ebru Aras Miroglu
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

THE ROLE OF HYPER-TRADITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE OF MALAYSIA: A DISCUSSION OF IDENTITY, CULTURAL HERITAGE, AND IMMIGRATION
Parisa Shahmohamadi and Nahid Nikkah
Tehran, Iran

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TOWERS
Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Keith Loftin, III

Towers are difficult and expensive to build. They usually have a strong pragmatic rationale and an allied cultural significance. Over time, in France, the tower as an identifiable architectural type has undergone a series of specific transformations in terms of program and meaning. This paper begins by following these changes in tower types and meanings. In a similar vein we will analyze a single work of modern architecture, the Abbey of La Tourette by Le Corbusier. These two studies together serve to identify and explain "transformation" as a significant historical and compositional mechanism for the origin of hyper-traditions.

We will examine the development of French towers from pre-historic times to the present. The hybrid structure of the prehistoric "*motte*" became the medieval "*chateau fort.*" Reinterpreted once again in the fourteenth-century "*manoir*" for peaceful reasons, the tower was then used as a historical reference in the Renaissance "*chateau de plaisance.*" Ruined in revolutionary France, its remnants took on a life of their own. Finally, the ruined tower has been incorporated into contemporary domestic French architecture.

All of these tower typologies are written into the composition of La Tourette. This modern building is often seen as being outside of history; however, Le Corbusier managed to include no less than five of the tower types mentioned in our historical survey. In each case he transformed their traditional meanings once again. We will note examples of buildings that were influenced by La Tourette in order to argue that it has been instrumental in creating its own hyper-traditions. These new traditions have since influenced architecture worldwide . . . and so the cycle continues.

The paper concludes with a discussion of the mechanisms of "transformation." We will argue that these are "naturally" occurring phenomena, and that hyper-traditions themselves are to be expected as products of history and works of art. The significance of this discussion is to provide techniques for identifying and tracing the origin of hyper-traditions.

THE REGENERATION OF *BAN SUAN RIM KHLONG*: STEPS TOWARD SUSTAINABILITY FOR THAI COMMUNITIES
Cuttaleeya Noparatnaraporn

The scenes and stories of *ban suan rim khlong* (houses along orchard waterways), often portrayed in the media as reflective of Bangkok's "real" identity, have been conceived around ideas of an archetypal "Thai space." However, over the past few decades development in Bangkok has emphasized land-based settlements, as evidenced by the expansion of roads and inland communities. While the original *ban suan rim khlong* is becoming more rare in the city, the integrating concepts of *ban*, *suan*, and *khlong* have nevertheless been used in marketing strategies for housing estates in the city and in other parts of Thailand. In most projects conceptualized according to this idea, the major elements (*ban*, *suan* and *khlong*) still exist; yet, the entire "essence" of place appears to have been lost.

The key issue addressed by this paper is the difficulty of capturing and regenerating the overall qualities of place. It deals with the problem of "authenticity" — in particular, the reading and interpretation of *ban suan rim khlong* fragmentally and as a whole. From the study of Ban Bangraonok in Nonthaburi, a place where traditional qualities and values of the past still persist, the paper identifies the nostalgically held notion of *ban suan rim khlong* and its characteristics both in people's perceptions and in reality. Meanings and values attached to this place are then comparatively discussed in relation to those reproduced in the new housing estates.

Attempts to revive the notion of *ban suan rim khlong* in modern Bangkok mark an important step toward sustainable development in Thailand. But such communities have yet to be entirely achieved. The paper concludes with the suggestion that designers, developers and researchers collaborate, share knowledge about the essence of Thai places, and develop alternative designs that could maintain the "true" identity of Thai space and place in the future.

THE EARTH = THE SITE: FROM THE ENRICHING DIVERSITY OF BUILT FORMS TO THE ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR KINSHIP
Andre Casault

During the last eight years, on two very different sites, teams of researchers have explored the pros and cons of using — reusing — traditional forms for contemporary human settlements.

In high-density urban Hanoi, Vietnam, Canadian and Vietnamese professors and masters students from the Hanoi University of Civil Engineering Faculty of Architecture and the Université Laval School of Architecture in Québec City, Canada, have tried to determine what fundamental cultural aspects of the built environment should be preserved and/or enhanced in order to enrich the current rapid transformation and development of the inner-city neighborhood of Bui Thi Xuan.

On the opposite side of the world and in a very different context, in the low-density, open landscape of Uashat mak Mali-Utenam in northeastern Canada, people from the Innu community, along with professors and junior researchers from the Université Laval School of Architecture have explored, via participatory processes, how a dwelling could be designed to be appropriate to and reflective of the Innu's contemporary lifestyle.

In both contexts — Hanoi and Uashat mak Mali-Utenam — through fieldwork, design studios and workshops, researchers, in association with local people, have examined, investigated, and tried to understand the built environment according to the identity, specificity and universality of "local" traditions. In Bui Thi Xuan this involved study of the commercial transformations of the neighborhood, the emergence of an apparently new type of building, the transformations of private outdoor spaces, the appropriation of street facades by residents, etc. The work led to the design of new housing prototypes by students. In Uashat mak Mali-Utenam the work involved examination of the current uses of government-provided bungalows and the potential of reserve territories, the design of housing prototypes with groups of local Innu citizens, and the exploration of culturally appropriate adaptations of the current housing stock of bungalows.

In this paper, the author — who took part in both projects — will examine the relationship between the diversity/specificity and kinship/universality of built forms. With the help of works by nonarchitects — for example, geographer and physiologist Jared Diamond, geneticians Albert Jacquard and Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, scientists Hubert Reeves, Joël de Rosnay and Yves Coppens, the author will try to demonstrate that two aspects of built forms — diversity and kinship — are inherent, essential and vital. They are as old as the history of humans on earth, and should be taken into account when designing built forms.

HYPER-TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN RIVIERA OF TURKEY
Ebru Aras Miroglu

Worldwide, modernity has led to a loss of certain values and traditions, causing a discontinuity and fragmentation in social organization. This has been exacerbated by the emergence of a global consumer culture, based on shifts in modes of production, consumption, and circulation of symbolic goods. More recently, the new form of culture expressed by postmodernity has increasingly demanded specially constructed themed environments, developed for leisure and amusement. Tourists now travel the world seeking traces of traditional values. However, this demand to experience the authenticity of other places and cultures has created new notions of tradition that have been specifically invented, and have no resemblance to real traditions.

Simulated environments, however, can be both the generators as well as the outcome of this global tourist flow. Contemporary tourism, specifically mass tourism, has reconceptualized traditional environments and produced a new form of architecture through simulation by replacing the authenticity with hyper-reality. Thus, the engine of tourism utilizes architectural and visual representations to thematize adventure. In the process tourism activities and attractions have redefined notions of consumption and travel and promoted the building of contextually and visually new environments.

Tourism is now the second largest industry in Turkey, attracting more than 20 million visitors in 2005. Antalya, located on the country's Mediterranean Riviera, is Turkey's most popular tourist destination. The region is lined with numerous resorts composed of fragments of themed environments, like a huge amusement park. An important common characteristic of such tourist destinations is a process of Disneyfication and Las Vegasization, involving the creation of a sense of otherness and authenticity through architectural practices. Thus, the architectural typology of some of the resort hotels in Antalya is selected from historically significant building models. In particular, the Ottoman inheritance of Turkey is contextually de-linked from its historical origins and presented as an object for consumption in themed environments like the World of Wonders Topkapı Palace.

World of Wonders is a chain of tourist resorts developed by MNG construction company according to the concepts of thematic architecture. The hotel resort is a representation of hyper-reality achieved by producing a physical replica, purely visual, of the original Topkapı Palace in Istanbul by designing a new architectural program. Apart from its perception of visual physical space as real, the resort creates a simulated space of unreality. Through projects such as these a new notion of tradition has emerged in Turkey based on creating simulated environments that satisfy a consumer culture of hyper–tourism.

THE ROLE OF HYPER-TRADITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE OF MALAYSIA: A DISCUSSION OF IDENTITY, CULTURAL HERITAGE, AND IMMIGRATION
Parisa Shahmohamadi and Nahid Nikkah

Malaysia is a multiracial country with a rich cultural heritage. Over the years, this heritage has experienced many transformations. The source of these changes has in many cases been neighboring countries. In recent centuries modern countries have also supplied outside cultural influence. Today there are three main cultural flows in Malaysia: Malay, Chinese, and Indian. Even though each of these has preserved its identity, mutual influence and coexistence has caused their appearances to be transformed in some respects.

Contemporary architecture in Malaysia is no exception to these general conditions. Despite its dynamic achievements, it has never cut itself off from its mixed traditional roots and foundations. Thus, at the same time architects have accepted the potentials of modernism, they have preserved aspects of tradition within integrated structures — and helped create a sense of national identity.

This paper focuses on the role of multicultural tradition and hyper-tradition in the contemporary architecture of Malaysia. It addresses the ways that thinking about tradition has taken root in contemporary architecture, and how it has comes to a wise reciprocity with modern thought. The paper uses a description of the present condition of life and society in Malaysia to examine how recent architecture has maintained compatibility with both vernacular and classical works.

C.10 MODERN SITES OF CONSUMPTION

THE NEW MAIN STREET: HYPER-CONSUMPTION AND THE LIFESTYLE CENTER
Mark Gillem
University of Oregon, Eugene, U.S.A.

THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMPTION SPACES AND THE USES OF TRADITION IN BRANDING THE THAI NATION
Rachadaporn Kanitpun
Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand

NEW DELHI'S SHOPPING MALLS: SPACES OF MULTIPLE-CONSUMPTIONS
Varun Kapur
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

STATE CONSTRUCTS OF "CULTURE" AND TOURIST IMAGERY FOR THE MALAY–INDONESIAN DISTRICTS OF SINGAPORE: ETHNIC STEREOTYPES IN THE REINVENTION OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
Imran Bin Tajudeen
National University of Singapore, Singapore

INMERICA: TRADITIONS IN HYPHEN-NATED HYPER AMERICA
Sabir Khan
Georgia Tech, Atlanta, U.S.A.

THE NEW MAIN STREET: HYPER-CONSUMPTION AND THE LIFESTYLE CENTER
Mark Gillem

Main Street, U.S.A., is America at the turn of the century — the crossroads of an era. The gas lamps and the electric lamps, the horse drawn car and the auto car. Main Street is everyone's home town . . . the heartland of America.
— Walt Disney

In the ever-evolving world of retailing, the claim to market share is an illusory goal. Just when a retailer's position is nearly secure, the prospect of dominance slips out of reach, as another, newer marketing model appears. In the latest phase of retailing one-upmanship, high-end shops are relocating from the enclosed shopping malls of the 1980s and 1990s to what has been described as the lifestyle center. These new shopping extravaganzas are open-air venues with on-street parking, wide sidewalks, and occasional street trees. Oftentimes, they even have housing above shops in a manner reminiscent of the traditional and much-loved Main Streets

of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is this image that the marketeers for Ann Taylor, Banana Republic, and the Gap are counting on to lure a new generation of customers.

One might assume that the enclosed mall is dead, replaced by the street. However, this new space is not a public space, but a private one patrolled by rent-a-cops and subject to closing times. In this respect, the new model is similar to Disneyland's diminutive Main Street; yet, rather than follow Disney's 7/8 scale, developers have sized their new Main Streets to meet the demands of retailers and residential developers enamored with economies of scale. Large retail floor plates, suburban parking ratios, and monotonous rows of stacked flats are the new reality. Such places are also not really "streets" in any traditional sense of the word. Disconnected from the larger urban fabric, they often turn a blank wall to the actual public realm.

The paper traces the evolution of the American shopping street, from the prototypical Main Street at the heart of Walt Disney's hometown to the super-sized imitations of the lifestyle center. I then focus on two cases from California. Both Bay Street in Emeryville and Santana Row in San Jose provide simulations of yesterday's tradition, demonstrating the power of private capital in an era of public budget deficits. Both also relied on "innovative" public-private partnerships that in essence forced the public to pay for the parking demanded by the developers.

Interviews with the architects, developers, and public agencies responsible for these projects reveal complex motivations that weave together ambitions for design awards, demands for substantial financial returns, and hopes of economic renewal. Graphic analysis of their spaces further illustrates the scale and isolation of these new Main Streets. These cases are typical of a new retailing model that distorts tradition in hopes of marketing memorable images of a streetscape long since abandoned by public agencies and private companies.

THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMPTION SPACES AND THE USES OF TRADITION IN BRANDING THE THAI NATION
Rachadaporn Kanitpun

This paper investigates the production of spaces of hyper-consumption in contemporary Thai society, in which *kwam pen Thai* ("being Thai") is valued merely for the purpose of national branding. Exotic Thai crafts, a picturesque Thai lifestyle, and a warm-welcome of Thai smiles are parts of a market-driven economic policy, within which cultural heritage is valued as an object of consumption.

Among these made-to-believe pictures, however, lies the hidden force of an alternative, within which *kwam pen Thai* may be utilized as a productive force toward different possibilities. Among alternative movements are those who challenge a monocentric consumption value, and who advocate the move toward a community- and human-based way of life. What can be learned from these movements? In addition to their achievements, their thought processes challenge the illusion of the capital-based economic policy which has long dominated Thai society.

NEW DELHI'S NEW SHOPPING MALLS: SPACES OF MULTIPLE-CONSUMPTIONS
Varun Kapur

Shopping malls, mushrooming in New Delhi's wealthier neighborhoods, are representative of the new kind of spaces that have arisen since the Indian economy "opened up" to liberalization in the early 1990s. Since then, the ever-increasing middle class of Delhi has been provided with spaces for consumption and entertainment at an ever-increasing rate.

These shopping malls, based on the American model, with large multilevel enclosed spaces, atria, and circulation areas connecting different stores, contain spaces the likes of which most Delhiites have never seen before. Along with premium stores, these new malls house the trendiest restaurants, nightclubs, multiplex cinema theaters, bowling alleys, high-end beauty salons, etc. As spaces of consumption, they are definitely in the premium category — housing multiple activities for those with the ability to pay for them.

This paper will study New Delhi's new shopping malls as spaces of consumption and spaces of exclusion. It will examine how they are part of a process that is creating new consumer-citizens in Delhi (and India's urban areas in general), and at the same time establishing ever-increasing socioeconomic spatial hierarchies. Three shopping malls within the greater Delhi area will be looked at, upscale projects in Gurgaon, Noida, and Andrews Ganj in south Delhi.

The paper will use three perspectives to understand the effect of these malls on the city and its populace. The first involves the creation of consumer-subjects and consumer-citizens. Consumption — of these spaces, and the activities and goods traded in them — is now an important marker of identity for their users and an important social criterion in their daily lives. Consumption also gets injected into a discourse of who is a model citizen and what makes a successful nation. Here, consumption becomes the hyper-tradition that is enacted in these spaces.

The second perspective involves the creation of spaces of exclusion, a process that works at various levels. By only admitting a particular type of clientele, these malls create isolated spaces where consumer-citizens can collectively partake in very specific activities. It also creates vastly polarized spaces within Delhi, reflecting the extremes of social inequality. Amidst the city's dust, heat, poverty and congestion, these malls are hyper-spaces — islands of (air conditioned) neoliberal public space, connected to a globalized notion of consumption.

The third perspective involves a historical view of spaces of consumption and exclusion. This will entail comparing these malls with the way Delhiites used to entertain themselves in the decades before liberalization, and how earlier spaces of consumption were similar and/or different from these new ones. Similarities will also be sought with spaces of consumption created in nineteenth-century European cities.

The paper brings these perspectives together to create a better understanding of how these new and heightened modes of consumption and exclusion are widening rifts within urban society, and what the possible consequences of these rifts may be.

STATE CONSTRUCTS OF "CULTURE" AND TOURIST IMAGERY FOR THE MALAY–INDONESIAN DISTRICTS OF SINGAPORE: ETHNIC STEREOTYPES IN THE REINVENTION OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
Imran Bin Tajudeen

This paper will investigate attempts to create "hyper-traditional" environments in two historic, but largely erased, old settlements of the Malay-Indonesian community in Singapore. Kampung Gelam and Geylang Serai once attracted regular shopping visitors from Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia in the 1960s and early 1970s. However, despite their commercial success, both fell victim to the state's modernist "urban renewal" plans, becoming the first old districts to be bulldozed in the old core city and in the eastern part of the island, respectively.

Today parts of their former lands still lie fallow. Yet since the 1980s and 1990s, both places have witnessed state attempts to resurrect a "traditional" past, largely in the name of cultural tourism. These attempts to create "hyper-traditional" environments have included reductive reinventions of "Malay culture" as alternately "rural" or "regal." Stereotypical, generic imagery and reinventions of "local culture" now embellish restored or reconstructed places or buildings in both locations in an attempt to resuscitate expunged traditional neighborhoods as cultural showpieces.

Kampung Gelam was once located at the eastern end of old Singapore town, the nucleus of colonial Singapore's "native harbor." Its symbolic core was a royal court, surrounded by the quarters of maritime traders and craftsmen, including Singapore's oldest densely-developed district. The restoration and "beautification" projects that have been implemented here now employ "hyper-traditional" imagery. This includes an imagined "Middle Eastern ambience" for the landscape design of Bussorah Mall, a pedestrian street leading to a 1932 Saracenic-themed Sultan Mosque. It also includes a "tropical aesthetic" language for annexes adjoining the restored Sultan's 1840 Palladian bungalow residence. This mockery is paralleled by the use of the label "Malay" or "Arab" for an old quarter that was once a cosmopolitan melting pot of Bugis traders, Javanese craftsmen and religious scholars, and Minang shopkeepers.

Geylang Serai, located east along the main trunk road from Kampung Gelam, was once famous as a *pekan* nucleus, a market and bazaar district which developed around an old tram and bus terminus. The area formerly also included a sprawling suburban *kampung*, with various types of vernacular raised-floor (*panggung*) houses, whose residents ranged from traders and teachers to laborers. Today a tourist-oriented "Malay Village" has been constructed to resurrect this demolished settlement. Currently managed by a private agency, it exemplifies the appropriation of "culture" for commercial ends. Geylang Serai's multiethnic inhabitants have today been conveniently ignored in the village's displays of "Malay *kampung* culture," which is equated solely with an imagined rural Malay race.

The paper explores the selective concealment and framing of aspects of these districts in re-created, restored and "beautified" landscapes, and the way these manipulations have obscured heterogeneity and severed old interethnic links. However, the rejection, negotiation or appropriation of spatial-physical impositions in the reinvented environment also reveals the potential of the culture of everyday life to disrupt such essentialist ethnic portrayals.

INMERICA: TRADITIONS IN HYPHEN-NATED HYPER AMERICA
Sabir Khan

This paper looks at the reterritorialization of non-Euro-American traditions in the deracinated landscape of contemporary American exurbia. Its specific focus is the emergence of a new socio-cultural phenomenon: Korean-owned emporia that service a pan-diasporic population of immigrants and the native-born. The paper argues that the transformation of the big box into a multi-cultural fiesta, and the simultaneous co-option of ethnicity into the one-size-fits-all commercial landscape of convenience, traces both the hyperbole and the banality that underscore the immigrant hyper-imaginary: Only In America.

The first half of the paper provides a theoretical and historical framework for the transformation of ethnic enclaves into World Marts. The tremendous increase in immigration over the last thirty years, coupled with unprecedented advances in communication and capital flow, have produced "transnational suburbs" (Davis) where the all-American narrative of (upward) mobility and assimilation is played out among strip centers, drive-thrus, and outlet malls. This new staging — of an America that is multiply hyphenated, but whose vernacular landscape is uniform, homogenized, and open to global flows — suggests a new kind of space: not the earlier model of enclave (Laguerre's "minoritized" spaces of resistance), but rather a bold and beautiful ritual of assimilation and difference.

The second half of the paper provides a close formal and cultural reading of Korean-owned shopping malls and "International Markets" in the Atlanta area, where five such mega-stores have opened since November 2004. These markets are perhaps the most advanced manifestation of a hybrid subjectivity, a multiculturalism of, for, by, and woven out of the traditions of the newly immigrated.

Competing with each other, mainstream discounters, and smaller "mom-and-pop" shops, these mega-stores aggressively aim at a diverse clientele: not just the various local East Asian communities but a whole spectrum of the Latino/a population as well. In the spirit of "product differentiation," some have reached out to ever smaller constituencies (Caribbean, African), while expanding the range of goods and services they assemble under one roof.

The spectacle of a diversity of material cultures, celebrated and consumed by an equally diverse set of classes and ethnicities, within the flattened terrain of exurbia, gives us pause. It isn't Kansas. But neither is it Baudrillard's America. The Korean-owned malls, perhaps, provide a portal into the buoyant geography of a post-9/11 E Pluribus Unum.

A.11 MEDIATED SPACES AND THE NATIONAL IMAGINARY

CREATED TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF THE ESTRADA REAL (KING'S ROAD), A CULTURAL ROUTE IN BRAZIL
Leonardo Castriota and Alex Ribeiro Gomes
Universidade Federal De Minas Gerais, Brazil

CRITIQUES OF "WAT NAI HANG": RETHINKING THE STRATEGY OF THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE
Sant Suwatcharapinun
Chiang Mai University, Thailand

THE VIEW FROM THE MINARET: APPROPRIATING MOSQUES FOR A HINDU BANARAS
Madhuri Desai
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

NATIONALIST CHRONOTOPES: FREEDOM PARK AND THE STRUGGLE FOR "NATIONAL IDENTITY"
Mpho Matsipa
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

CREATED TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF THE ESTRADA REAL (KING'S ROAD), A CULTURAL ROUTE IN BRAZIL
Leonardo Castriota and Alex Ribeiro Gomes

Cultural routes constitute a new and highly innovative field within the theoretical framework of cultural heritage conservation, combining material and immaterial aspects that were previously considered only separately. In 1987 the Council of Europe launched the Cultural Routes program, whose initial purpose was to demonstrate in a visible way — by means of a journey through space and time — how the countries of Europe share a common cultural heritage. The "Routes" project implemented by UNESCO, has a similar intent; it aims to promote mutual knowledge among civilizations, cultures and religions through an enhanced presentation of their mutual interactions and influences.

This paper will examine this important idea, whose implications extend to numerous topics, such as that which gave rise to the present conference: hyper-traditions. In this sense, we will show that a cultural route is, in many cases, a created tradition, a mental image that is fabricated to unify disparate historic facts, places, and cultural traditions. At the same time, we will demonstrate that this very simulation can become the reality itself, creating a *refashioned* tradition.

As a case study, we will take the process of implanting the Estrada Real (King's Road), a cultural route in Brazil. Dating to the seventeenth century, the 900-mile King's Road was once the way gold and diamonds were moved from Minas Gerais to Brazil's ports, and on to Portugal. Rediscovered recently, it has been the object of a great effort by the government and civil society to establish a cultural route as a way to promote tourism in the region. In this case it is interesting to realize the influence of pop music, and of Brazilian "homeboy" Paulo Coelho's best-selling book about the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, which led Brazilians most often to compare the Estrada Real to Spain's religious path.

CRITIQUES OF "WAT NAI HANG": RETHINKING THE STRATEGY OF THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE
Sant Suwatcharapinun

This paper regards the term "hyper-traditions" as a *mark* of a referencing process — a point where the meaning of the so-called "tradition" is first manifested and materialized. It can also be regarded as a *mask* of a revitalizing process — an attempt to return to an obscured origin and start reproducing itself. A "hyper-tradition" can thus be explored as a performative act of that which has been lost, as if it were a haunted memory that wants to return, in particular through a new mask — a new social activity in architectural programs, or perhaps in new building types.

On the basis of the above description, the paper investigates the way in which "tradition" has been reintroduced to Thais through the authority of the Ministry of Culture, which has embraced the value of married life, family, and, more importantly, religion. The paper argues that the notion of "hyper-traditions" has already been used within various projects of the Ministry of Culture. However, once these cultural projects have been introduced, they seem to create a negative response from Thais, and many have been turned down, generating a number of criticisms toward the strategy. In this sense, "hyper-traditions" have already been put into question. The paper will discuss in detail one specific project related to space and architecture called the "Wat nai Hang" (or Temple in Department Store project).

The paper aims to unearth what lies beneath this particular inadequate cultural strategy — in particular, the way the Ministry of Culture has imposed a new mask (in this case, Wat nai Hang) without any attempt to clarify the mark of what has been lost or what it is referring to. The paper also argues that the strategy literally prevents "tradition" from being simulated, and also disrupts the process of creating "alternative traditions." That is to say, making a "move" without any theoretical route, and focusing only on the end product without a "process," could bar the notion of "hyper-traditions," and this is regarded as negative.

As the paper argues, it is necessary to rethink the strategy of the Ministry of Culture, which can be regarded as a "disempowering" strategy, through the framework of poststructuralism. In short, the paper aims is to undo and redo this strategy, in particular the Wat nai Hang project. This can be separated into three steps. First, a specific theoretical framework, based on the concept of "deconstruction," is employed which allows the notion of an obscured tradition to be marked and actively moved through.

Second, the notion of "hyper-traditions" used by the Ministry of Culture in Wat nai Hang is explored through an alternative mask, or through a positive position. Last, using a new framework and imagining traditions through a new position, an alternative value of critical judgment on Wat nai Hang can emerge.

THE VIEW FROM THE MINARET: APPROPRIATING MOSQUES FOR A HINDU BANARAS
Madhuri Desai

The phenomenon of the colonial representation of Banaras as a repository of ancient "Hindu" knowledge has been well established by scholars. Both colonial as well as indigenous representations have viewed the city as ancient, and both depended on certain Sanskrit texts, the *puranas,* as authoritative sources on which to establish a basis for this antiquity. However, both have also viewed the Islamic presence in the city as intrusive and illegitimate. Indeed, conceding the Islamic presence in the city would have been antithetical to establishing the city's unchanging role as an eternally Hindu city. However, despite the juxtaposition of mosque and temple at two prominent sites in the city, narratives of a continuous Hindu tradition have persisted.

Nineteenth-century indigenous representations insisted on a geography for the city based on fourteenth-century Sanskrit texts. While claims to spaces in the city have been based on reinterpretations of these texts, such readings have also involved the appropriation of the city's largest mosques in religious and tourist maps of the city. For instance, one way of achieving such a reading has been to appropriate Aurangzeb's mosque, renamed in Hindu representations as "Madhoray ka Dharhara," thereby implying a Hindu genealogy.

Visual and textual depictions of the city usually omit reference to the Islamic presence, while appropriating its two mosques as central to a Hindu past and present. Thus, the rear wall of the Gyan Vapi mosque is also said to be the wall of a dismantled Hindu temple. However, if the city is to be represented as perennially Hindu, then all symbols of Islamic iconoclasm tend to reinforce the mosque's role in the city's sacred geography. In this paper, I will examine the production of such narratives through indigenous textual and visual representations that have appropriated the city's largest mosques as sites of Hindu pilgrimage.

NATIONALIST CHRONOTOPES: FREEDOM PARK AND THE STRUGGLE FOR "NATIONAL IDENTITY"
Mpho Matsipa

Symbolic representations of a world cultural colonial order have provided the mark of great historical confidence. Timothy Mitchell (1998) has suggested that panorama, cosmorama, diorama, Europorama, and uranorama all constitute an understanding that everything can be collected and arranged to represent progress and history in order to evoke some greater "truth." Furthermore,

exhibitions, museums and other spectacles are not just reflections of this certainty, but the means of its production. They render history, progress and culture in "objective" form — increasingly as embodied experience — thus further legitimating claims to truth.

The Freedom Park Heritage Project in Tswane (formerly known as Pretoria), South Africa, aims to present new perspectives of South African history under the rubric of the African Renaissance. Freedom Park will be a broad presentation of the entire history of South Africa — challenging traditional narratives through the reinterpretation of previous heritage sites, as well as providing an ideological alternative to colonial and Apartheid historiography through a "one-stop-heritage-site." The spectacle of national unity within Freedom Park reflects the political anxieties of a new nonracial, post-Apartheid multicultural age. Its goal is to invent a shared national culture and collective memory — represented through the universalist tropes of suffering, forgiveness and reconciliation, but also through nationalist, nativist, organicist discourses.

The paper argues that Freedom Park is designed not only to be a site where everything can be collected and arranged to represent progress and history, but also to be what Landsberg (2004) has referred to as a "transfrential site." Landsberg has described this as an apparatus that aims to incorporate the individual into a single unified experience of the state, through an embodied experience of past trauma that is represented metonymically in a careful spatial ordering. Within this ritualized spatial arrangement, an attempt is made to suture the objective and subjective viewpoints into a single nationalist interpretive framework which collapses the boundary between the nation and the visitor.

The purpose of the paper will be to explore how narratives of freedom, identity and belonging are inscribed through the aesthetics, architecture and planning of Freedom Park. I will also explore how the site is produced at the intersection of discourses of collective amnesia surrounding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and attempts to reposition South Africa within the flows of tourism and the shifting global political economy.

I will argue that the aesthetic experience and narrative structure of the Freedom Park sets up an intended framework in response to a discourse of organicist/universalist multiculturalism, and that these are central to the "new" South African nationalist imaginary. Furthermore, as an imaginary that is situated at the intersection of a particular kind of territorial nativism and the perceived threat of the deterritorilizing dynamic of neoliberal capitalist expansion, I hope to point to how South African nationalism is part of a wider dynamic between processes of nation-building, global restructuring, and liberalization. This highlights the dialectical relationship between state postcolonial discourses and processes of global restructuring, and how nativist representations of the nation increasingly invoke tradition to legitimize the exercise of power.

B.11 THE IMAGINARY VERNACULAR AND THE NEW TRADITIONAL

MEDITERRANEAN ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA: STYLE MIGRATION AND THE ADAPTABILITY OF THE ETHNIC CHINESE
Freddy H. Istanto
Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia

CONVEYOR-BELT VERNACULAR: HYPER-TRADITION IN THE GRAMEEN BANK HOUSING PROGRAM IN BANGLADESH
Adnan Morshed
Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

CHANGES IN THAI VERNACULAR HOUSING: EMPHASIZING, ELIMINATING AND ENCLOSING AN AQUATIC ENVIRONMENT
Wandee Pinijvarasin
Kasetsart University, Bangkok, Thailand

HYPER-CYPRIOT ARCHITECTURE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF LOCAL AND GLOBAL VALUES
Ozlem Olgac Turker and Hifsiye Pulhan
Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, North Cyprus

MEDITERRANEAN ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA: STYLE MIGRATION AND THE ADAPTABILITY OF THE ETHNIC CHINESE
Freddy H. Istanto

Since the 1990s the Mediterranean architectural style has begun to appear in Indonesia, where it has become a fixture in housing complexes influenced by globalization. This paper discusses the migration of this style: how it was brought by Catholic monks from Spain to America; how it developed great popularity there; and how it has now migrated to Indonesia.

For almost fifteen years developers have been building Mediterranean-style buildings in Indonesia. Traditions of architecture are customarily determined by elites, who pay local architects to reproduce foreign styles, or who hire foreign architects directly to produce a new self-image. However, today this process has been taken to new extremes, as developers are not only building houses as realities, but as settings Baudrillard has called fantasies, hallucinations, and dreams.

One key to the success of this new style is its appeal to newcomers and ethnic Chinese Indonesians, a group who have had to adapt to a variety of living situations over the years. In Indonesia the Mediterranean architectural style is today a symbol of globalization and upscale status. In areas which have been developed in this style even street names and landscape ornaments help provide a Mediterranean atmosphere. The areas are principally occupied by young Chinese families with a globalized lifestyle.

Chinese Indonesians once contributed the architectural style of the shophouse to Indonesia, but nowadays many reside in faked spaces with new themes and symbols.

The loss of specific Chinese ethnic identity is partly the result of nearly 32 years of a repressive regime in Indonesia, which suppressed all expressions of Chinese culture. As a result, new generations of Chinese Indonesians have been led toward accommodation with culturally neutral spaces. This hyper-real condition has also fostered a globalized cultural orientation, emphasizing high mobility (frequent business travel), exotic fantasies (such as Mediterranean architecture in old neighborhoods), and a relaxed lifestyle (that emphasizes leisure activities).

Case studies from Surabaya (the second largest city in Indonesia) will show how developers now ignore any need to produce ethnic cultural space in new housing developments. Realties have been transformed into images. As developers create the shadow of spaces, real ethnic identity and culture have been replaced by "themes." In the end, the slogan "form follows fun" has replaced any attempt to make a connection between ethnicity, identity, and dwelling tradition.

CONVEYOR-BELT VERNACULAR: HYPER-TRADITION IN THE GRAMEEN BANK HOUSING PROGRAM IN BANGLADESH
Adnan Morshed

While architectural academia debates the shifting epistemologies of tradition often from the historicist point of view of formal continuum, new forms of banking increasingly enable poor, rural Third World populations to produce what appears to be a brandnew, if oxymoronic, tradition: rudimentary dwelling units that draw on the spatial knowledge of the rural vernacular, yet are mass-produced through the technical efficiency and regularity of a conveyor belt. My paper proposes this type of rural housing as an example of a new "hyper-tradition" that is quite distinct from what Eric Hobsbawm would call "invented tradition," which masquerades as an authentic legacy sustained over a long period of time even though its genealogy often proves elusive. The new hypertradition is articulated as an ultra-expedited, super-sanitized, and feminized extension of tradition, propelled by new practices of financial management.

The paper investigates the empowering effects of Grameen Bank micro-credit in the transformation of domestic environments in rural Bangladesh. The Grameen Bank Program was initiated in 1976 in Bangladesh by economics professor Dr. Muhammad Yunus to provide collateral-free credit to the landless rural poor for income-generating activities. Soon after the program morphed into an independent bank in 1983, the Grameen Housing Loan Program was developed, as it became clear that an improvement in income-generating capacity had created a demand for better housing.

While it follows an archetypal rural house morphology, consisting of a rectangular plan with a pitched roof and gable ends, the Grameen housing unit substitutes prefabricated reinforced

columns, mass-produced by the bank, for corner wooden posts, which are susceptible to termites and unreliable during the floods. Provided with a basic Grameen house plan, the borrowers are able to enmesh traditional spatial perceptions with specific familial needs and the demands of home-based entrepreneurial activities. Because almost 90 percent of the recipients of Grameen Bank micro-credit are women who play crucial decision-making roles in the production of space, the Grameen housing offers an understanding of the newly empowered feminized perspective on hyper-traditional rural environments.

CHANGES IN THAI VERNACULAR HOUSING: EMPHASIZING, ELIMINATING AND ENCLOSING AN AQUATIC ENVIRONMENT
Wandee Pinijvarasin

Water-based community has long been central to the characteristics of rural landscapes, particularly in the central region of Thailand. Village houses are commonly arranged in compact groupings, and most houses are elevated on stilts to avoid flooding and unwelcome animal intruders. In remote areas with few proper roads, transportation was primarily by foot, boat or animal. However, modern development, particularly of transportation systems, has accelerated change in the physical environment and socio-cultural conditions of Thai vernacular communities. This paper aims to illustrate an act of place-making through transportation development in a water-based community. The paper is especially concerned with vernacular housing in Ban Ladchado at Pra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya in central Thailand, the location of a wonderful array of water-based communities. Material for discussion was derived from field research conducted from December 2003 to October 2004. The data obtained were analyzed and discussed through a systemic taxonomy involving cross-case analysis using multiple criteria. The residents' narrations were also used.

The study found that transportation systems in Ban Ladchado have progressively changed. In the past, the living habits of the residents, their vernacular houses, and the aquatic environments were seen as one. In particular, there were no permanent transportation routes: because the villages flooded annually, elevated walkways or bridges were constructed from wood and concrete to help residents travel from place to place, particularly during flood season. This system of bridges not only generated a special relationship between the community and the environment, but it earned the residents the distinction of having built the longest bridge in the world.

The push toward modernity and urbanization has influenced the needs of the residents, and the local government recently expanded the transportation network around the villages. Since 2005, newly-constructed roads have also been introduced to the main parts of the village areas. Some of these roads have replaced the previous bridges. The houses that are adjacent to the roads have also adjusted. For the residents, the appearance of roads has brought a new convenience, creating new ways of life. The residents now have a real place for their recreational activities in all seasons.

Although road construction has disturbed ecological systems around the villages and eliminated its primary characteristic as a water-based community, they express the lived experiences and adaptability of the residents to new ways of living. The existing roads in Ban Ladchado have become like enclosures, hiding a traditional world of aquatic living that is perhaps exaggerated from what modern concepts can recognize.

HYPER-CYPRIOT ARCHITECTURE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF LOCAL AND GLOBAL VALUES
Ozlem Olgac Turker and Hifsiye Pulhan

Recent technologies of communication and transportation, and hence the transfer of information, have had a remarkable influence on many aspects of contemporary life. Today the rapid circulation of materials, people and information may appear to allow comparable developments to appear simultaneously in different places. Without a doubt, this global network has led to the development of new social, cultural and physical realms that are commonly accepted and maintained throughout the world. In general, the notion of globalization has offered internationalism, which encourages universal concepts rather than local attributes, and caused the destruction of certain aspects of contemporary life due to totalizing forces. Although globalization is a network that is not only associated with our century, it has never been this deterministic with respect to its impact on the continuity of tradition and preservation of place-based cultural coherence.

The built environment in Northern Cyprus provides a unique vantage point from which to trace the totalizing and/or de-totalizing forces of globalization. The island of Cyprus — whose northern part is physically, socioeconomically and politically isolated from the international arena — exhibits different dimensions and aspects of globalization. Considering the current living styles, tastes and preferences of people and the prevailing power of media, building activity in Northern Cyprus can be explained in regard to the "erosion," "mobility" and "adaptability" of tradition.

For different societal, economical and political reasons, new living environments of various qualities have been established and new architectural, demographic and ecological characteristics have recently emerged in Cyprus. Furthermore, the negotiation process of the Annan plan and the goal of E.U. membership for the Republic of Cyprus have accelerated construction and brought new pressures on the built environment. Without a doubt, the recent developments are shaped by international interests and investment, in cooperation with local construction firms and estates. Recently, North Cyprus has also become a preferred living environment (as well as an investment region) for Europeans, because real estate there is cheap in comparison to other European countries.

In this respect, a new version of architecture, which can be named "hyper-Cypriot architecture," has emerged as a response to increased demands by local and foreign occupants. Generally, new housing complexes, which are mostly composed of detached duplex houses, neither consider the values of the traditional her-

itage nor the potential of new building technologies and materials. Although some architectural components from traditional Cypriot architecture are interpreted, the contemporary designs lack meaning and purpose. However, the contemporary built environment has also come to be dominated by exaggerated foreign images, which are changing formerly modest domestic houses into monumental status symbols. In this way, forms are de-linked from notions of identity and place, deterritorializing tradition.

Throughout its turbulent history, due to its strategic location at a crossroads of trade in the Mediterranean Sea, the island was frequently occupied by and under the control of foreign powers. Over the years it encountered the totalizing forces of globalization as a Venetian dominion, an Ottoman province, and a British colony. As a consequence, the traditional Cypriot environment, which embodies distinctive cultural attributes of the Eastern Mediterranean medina, has endured different administrative and economic systems, which both changed and allowed a the continuity of Cypriot traditions. On the other hand, they also erased the tradition and challenged the cultural coherence on the island. The preserved and maintained traditions were usually perceived by the administration as a repository of authentic ideas and customs. Furthermore, new images, forms and meanings were transferred from other provinces or colonies and reinterpreted in the island. In this way, the Cypriot tradition was continuously transformed, evolving in a hybrid manner, and creating its own identity.

This study interprets the role of hyper-tradition in this continuing outside influence on the local built environment. It will first question how the traditional forms and meanings have been absorbed and brought into the contemporary Cypriot architecture. It will then examine foreign images in hyper-Cypriot architecture in terms of the degree of acceptance and integration. In this way, a new dimension of transformation of Cypriot tradition will be investigated.

C.11 THE CHANGING MEANINGS OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

NEW TRADITIONS AND OLD REALITIES — OLD TRADITIONS AND NEW REALITIES: THE EMERGENCE OF POST-MAOIST PARK DESIGN IN CHINA
Mary G. Padua
University of Hong Kong, China

REVEALING HERITAGE AND DESIRE THROUGH ISTANBUL'S AVENUES AND ALLEYWAYS
Alison Snyder
University of Oregon, Eugene, U.S.A.

PLACE AND HYPER-PLACE IN CHIANG MAI: MEANINGS OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE IN THE SECULAR AGE
Pranom Tansukanun
Khon Kaen University, Thailand

HYPER-TRADITIONS/HIP VILLAGES: URBANITE VILLAGERS OF WESTERN ANATOLIA
Sebnem Yucel Young
Izmir Institute of Technology, Turkey

NEW TRADITIONS AND OLD REALITIES — OLD TRADITIONS AND NEW REALITIES: THE EMERGENCE OF POST-MAOIST PARK DESIGN IN CHINA
Mary G. Padua

During the last decade, a movement to create new landmark public parks has emerged in mid-sized cities in the People's Republic of China. These parks represent an important departure from prior approaches to the design of public space. There are indications that a new design aesthetic may be developing that incorporates traditional elements of Chinese garden design, concepts from international park design, and distinctive features of the local environment. This is helping to give the idea of traditional Chinese garden design a new reality detached from the its actual history in China.

One of the distinctive features of these new parks is the effort to incorporate design elements drawn from traditional Chinese gardens into designs that are contemporary and show strong global influences. These designs are not traditional in any literal sense; rather, they appropriate elements from traditional garden design and transform them into references to tradition. In the process, they are helping give "traditional" design in China a new popular meaning — as a set of symbolic references rather than something embedded in history.

The process that has created this nonhistorical version of Chinese tradition grows out of the twentieth-century history of the

nation. Parks were built widely in the period after World War I, largely in response to international movements. However, that era ended when the Chinese revolution caused a radical shift away from modernizing, international approaches to open space. After the revolution, parks acquired a distinctly utilitarian identity, sometimes doubling as areas for agriculture. This led to a period of about thirty years when neither traditional nor international influences were ideologically palatable.

The hiatus in park design ended in the 1980s with reforms instituted under Deng Xiaopeng. Important changes in attitudes toward leisure occurred in this period. The Maoist principle that leisure must serve to promote political harmony and social hygiene was relaxed, and spare time became the property of individuals. Urban parks were transformed from purely utilitarian spaces to emblems of local identity and destinations for outsiders. This helped spur new approaches to park design that drew on both stylized concepts of Chinese garden design and international movements in the usage and design of parks.

The paper discusses this emerging design approach and the accompanying concept of tradition in Chinese open space design. The discussion is built around analysis of a selected group of recently developed Chinese parks. This descriptive documentation provides a basis for analyzing the interplay of the different social, economic, political and cultural factors that has yielded several distinctive built results. The study provides an unusual opportunity to understand the ways that a decontextualized set of historical traditions can be transformed into the symbolic representation of "traditional" design that increasingly defines the contemporary reality of the traditions.

REVEALING HERITAGE AND DESIRE THROUGH ISTANBUL'S AVENUES AND ALLEYWAYS
Alison Snyder

Turkey's long and complex history is vividly expressed by a great accumulation of layers — sometimes adjacent, overlapping, or even colliding. These traces from many periods and situations are especially evident in the development of cities, where the longstanding concept of modernization (especially since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923) and now globalization, has accelerated, making for unusual compositions of built spaces, native and migrated people, and cultural traditions. Though there are several Turkish cities with populations of more than one million that present different regional and global concerns (e.g., Izmir, Antalya, Ankara, Bursa, Adana, Konya), the development of what was Constantinople, and is Istanbul, symbolizes and captures most of the media and popular attention concerned with image, heritage and change.

Since the 1950s Istanbul's population has grown immensely, from about one million to more than ten million. Its ability to reinforce its identity as a group of neighborhoods, preserve its secularist, nationalist and Turkish traditions, work toward acceptance in the E.U., compete in world markets, be home to fundamental-

ist immigrants, and be understood and accepted from a global perspective exposes a series of unique circumstances. For natives, immigrants and visitors, Istanbul epitomizes a mixture of conditions: its centuries-old location astride the border between Europe and the so-called "mysterious Orient"; its continuing appeal as a modern land of new promise and desire; and it reluctance to abandon Turkish customs while still pursuing global cosmopolitanism. This condition of being "between" categorizations has become a popular explanation for Istanbul and, indeed, the country's paradoxical condition.

I discuss this Turkish paradox by exposing one Istanbul district, Beyoglu, that amplifies these multiplicities. On-site research analyses (observations, drawings and photographs) explain circumstances I call the "real authentic," "lost authentic," as well as the symbolic "imagined authentic." In addition, I recount the observations and writings of several scholars who explore aspects of the modern urban condition. Among these are architectural historians (Mansel, 1996; Kafadar, 1995; Celik, 1986), sociologists (Keyder, 1999; Kasaba, 1997), journalists/travelers (Kinzer, 2001; de Amicis, 1877/2005), and authors (Pamuk, 2004; Nesin, 1977/1991).

First settled in antiquity and then dramatically changed by Genoese merchants in the 1400s, the historic neighborhood of Galata, across the Golden Horn from the Old City, expanded north to Pera, gaining prominence through its largely non-Muslim population of bankers, embassy staff, and other Europeans in the seventeenth/eighteenth centuries. Until 1923 La Grande Rue de Pera was the central route in this area. Today, this iconic pedestrian avenue, renamed Istiklal (meaning Independence), climbs through the encompassing district known mostly as Beyoglu. Its continuous collage of nineteenth-, twentieth- and twenty-first-century facades enclose a space that provides a pulsating torrent of activity, well described as a "social canyon." In contrast to its solely pedestrian flow, there are abrupt liminal experiences evident when one crosses to adjacent streets and alleyways that support different activities. The coexistence and interdependence between two types of street space, along with their architectural, commercial and media-laden narratives, re-present and reinforce the populace's simultaneous realization of its constant and changing global relationship and Turkish identity. The distinctive rhythm and the choice of stepping into and away from spaces of "hyper-movement" give credence to the seeking and unseeking of a "hyper-traditional" state.

PLACE AND HYPER-PLACE IN CHIANG MAI: MEANINGS OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE IN THE SECULAR AGE
Pranom Tansukanun

Everyday and sacred experiences have played an important role in human existence for centuries. Scholars believe that "*sacred* and *profane* are two modes of being in the world, two existential situations assumed by man in the course of his history" (Eliade, 1987). In the contemporary forces of globalization, sacred architecture — one of the most significant traditional environ-

ments — has been greatly affected. Today sacred architecture needs a thorough examination to allow a sense of identity and place to reemerge in the new era.

The paper points out that forces of globalization and mass tourism have dramatically reshaped local existence by shifting the meanings of sacred architecture and elements into a modern, secular realm. This has often redefined the traditional local relationship between the sacred and the profane, and changed the meaning of places and identity. In the modern context, sacred architecture is not only used for passive tourism. Often sacred architecture and its elements are actively reused in new and different ways that no longer convey continuity in meaning. In other words, only physical forms are used to form hyper-place. No traditional symbolism and meaning remain.

The paper starts with an investigation of traditional symbolism in the planning and design of Thai Buddhist temples in Chiang Mai, the urban center of northern Thailand, some of which are more than seven hundred years old. This investigation reveals the specific meanings this sacred architecture had in the religious life of people in the past. The paper then shows the vivid meanings this sacred architecture still holds in the lives of local residents through daily and ritual use. It then discusses the widely divergent uses of sacred architecture by tourists, to clarify how the local sense of place and identity have been transformed in the modern context, and how this understanding leads to a more meaningful global world.

HYPER TRADITIONS/HIP VILLAGES: URBANITE VILLAGERS OF WESTERN ANATOLIA
Sebnem Yucel Young

Some relatively well-preserved villages in Western Anatolia have been going through a transformation in the last decade. These villages carry the imprint of a multiethnic, multicultural history, and today they continue to be home to many Bosnian, Macedonian and Albanian people who migrated to the area following the exchange of Greek and Turkish/Muslim populations in the 1920s.

One of the most visible insignias of their transformation today is observable in the landscape: this is now dominated by vineyards of different sizes, where before a pattern of olive orchards and agricultural fields used to be evident. Boutique shops in different cities are also now selling olive oil and wine produced in these villages. Another sign of change is the publicity these villages are receiving in the "travel" sections of newspapers and in the guidebooks that cater to local tourists. Some of the villages already also have websites devoted to them, which have been created by their fans and residents.

Most of these transformations have resulted from the activities of new residents, called *kentli koyluler* (urbanite villagers). These are young or middle-aged urban professionals who want to relocate into a "healthier" setting, and have chosen among villages at a convenient distance from cities. *Kentli koyluler* differ from the majority of the people of their "class," who prefer to live in the gated communities mushrooming on the periphery of big cities. These gated communities aim at creating a healthier living environment for their residents. However, urbanite villagers favor "truly" traditional environments, and they want to engage with the people of these environments.

As their name suggests, *kentli koyluler* do not have any prior experience of village life. They were generally raised in urban areas — which might have changed from modest-sized towns to cosmopolitan environments. Nonetheless, they have expectations and a romantic image of rural life, which is mostly shaped by literature and media. At the same time, their ability to commute and the availability of communication networks permit them to continue to practice their professions, at home-offices or otherwise. They also occupy themselves with the "development" of their respective villages, which might mean bringing them closer to the image of the village they have in their minds. Among their favored activities seem to be reviving lost traditions (like winemaking), creating "traditional" cafes and restaurants in which they can entertain their guests, founding cooperatives to produce local goods, and restoring old houses.

This paper analyzes the alteration of environments, the (re)configuration of identities, and the invention of traditions to make a place fit into a constructed traditional image. It concentrates on the case of Yagcilar Koyu, a "hip village" with urbanite villagers near Urla, Izmir. The village is conveniently located only ten kilometers away from the Karaburun exit of the Izmir-Cesme expressway, which significantly shortens the commute to Izmir. Since the opening of the expressway in 1991, Urla, the nearest town, has also become a popular location for new gated communities. Based on interviews conducted with the residents of Yagcilar, this paper discusses the idea of "tradition" and "traditional" in a time of four-wheel drives and satellite dishes.

Author Index

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5. SUBHEADINGS

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   Sample Progression: The Role of the Longhouse in Iban Culture. The Longhouse as a Building Form. Transformation of the Longhouse at the New Year. The Impact of Modern Technology. Conclusion: Endangered Form or Form in Transition?
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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.

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