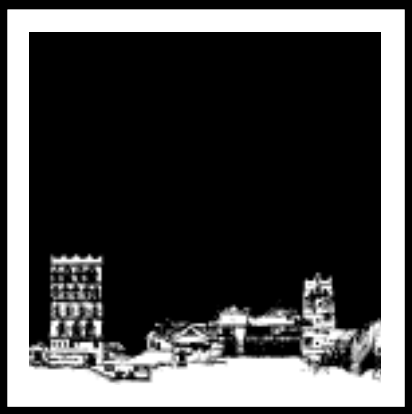
TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

T D S R V O L U M E X V I I I N U M B E R I I S P R I N G 2 0 0 7



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:

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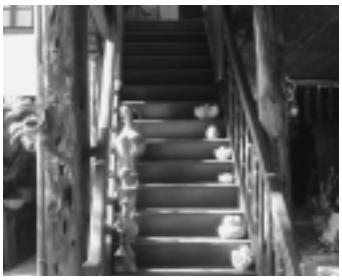
Contents



COVER ILLUSTRATION: Urban landscape in Shumshuipo showing an existing tenement building facing the fate of demolition. Photo by Ceceilia Chu.

Editor's Note

This is the first issue of *TDSR* following the successful completion of the Tenth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments. The conference, held in Bangkok, Thailand, in December 2006, heralded a milestone of IASTE's success, while also providing a point from which to observe the shifting directions of research and theory in the field. Organized around the theme "Hyper-Traditions" and co-hosted by Thammasat University, the conference aimed to generate debate on ways the idea of tradition has been destabilized by globalization. It used the term "hyper" as a critical anchor to refer to social and cultural realms created and maintained through space- and time-altering technologies. Hyper-traditions entail simulations: they may emerge in part as references to histories that did not happen, or as practices de-linked from locations from which they are assumed to have originated. A central analytic of this discourse, taken on by many members of IASTE, is how to theorize a relationship between the "real" and the virtual when the two can no longer be adequately separated.

Several articles in this issue capture aspects of this debate, and in fact earlier versions of three of them were presented at the 2006 conference. Among these, that by Imran bin Tajudeen was selected as recipient of the Jeffrey Cook Award for best paper by a student in the field of traditional environments. The award was established in honor of Prof. Cook, a founding member of IASTE and a regular reviewer of articles for *TDSR*.

The issue opens with Imran's "State Constructs of Ethnicity in the Reinvention of Malay-Indonesian Heritage in Singapore," which explores the political-economic basis for stereotypical re-creations of Malay-Indonesian culture, especially as they have obscured real historic conditions of heterogeneity and severed old interethnic links. Sebnem Yücel Young's "Hyper-Traditions/Hip Villages: Urbanite Villagers of Western Anatolia" then examines the impact of affluent urbanites seeking healthier and more authentic lives in Turkey's rural areas. In part, her article is concerned with the conflicts and complexities that emerge from the formation of new class-based identities in these villages. Next is Cecilia Chu's "Heritage of Disappearance? Shekkipmei and Collective Memory(s) in Post-Handover Hong Kong," which examines ways that visions of working-class life in Hong Kong are being reimagined as "collective memory" amidst growing calls to preserve the city's past.

These three articles drawn from the 2006 conference are followed by a Special Article, "The Nature of the Courtyard House: A Conceptual Analysis," by Amos Rapoport. This delves deeply into the nature of the "courtyard house" in an effort to develop criteria to characterize it as a dwelling form. Next, Mary Padua's Visual Essay, entitled "Urban Funk: Globalization at the Margin," uses an entirely different medium, photography, to explore the debate over globalization. Finally, the issue contains a Field Report, "Tradition and Thermal Performance: An Investigation of New-Vernacular Dwellings in Campinas, Brazil," by Kowaltowski, Watrin and Pina, which investigates thermal characteristics of new-vernacular houses in relation to the meaning of tradition.

I would like to close by announcing that the IASTE board has selected Oxford, England, as the site of our 2008 conference. The conference will be hosted by the International Vernacular Architecture Unit of Oxford Brookes University, on the theme "Interrogating Tradition: Practices, Epistemologies and Fundamentalisms." A more detailed call for papers will go out in the next few months. We hope that you will submit paper abstracts and propose appropriate sessions for what promised to be another great event.

Nezar AlSayyad

State Constructs of Ethnicity in the Reinvention of Malay-Indonesian Heritage in Singapore

IMRAN BIN TAJUDEEN

Over the last several decades the Singapore government has attempted to create hyper-traditional environments in two historic, but largely expunged, Malay-Indonesian *kampung* districts. Tourist-oriented projects in these areas have resorted to generic Malay and Arabian-Islamic imagery and selective concealment and framing of historic settings to portray Malay-Indonesian culture as alternately "rural" and "regal." This article explores the political-economic basis for these stereotypical re-creations, which have obscured real historic conditions of heterogeneity and severed old interethnic links. It also shows how the rejection, negotiation or appropriation of such spatial-physical impositions reveals the potential of everyday culture to disrupt such essentialist ethnic portrayals.

In Singapore, Kampung Gelam and Geylang Serai are the sites of long-standing government attempts to re-create traditional Malay-Indonesian districts known as *kampung*. In the old port towns of the Malay-Indonesian region, a *kampung* denoted a ward or district.[1] However, present use of the term obscures actual historical conditions and the fact that *kampungs* often had fundamentally different characteristics. Thus, Kampung Gelam was an urban district connected to Singapore's earliest port and harbor, while Geylang Serai was a younger suburban settlement which grew around a former transport terminus and trade-fair site (FIG.1). Nevertheless, from the 1960s to 1980s, both sites underwent extensive programs of demolition for urban renewal. Then, in the 1980s and 1990s, portions of them were transformed as packaged, stereotypical "ethnic districts" for cultural tourism.

The present "Malay-Indonesian" label for these reinvented historic districts is also misleading. Although people of such descent did once represent a majority of the population in both areas, in no way were these ever exclusive ethnic enclaves. Today, however, what *kampung* denotes, and what it has come to connote, have diverged considerably. A nostalgic-generic

Imran Bin Tajudeen *is a Ph.D. candidate at the National University of Singapore. His research concerns hybrid traditions in the vernacular architecture of old urban wards, or* kampungs*, in Southeast Asia's port cities, and their historical development.*

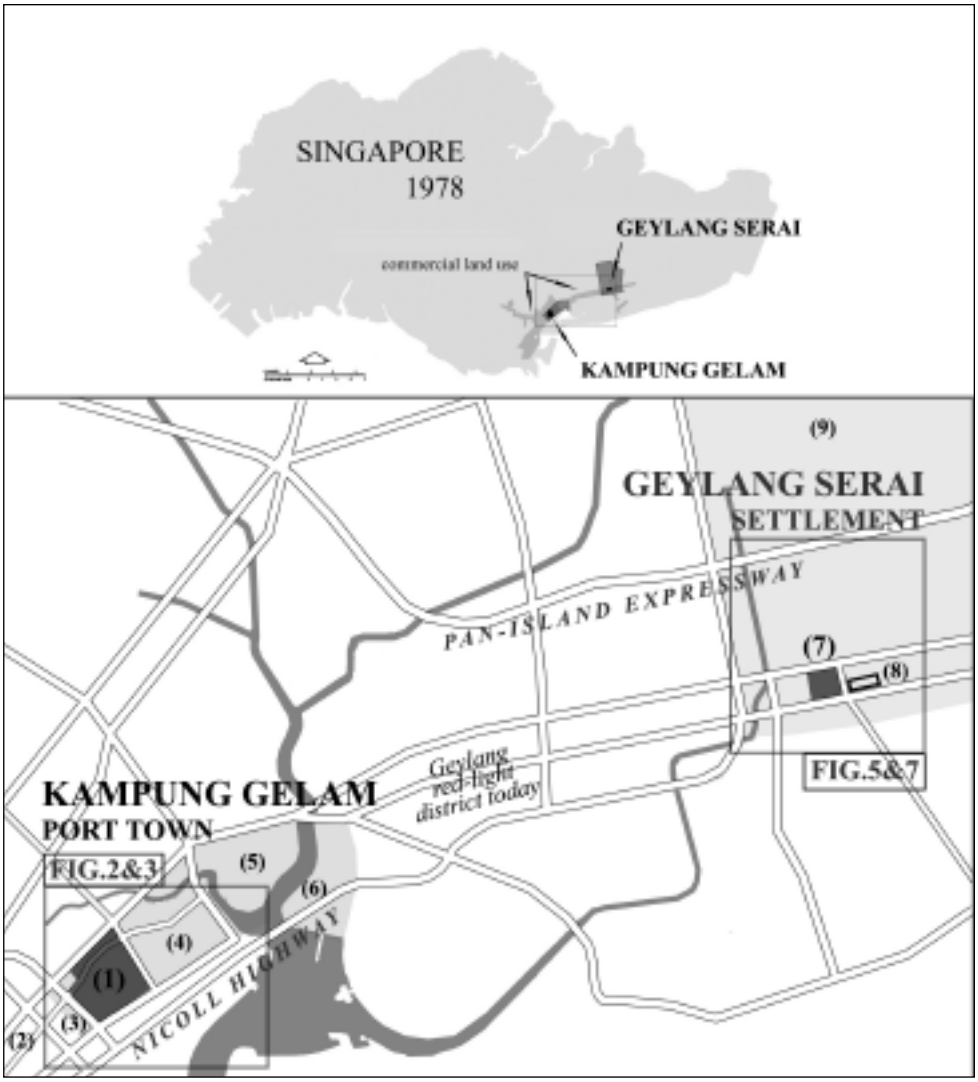


FIGURE 1. *Kampung Gelam and Geylang Serai in Singapore today. In Kampung Gelam: (1) Kampung Gelam Conservation District, 1989; (2) Bugis Town prior to 1822 relocation (Bugis Junction mall today); (3) Kampung Masjid Bahru, expunged 1980s; (4) Kampung Rochor, expunged 1960s (public housing and retail blocks today); (5) Kampung Bugis, expunged (empty state land today); (6) Kampung Kallang, expunged 1930s (recreation and state institutions today). In Geylang Serai: (7) Malay Village, begun 1984; (8) Geylang Serai Market; (9) former extent of settlement (lowrise industrial estate today). Graphic by author.*

social memory of the *kampung* as an idyllic "village" has effectively obscured more precise familiarity or recollection of actual, particular *kampungs* in Singapore and their architecture, morphology, and socio-cultural composition. A similar homogenizing trend has taken place in other aspects of life among Singaporeans of diverse Malay-Indonesian descent.[2]

Moreover, as Yeoh and Lau have argued, the modern affliction known as "cultural amnesia," wherein "people are no longer personally or intimately acquainted with their own cultural roots," has made it easier for the state to "impose a particular version of the cultural past" in its conservation programs.[3] Generic remembrances have displaced particular histories, facilitating an oblique sense of forgetting. Ironically, this is so because, as Chua has argued, popular social memory of the *kampung* is infected by nostalgia.[4]

Building on this general social affliction, the government, mainly through its tourism and redevelopment agencies, has invented markers that accentuate artificially themed enclaves according to state-defined categories of ethnicity. These are designed both to titillate tourists and play a didactic role among the local population. These physical reinscriptions on expunged environments, in the guise of projects to restore or beautify remnants of physical heritage for cultural tourism, have thus produced ethnic districts that are hyper-traditional.

HYPER-TABULA RASA: REINVENTING ETHNIC DISTRICTS IN SINGAPORE

State initiatives to reinvent Singapore's heritage along ethnic lines officially began in 1984 with the creation of a Tourism Task Force. This was the second year of declining tourist arrivals (following the so-called "tourism crisis" of 1983). To counter this trend, the task force recommended that the Singapore Tourism Board (STB) be given license to serve

as overall coordinator for the redesign of heritage districts in collaboration with the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA).

The events organized by the tourism authority in Geylang Serai that year were revealing of future directions: they included the street light-up for Ramadan and Hari Raya Puasa (Eid-ul-Fitr) (which subsequently became an annual affair), the erection of arches over two roads at the famed Geylang Serai Market, and an invitation to popular Malay artists to perform on a temporary stage built behind the market. A "Malay Village" proposal for the area was also officially announced that year, which included major changes by the Ministry of National Development (MND) to earlier proposals by the Malay Affairs Bureau (MAB).

These developments in Geylang Serai signaled what would soon become a comprehensive new government policy to use essentialist notions of ethnicity to translate heritage areas into commodities for cultural tourism. Two years later this policy would be embodied in the 1986 URA Conservation Masterplan for ethnic districts, and in the Tourism Product Development Plan (TPDP). Specifically, the TPDP stipulated an "Exotic Asia" theme for future tourism efforts, according to which Singapore's "Oriental mystique" would help define it as a destination. Meanwhile, the Conservation Masterplan divided heritage districts according to ethnic themes: Chinese (Chinatown), Malay (Kampong Glam), and Indian (Little India). Thus, the "colonial grid" for ethnicity was reinscribed upon the urban landscape, regardless of its heterogeneous reality.[5]

Today, the continuing importance of this policy is evident on the tourism board website:

> *The mission of Culture & Heritage Department is to develop and promote the cultural and heritage experience of offerings in Singapore* — namely Chinese, Malay, Indian and Arab. *The department is responsible for the overall strategic planning and product enhancement of Singapore's* ethnic areas *such as Chinatown, Little India and Kampong Glam. It also oversees the organisation of festive light-ups in these* ethnic areas. . . . *[emphasis added]*[6]

The reinvention of heritage in Singapore along ethnic lines has involved a series of operations that are here termed "hyper-tabula rasa." Koolhaas and Mau have described the tabula rasa of redevelopment in Singapore as a "clean sweeping" to "displace, destroy, replace."[7] By comparison, the creation of ethnic heritage districts has entailed clinical sterilizing — a complete physical overhaul involving operations to *displace, reinvent* and *sell* under the aegis of conservation and aesthetic enhancement.

This article retraces these operations with regard to Kampung Gelam and Geylang Serai. It describes the heritage lost in the original expunging of these settlements. It examines the process by which selected areas of them have since been reinvented through the implantation and framing of physical signifiers of ethnicity. And it critiques these projects by comparing state revaluations of historic resources to the actual value placed on them by locals and visitors. The article concludes by reviewing the underlying ideological impetus and political-economic motives behind these policies.

DISPLACE — THE EXPUNGED SETTLEMENTS

Kampung Gelam and Geylang Serai occupy a special position as sites scarred by Singapore's earliest and most comprehensive expunction schemes. However, despite the selective reinvention of portions of them as tourist sites (where their diverse facets have been flattened into simplistic Malay rural or regal narratives for the purposes of cultural tourism), they were once very different places.

Old Kampung Gelam was colonial Singapore's regional port.[8] Its various wards also bore the appellation *kampung*. In the 1820s it comprised a palisaded royal town, around which merchant compounds were found. The latter were labeled "Bugis Town" on a British map of 1822. Then, in 1824, these merchants were relocated to a new "Bugis town" laid out at Kampung Rochor, which came to form Singapore's oldest merchant district **(FIG.2)**. However, following independence, Kampung Rochor became the first portion of old Singapore town to undergo wholesale demolition. Ignominiously labeled Precinct N1 in the urban renewal program, it was expunged in its entirety in the 1960s.

Waterfront settlements were also found at Kampung Bugis and Kampung Kallang, which comprised one of Singapore's shipbuilding areas. This harbor area was visited by trading vessels from around the region. However, the distinctive waterfront houses of Bugis and Palembang merchants found there were demolished in the 1930s to make way for an airport (and many residents moved upriver to Geylang Serai). Afterwards, port facilities for regional maritime traders were twice relocated to isolated, concealed areas of the island.[9]

Thus, by the late 1960s little remained of nineteenth-century Kampung Gelam's port district. Aside from Hajjah Fatimah Mosque, built circa 1840 by a wealthy female Melakan Malay trader, an entire network of streets and its fabric of buildings had been erased. This had included a mix of shophouses and rowhouses interspersed with bungalow forms, from simple warehouse-dwellings to elaborate compound houses. In its place the government constructed a collection of public housing complexes, the residents of which largely come from elsewhere **(FIG.3)**.

The next large-scale demolitions came in the 1980s. At the southern extremity of Kampung Gelam, the area called Kampung Masjid Bahru (New Mosque Compound) formerly comprised five distinctive streets, three of which were just three meters wide. The last of these terminated at the front pavilion of a mosque, Masjid Bahru, built in the 1870s with a three-tiered roof. This marked the outer limit of the old port town (beyond which one arrived at Japanese and Chinese brothels in

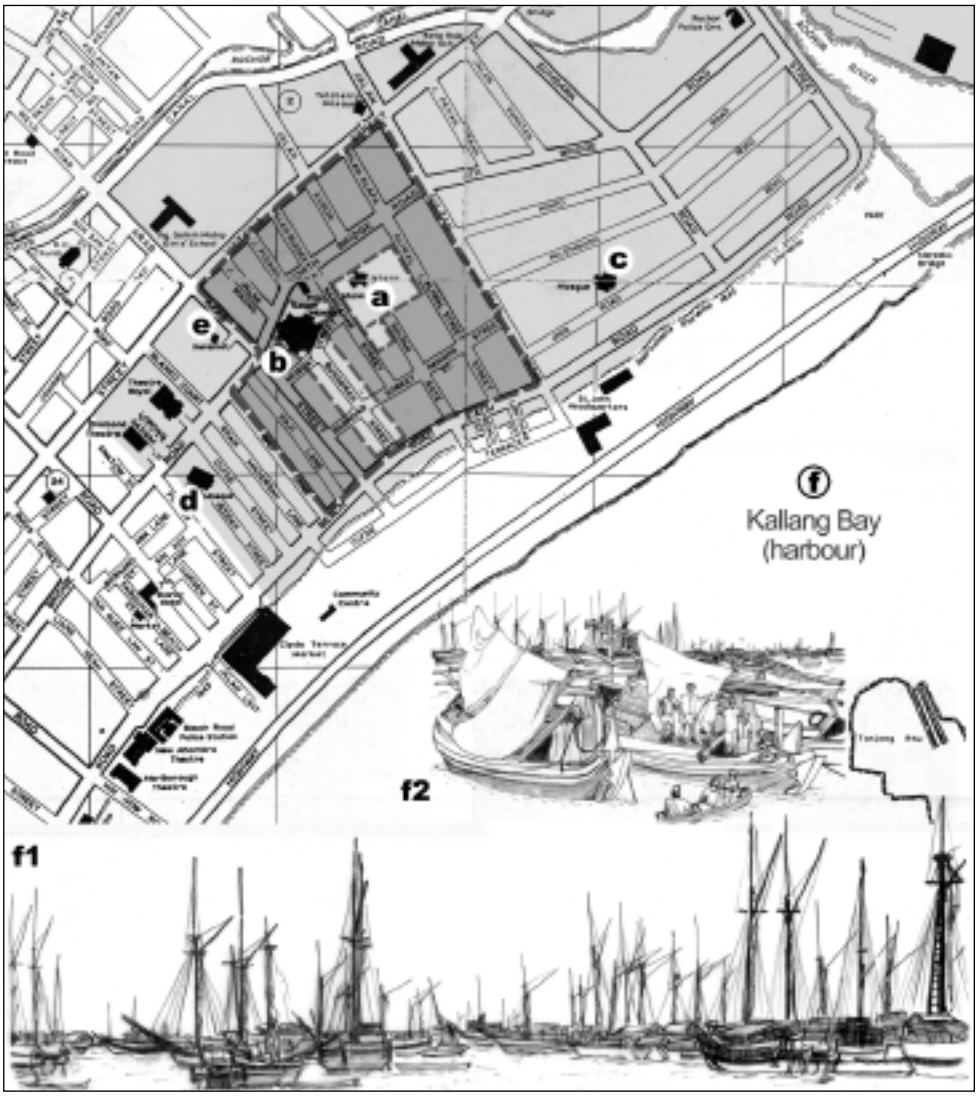


FIGURE 2. *Old Kampung Gelam Port Town, 1966. In what is the Conservation District today: (a) Istana (Palace), 1840s; and (b) Sultan Mosque, rebuilt 1924, in Kampung Kaji (Bussorah Street). In Kampung Rochor: (c) Hajjah Fatimah Mosque, 1840s, dome 1932. In Kampung Masjid Bahru: (d) Bahru Mosque, 1870s, expunged 1980s; and (e) Tomb (*keramat*), expunged 1980s. Drawing by author, based on* Singapore Street Directory 1966. *The historic images show local trading ships in Kampung Gelam harbor in 1957. (f1) Bugis vessels; and (f2) Madurese vessels. Drawings by author based on photography by Gibson-Hill in G. Hawkins,* Malaya *(Singapore: Donald Moore, 1957), pp.18,19.*

the neighboring streets) **(FIG.4)**. As part of the district for the pilgrimage trade of Muslim Southeast Asians, Kampung Bahru was initially built by pilgrim brokers who were mostly of Javanese origin. However, along with its century-old mosque, it too was expunged in the 1980s. Only one street and half of another remain today; the rest is empty state land.

Following this extensive demolition campaign, the small portion of Kampung Gelam that remained, consisting largely of the port town's dismembered center, was gazetted in 1989 as a historic district. Yet even within this area important buildings continued to be demolished. As a residential area, it had been forcibly depopulated in the 1980s, but its final demise as a community came when the government acquired the former palace, or Istana, in 1995. This led to the expulsion of the descendants of the Johor-Riau prince, first installed by the British as Sultan in Singapore in 1819.

Pondok Jawa, the community and cultural hall of Javanese immigrants situated close to the Istana, was then demolished in its entirety (including its brick walls) in 2004 — ostensibly, to fight a termite infestation. Earlier, the Melakan trading and lodging house compound, Pondok Melaka, had also been demolished to make way for a car park.

In contrast to the tight settlement of Kampung Gelam, old Geylang Serai was a sprawling suburb **(FIG.5)**. It was formed by hundreds of traditional Malay raised-floor timber houses, of which several styles could be found. Many of these were well constructed, built to plans submitted to and approved by the colonial authorities.

According to conventional history, the settlement began with the dispersal of a village at the mouth of the Singapore River. This had been inhabited by followers of the Temenggong, or chief of security, and included both boat-dwelling Orang Laut aboriginals and land-dwelling Malays. Some time in the 1830s the land at Geylang Serai was bought by Hajjah Fatimah, the same trader who built the mosque in Kampung Rochor. When she died, it was inherited by her

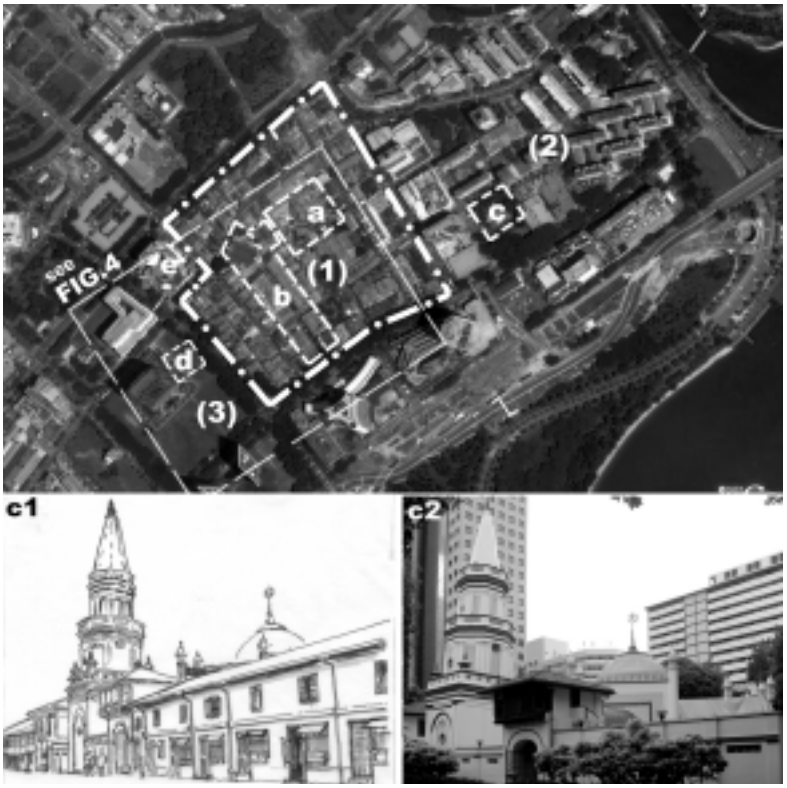


FIGURE 3. *Present-day Kampung Gelam. (1) Kampung Gelam Conservation District, with (a) Malay Heritage Centre; and (b) Sultan Mosque and Bussorah Mall. (2) Kampung Rochor (Crawfurd Estate and retail blocks today), with (c) Hajjah Fatimah Mosque. (3) Kampung Masjid Bahru, now largely void, with (d) Kampung Masjid Bahru Mosque site (highrise tower and empty land); and (e) Tomb site (hotel and mall). Graphic by author, based on Google Earth image. The photos show the Hajjah Fatimah Mosque before and after demolition of surrounding urban fabric. (c1) Mosque with other buildings along Java Road in 1950. Drawing by author based on M. Doggett,* Characters of Light *(Singapore: Times Books International, 1985), p.43. (c2) Mosque in 2006 after all other buildings in Kampung Rochor, and Java Road itself, were expunged. Photo by author.*

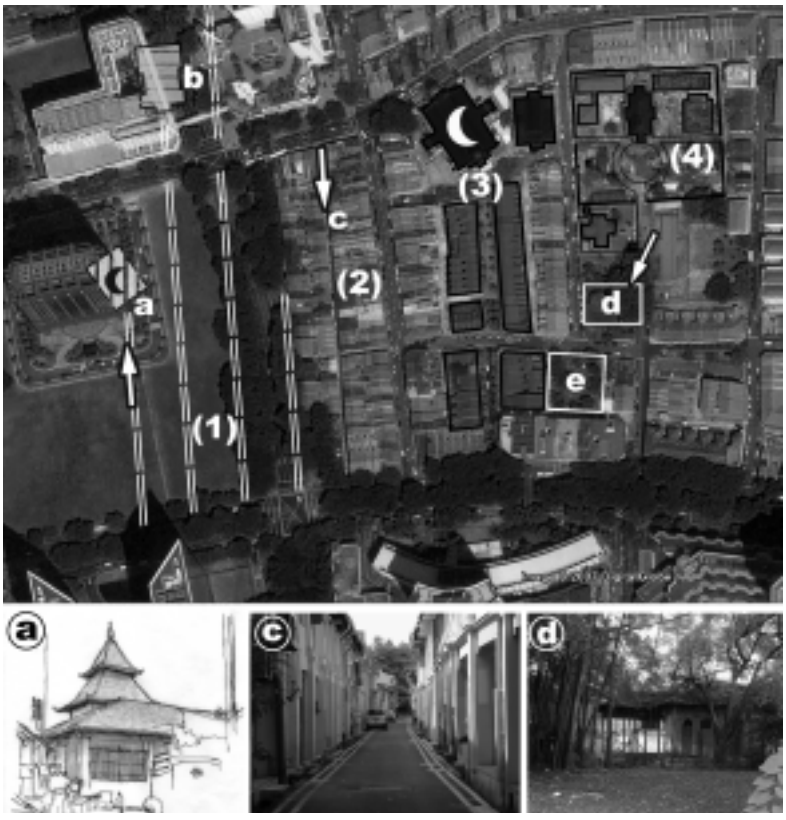


FIGURE 4. *Kampung Gelam Conservation District and Kampung Masjid Bahru area today. (1) Expunged streets of Kampung Masjid Bahru; (2) "Arab Street" and Haji Lane (Kampung Jawa); (3) Sultan Mosque and Bussorah Mall (Kampung Kaji); and (4) Palace and Heritage Centre (Kampung Dalam). The letters and historic photos indicate significant features of the area that have been demolished: (a) Bahru Mosque, built 1870s, expunged 1980s; (b) Theatre Royal, expunged 1960s; (c) Haji Lane; (d) Pondok Jawa, expunged 2004; and (e) site of Pondok Melaka, now a car park. Graphic by author based on Google Earth image. Drawing (a) by author based on Doggett,* Characters of Light, *p.40. Photos (c) and (d) by author.*

FIGURE 5. *Old Geylang Serai, 1954. The box indicates the present-day site of the Malay Village. The circle marks the* pekan *(commercial nucleus) of old Geylang Serai, which contained the site of the Great Eastern Trade Fair, two theaters, a bus terminus, a market, and shops. Graphic by author based on historic map courtesy of NUS Geography Department Maps Resource Centre.*

son-in-law, of the Hadhrami-Arab family of Alsagoff, her neighbors in Kampung Rochor.

The original settlement at Geylang Serai had a linear-radial street pattern, with the main streets leading off from a central point. For years this had served as the east terminus of trams, and later trolley buses, connecting to the commercial center of the colony. It was also the site of the Eastern Trade Fair, as well as a cinema. However, in 1960 this central area was selected as the location for the Geylang Serai Housing Scheme, and by 1963 a program of demolition had begun to make way for what would become the first public housing estate built by the Housing and Development Board (HDB) in the eastern part of Singapore island (FIG.6). Construction of this project eventually necessitated the removal and relocation of 125 families, 73 shopkeepers, eleven hawkers stalls, four stores, and three offices from a 400,000-sq.ft. (9.2-acre) site. In September 1971 the government then announced its intent to acquire the adjacent 359 acres of land. By 1973 this had been accomplished, and the last remaining families were removed to make way for redevelopment in the 1980s.

Eventually, all the houses of Geylang Serai were demolished, including those built with official plan approvals. The old community was dispersed, and the land was earmarked for lowrise industrial workshops. However, the new Geylang Serai Market Complex and its bazaar shops, completed in 1967 and accommodating the relocated traders, soon became a weekly pilgrimage spot, earning it the epithet "Malay emporium of Singapore" (FIG.7).[10] Meanwhile, until a decade ago, most of the outlying land in the former settlement of Geylang Serai remained vacant state property.

REINVENT — ARCHITECTURAL STEREOTYPES, ORCHESTRATED PERSPECTIVES

In the aftermath of these comprehensive programs of demolition and eviction, the Singapore government was left with large areas devoid of community, streetscape or buildings. To restore these for cultural tourism has subsequently required the reinvention of Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam as "ethnic areas." Since the 1980s both areas have thus witnessed various projects aimed at resurrecting a "traditional" past according to images of essentialized ethnicity, represented by ethnic markers inscribed by state agencies. In the words of Yeoh and Lau, this has meant replacing a former heterogeneous "lived culture" with ideological expressions.[11]

The images of ethnicity used in such superimpositions articulate and support what Brown has called "ethnic management policies."[12] In the cases of Kampung Gelam and Geylang Serai the images have been directed both internally at the ethnic group concerned (by defining their position within national ideology), and externally to tourists and visitors as part of the "exotic East" image stipulated in the Tourism Product Development Plan of 1986. In both locations this has meant the orchestration of tour routes and views, shaped by architectural and landscaping design, to frame stereotypical notions of ethnicity.

In Geylang Serai the idea of a "Malay Village" was first suggested and approved by the Minister for National Development in 1981. At the time it was seen as a way to counter repeated pleas by the Malay Affairs Bureau to preserve remaining settlements containing vernacular Malay

FIGURE 6. *Public housing and new Market Complex in central Geylang Serai. (1) Geylang Serai Housing Estate, 1966 (source:* Singapore Street Directory 1966*). (2) View of the Market Complex, 2001: food, fresh and live produce and bazaar stalls (photo by author). (3) The bazaar within the Market Complex, 2001: Javanese* jamu *(medicines) and fabrics (photo by author).*

FIGURE 7. *Geylang Serai today: (a) Malay Village, Phases I and II; (b) Geylang Serai Market Complex; (c) Joo Chiat (retail) Complex; (d) Haig Road Market Complex; (e) Tanjong Katong (retail) Complex; and (f) a large parking area, a rarity in Singapore. Graphic by author, based on Google Earth image.*

FIGURE 8. *Geylang Serai and the Malay Village, urban history and context. (1) Geylang Serai settlement. (2) Kampung Wak Tanjong. (3) Kampung Kembangan. (4) Jalan Eunos Malay Settlement, gazetted 1929. Important locations: (a) Great Eastern Trade Fair and Bus Terminus; (b) Geylang Serai Housing Estate and Market 1966; (c) Malay Village; (d) parking lots; (e) empty state land; (f) industrial estates; and (g) public housing estates. Graphic by author.*

architecture (FIG.8). Intended as a generic representation of expunged Malay *kampungs*, it was designed and finally completed by the Housing Development Board in 1989. However, since 1991 the HDB has contracted its management to Ananda Holdings, a Hong Kong-based tourism conglomerate. An extension was then built in 1995, containing ethnic-themed entertainment elements, proudly billed as "Singapore's newest theme park attraction."[13]

Geylang Serai comprised two socio-cultural features: a *pekan* nucleus, or market-bazaar center; and an adjoining *kampung* or residential settlement. However, it is the latter, "vernacular settlement" aspect of Geylang Serai that the Village's design seeks to represent. Built on a site adjacent to the Geylang Serai Housing Scheme and its market, the original goal of the Malay Village was to be a "recreation of a typical Malay Kampung to serve as a tourist centre, commercial centre, and a cultural showpiece."[14] This last ambition has, however, been marred by an aggressively profit-driven strategy on the part of the HDB. Thus, Kong and Yeoh noted that "while the [HDB] has put in significant effort to approximate an authentic kampung, respondents [of surveys] did not always feel it was sufficient."[15] Such dissatisfaction is justifiable considering how the village has failed in both architectural and cultural-cum-commercial terms.

Architecturally, the Malay Village attempts to represent Malayness in a manner similar to that of a nineteenth-century colonial exposition or World's Fair. Yet, even by these standards, it is degenerate. Whereas nineteenth-century open-air museums displayed actual or accurately replicated specimens, the Malay Village's architectural reconstructions do not even approximate the actual forms of Singapore's historic Malay settlements. The "typical Malay Kampung" envisioned thus shows off a mix of irrelevant architectural models pillaged from the Malay Peninsula. And even these are not properly replicated, since there is much bastardization of detail and building form (FIG.9).

One dissertation on the Malay Village contains the following explanation:

> *According to the architect [of the Malay Village], ideas for the* kampung *were not taken from local examples which were mere "urban slums" lacking in any formal language. Instead they were adapted from site studies carried out in Malaysia and Indonesia and books on layout, building materials, construction techniques, landscape and cultural heritage. The Singapore Tourism Board was also consulted for advice.*[16]

Evidently, no research was done by HDB architects on actual houses in Singapore's *kampungs* (FIG.10). Thus, the hybrid Malay-type houses that were such a ubiquitous feature of Singapore's late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century landscape, and which cut across ethnic boundaries, were ignored in favor of models from neighboring Peninsular Malaysia that were never a feature of the Singapore landscape.[17] Meanwhile, the rarer Bugis and Palembang house types originating from South Sulawesi and southeastern Sumatra (which were found downriver from Geylang Serai) and the Bumbung Limas and Bumbung Perak houses that were more prevalent were ignored. For these reasons the Malay Village is a clear expression of ethnic essentialism and irredeemable cultural amnesia.

Two comments (presumably uttered in irony) by a member of Parliament involved in formulating the project in 1984 further expose its underlying absurdity. First, he said, "it is not a conservation of heritage . . . it is just to remind us of

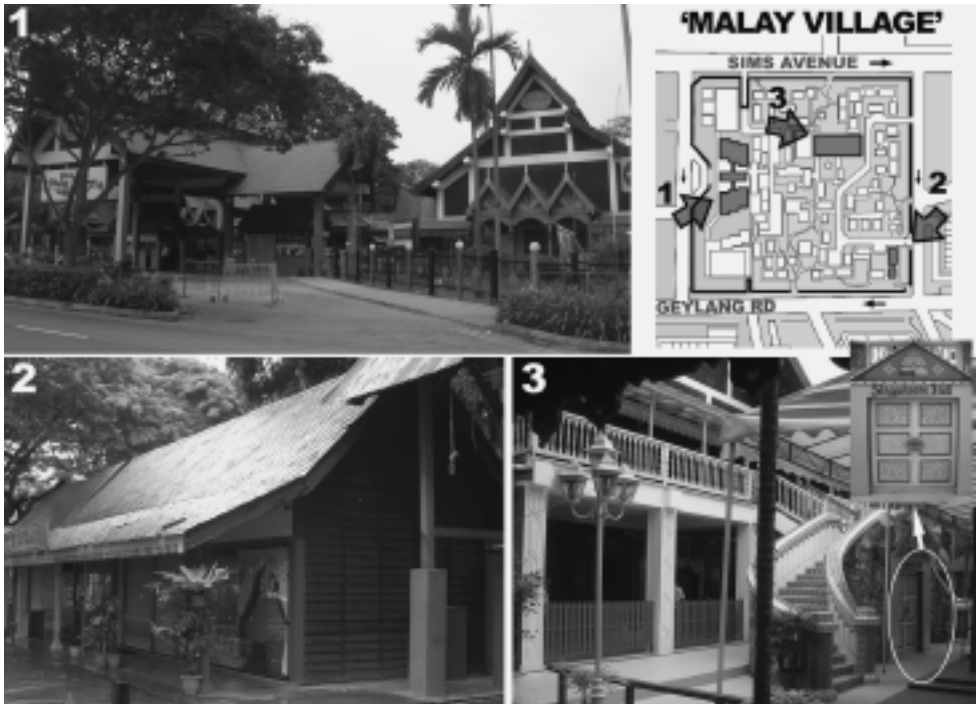


FIGURE 9. *Malay Village buildings. (1) Phase II main entrance from car park. (2) typical shop buildings with concrete screed floors. (3) Gaudy pastiche as ethnic décor: Phase I hall incorporating a Melaka-style staircase in a Terengganu-style building. Photos by author.*

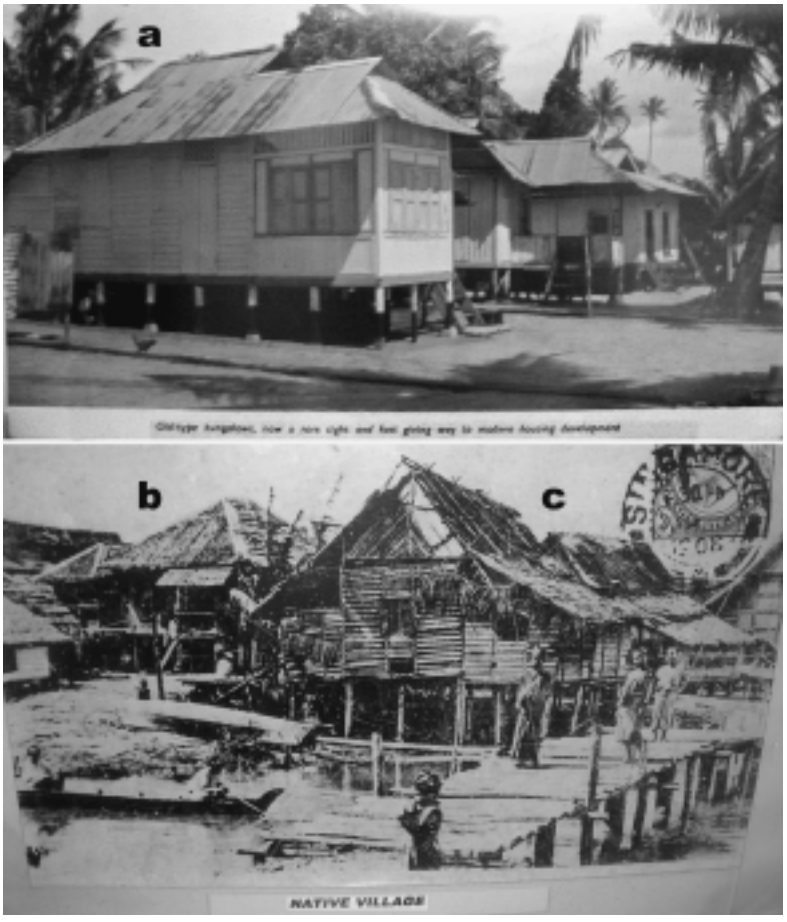


FIGURE 10. *Historic examples of Malay-type houses in Singapore. (a) Gable-on-hip model (Bumbung Perak) from Geylang Serai area (caption: "Old-type bungalows, now a rare sight and fast giving way to modern housing development"). Source:* Singapore Street Directory 1966. *(b) Hipped-roof model (Bumbung Limas); and (c) gable-roofed model (Bumbung Panjang). Photo by author of a postcard, captioned "Native Village," displayed in the Malay Village Gallery.*

our past. It is essentially a commercial premise, which is Malay in nature." And, second, "the facade is more important than its content."[18]

Indeed, in the Malay Village's "Art Gallery" — which claims to present "a stroll down memory lane with black and white pictures of the pasts [sic], of old buildings steeped in history, for visitors to reminisce" — one finds no information on actual *kampungs* of Singapore.[19] The only photograph of actual *kampung* architecture shows a particularly dilapidated house (which appears abandoned), cursorily captioned "Native Village" **(REFER TO FIG.10)**.

Ironically, the role of a typical Malay *pekan*, or market and bazaar district, does live on in Geylang Serai. But it does so, commercially and culturally, not at the Malay Village, but in typical modern, non-Malay buildings erected by the state, where hawkers and shopkeepers have been relocated. Among these are the Geylang Serai Market Complex (1965), the Haig Road Market Complex (1976), the Joo Chiat Complex (1983), and the Tanjong Katong Complex (1984). There is also an annual night bazaar held throughout the fasting month leading up to Eid-ul-Fitr (Hari Raya Puasa) — which has been supported by the tourism authority since 1984 as one of its ethnic "offerings." In other words, by the time the proposal for the Malay Village was officially announced in August 1984, Geylang Serai had already reestablished itself as a shopping district for Singaporeans of Malay-Indonesian descent — even attracting visitors from Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia.

The other main failing of the Malay Village project, therefore, is that it has failed to benefit from Geylang Serai's existing character as a market and bazaar district. From a practical standpoint, its success depends in part on attracting walk-in customers to its 40 lock-up shops, eleven kiosks, five eating houses, one restaurant, and three coffeehouses.[20] Yet, its buildings are set far back from the street, accessible only via winding paths that connect to gates in a continuous perimeter fence. Predictably, such physical separation from neighboring markets and retail complexes contributes to its present, largely desolate quality **(FIG.11)**.

To make matters worse, an official HDB statement explains how its layout provides "a planned randomness in an attempt to capture the atmosphere of additive village growth."[21] But this notion is misinformed on both historical and practical grounds. The houses of old Geylang Serai, like

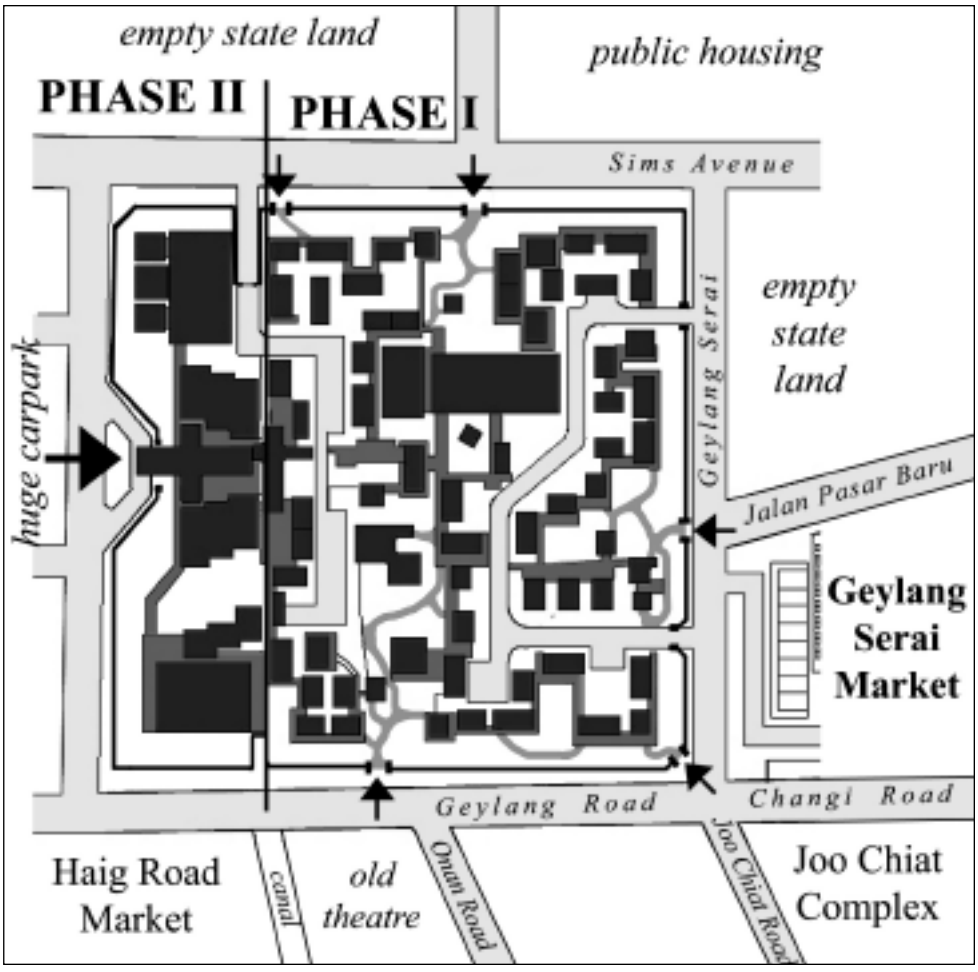


FIGURE 11. *Geylang Serai Malay Village, showing its "planned randomness," building orientations, linkway (*selang*) labyrinth, and winding paths. Graphic by author.*

many other *kampungs*, were laid out in a fairly regular manner, facing onto streets, or else aligned in rows along paths. Thus, the Malay Village's labyrinthine *selang*, or covered passageways, which link clusters of single-story shop-buildings, all oriented in different directions, has no architectural precedent. The sense of having lost one's direction, or having reached the end of a cluster, also sets in fairly quickly.

The orchestration of visits to the Malay Village further segregates it from its surroundings. Visitors are typically led directly from tour buses through the main entrance to the large ethnic-themed attractions that face a car park. This allows neither visual, physical, nor experiential connection with the other lively market, restaurant, and bazaar complexes of Geylang Serai. Instead, the layout is designed to frame only the ideological constructs portrayed in the village's buildings, ethnographic dioramas and displays, and staged performances. No recognition is given to the everyday culture of Singapore's Malay-Indonesian community.

This fabrication is echoed in the narrative for "Ethnic Quarters: Geylang Serai" from the tourism authority's website:

> *At the Malay Village, go back in time and discover the traditional "Kampung Days" lifestyle of Malays in the 1950s and 1960s! Or experience traditional Malay arts and crafts like batik painting, kite-making and kampung games such as top spinning.*[22]

The Village's attractions also give physical expression to ethnic stereotypes. Tan has noted how Singapore's mass media routinely express "Malay separateness" via an "association with the pre-modern, nature and even the supernatural."[23] The same can be said for the original attractions included in Phase II of the Village, which opened in 1996. These included an "Arabian Nights" genie to welcome visitors to "Lagenda Fantasi," a 25-minute multisensory show which presented the myths connected with fourteenth-century Singapore. Another attraction was "Kampung Days," a nostalgic, lyrical portrayal of a carefree village where the visitor could savor "life's simple 'treasures'."

Kong has described the value of invented cultural traditions arising from an emphasis on "traditionalism" as a way for Singapore to respond to the "disjuncture with the past," caused by globalization. In this regard, he has cited a desire to "actively seek to recover heritages, as if to return to some unproblematic golden past."[24] Nowhere is this more blatant than in the invention of various ethnographic embellishments at the Malay Village to represent "Malay culture." Thus, it has featured a *gasing* (spinning-top) pavilion, a restaurant mimicking aspects of a fishing village, and a coffeehouse with a rice-field theme.[25] All these play on an equation between Malay culture and rural life first propagated during the colonial era.

Where the Malay Village at Geylang Serai emphasizes a humble, rural tableau, the reinvention of Kampung Gelam has been based on images of exotic Arabia and Malay regal splendor. As explained earlier, the amputated core of the old port town was gazetted as a conservation district in 1989. As such, it became one of three "ethnic areas" designated for conservation in the TPDP of 1986.

At the time, the modest plan for Kampung Gelam was to (a) "retain Sultan Mosque"; (b) "rehabilitate the Sultan Palace building and grounds and adaptively reuse them as a Malay cultural complex cum historical park for cultural performances and festive celebrations"; and (c) "provide a clear pedestrian network to link the major buildings and open spaces." However, since then, the plan has spawned two hyper-traditional projects that go far beyond these simple principles: the extensive restoration and beautification of Bussorah Street to create "Bussorah Mall," and the embellishment of old Istana to create a "Malay Heritage Centre" **(FIGS.12,13)**.

In general terms the two projects illustrate the "landscape spectacle" strategy employed by the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) in its pilot conservation project in Singapore at Tanjong Pagar. Yeoh and Lau have described how this intended to "demonstrate the economic and practical viability of restoring [old buildings] to their previous grandeur."[26]

Toward this end, Bussorah Mall was conceived and completed by the URA in 1992 with help from the tourism board (STB). A preoccupation with spectacular restoration is palpable in the URA's work here on the old shophouses.[27] Clearly, Bussorah Mall also fulfills objective (c) of the TPDP, by converting a road to a pedestrian mall. However, this has also entailed the landscape "beautification" of a space which leads directly to, and dramatically frames a postcard-perfect view of, the Saracenic-themed, colonial-era Sultan Mosque. Interestingly, this structure never reflected local culture. It was built in 1924 to the design of an Irish architect to replace a century-old, tiered-roof, Southeast Asian-type mosque **(FIG.14)**.

Similarly, the colonial-era street names that were officially conferred on the area around 1910 — Baghdad, Muscat, Kandahar, Bussorah — have created a popular misperception that the area was predominantly "Arab." In fact, Singapore's Arab community originated in Yemen's Hadhramaut Valley, and the names reflected the popularity of Perso-Arabian romances in the Malay *bangsawan* theater of the era (whose actors were mostly Javanese). Indeed, alternative vernacular place names in Fujianese (Hokkien), Cantonese, Malay and Tamil emphasized the district's actual Javanese community and its Malay "compounds," or *kampung* morphology. The Fujianese called Arab Street "Javanese Street," or "Jiawa Koi." Malay-Indonesians called Bussorah Street "Kampung Kaji" ("Hajj Compound"), and they referred to Baghdad Street and Sultan Gate as being located in "Kampung Tembaga," or "Copper Compound."

As mentioned, these areas were predominantly populated by Javanese, who worked as coppersmiths, pilgrim brokers or tailors, or who operated bookstores and lodging-houses catering to Hajj pilgrims from the region en route to Mecca. However, there remains no palimpsest of this literate urban

FIGURE 12 (ABOVE). *Reinvented landscapes of the Kampung Gelam Conservation District today: (1) Mosque and Bussorah Mall; (2) Istana and Heritage Centre. View (a) shows Bussorah Mall leading to Sultan Mosque. Its palm trees, dome-shaped lights, and "Islamic" paving patterns are designed to evoke a Middle Eastern ambience. Photo by author. For view (b), see Figure 13. For view (c), see Figures 17 and 18.*

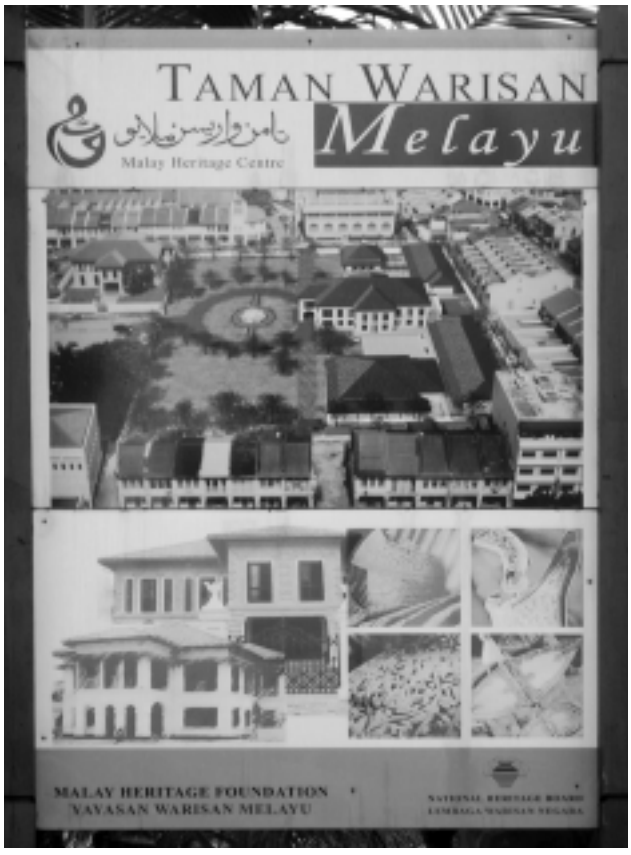


FIGURE 13 (RIGHT). *Tourist sign at the Malay Heritage Centre in the former Istana (Palace). The new construction includes the large landscaped forecourt with its formal circular walkway and fountain, and ancillary buildings. The aerial view approximates view (b) in Figure 12. Photo by author.*

Javanese community, nor any trace of their former activities and enterprises. Even Pondok Jawa, their cultural and community hall, where *wayang wong* (classical opera), music, and shadow theater were staged, has been demolished. The expunction of streets at Kampung Rochor with such names as Jalan Bugis and Palembang, Java and Sumbawa Roads means that any previous memory of these various Malay-Indonesian communities has likewise been erased.

Moreover, Bussorah Mall is today "enhanced by various cultural embellishments" which extend the Saracenic fantasy of the colonial era. According to one newspaper account, these include "dome-shaped lampshades to bring out the Islamic flavour of the area and the planting of palm trees to evoke a Middle Eastern ambience."[28] The fabricated Middle Eastern character has even been extended to the touting of "Arabic cafes [sic]" in brochures produced by the tourism board. Several new Middle Eastern eating places have indeed opened since 2001, among them a Lebanese and a Turkish restaurant and Moroccan- and other Arab-themed cafés **(FIG.15)**. But, historically, South Indian Muslim coffee shops, Minangkabau (West Sumatran) Nasi Padang restaurants, and Javanese Nasi Rawon eateries have been the predominant eating places in the district for several generations **(FIG.16)**.

Kampung Gelam's second architectural project, the Malay Heritage Centre, is one of four "ethnic heritage centres" approved in Parliament in January 1993.[29] It today occupies the Istana, a modest two-story Palladian bungalow built around 1840 by Sultan Ali (son of the sultan installed by the British) to replace an earlier timber palace. Work by the CPG with assistance from the STB to restore, alter, and add to this building began soon after it was acquired by the Singapore

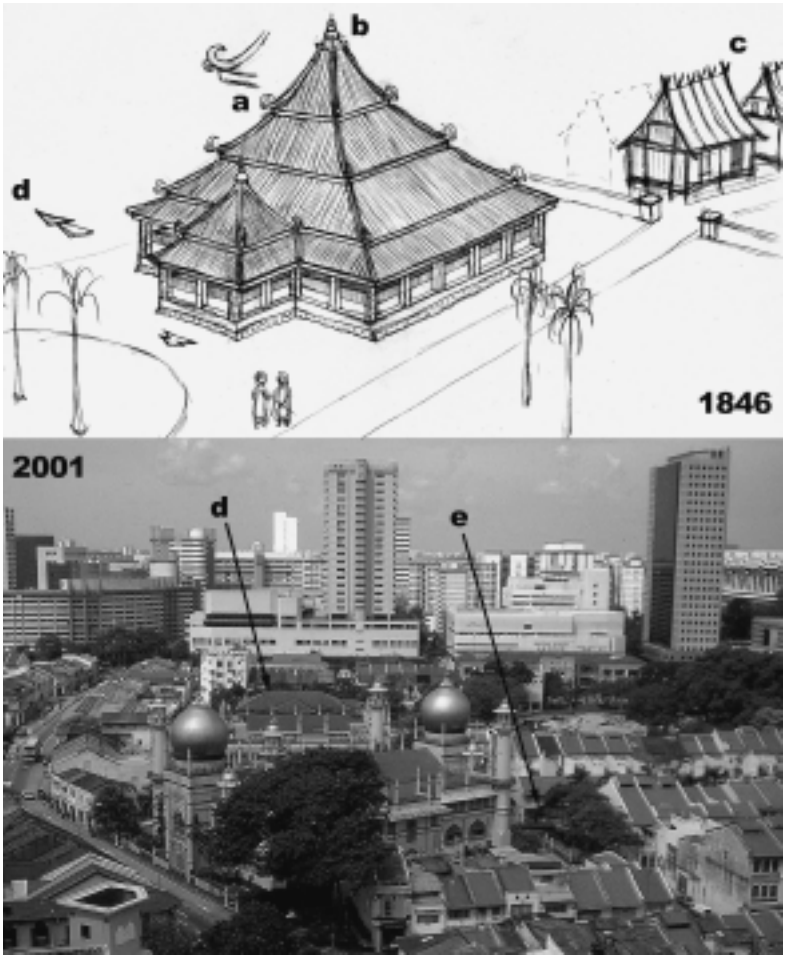


FIGURE 14. *Sultan Mosque. Top: original tiered-roof mosque on the site, begun circa 1824, showing (a) roof ridge* sulur bayung *ornamental ends, (b) finial, (c) buildings of Kampung Kaji (today's Bussorah Mall), and (d) direction of the Palace. Drawing by author based on J. Perkins,* Kampong Glam: Spirit of a Community *(Singapore: Times Publishing, 1984), p.12. Below: Present-day Saracenic mosque, begun in 1924, showing (d) the Palace, and (e) Kampung Kaji (Bussorah Mall). Photo by author.*

FIGURE 15. *Baladi Lebanese Cuisine is one of several new hyper-traditional Middle Eastern-themed restaurants that have appeared in Kampung Gelam since 2001. They are allied through the Kampong Glam Business Association, whose "overall aim is to showcase Arab culture." See K. Husain, "Arabian Nights in Kampong Glam," app.amed.sg/internet/amed/sporesm/MidFlavor.asp. Photo by author.*

FIGURE 16. *Examples of older eating places in Kampung Gelam: (a) a Minangkabau (West Sumatran) Nasi Padang eatery; and (b) an Indian Muslim eatery. Photos by author.*

government in 1995, and the center officially opened in 2005.

In a manner similar to the creation of "landscape spectacle" at Bussorah Mall, the Istana was stripped of all accretions. Lean-tos added beneath its eaves to shield its windows from the sun and rain (which once resembled a lower roof tier) were removed, and an annex built to one side was demolished. All accretions to the palace compound and its perimeter walls were likewise removed. This cleansing of actual living conditions was extended to the Istana's large forecourt, which was eventually rebuilt with elaborate "formal landscaping," paved walkways, and a central fountain that doubles as a stage for cultural performances when the water is turned off **(FIG.17)**.[30]

So carefully constructed is this reinvented landscape that even the discovery of old boulder foundations within the compound during an archaeological dig has not been accorded the degree of importance it deserves.[31] Evidence of this dig and its findings were not allowed to be left exposed, or interfere with the immaculately landscaped grounds. The restoration project has, in sum, exceeded any effort to simply return the palace to its former grandeur; it has added new signifiers of regal splendor and exclusivity that never existed.

The stated purpose of this transformation was to create "a visitor centre and museum to showcase Malay history, culture and heritage, as well as the contributions and aspirations of the community towards nation-building."[32] This goal was additionally seen to justify construction of "new ancillary amenities" flanking the main building **(FIG.18)**. The architect's statement concerning their design described typical tropical buildings with "pitched roofs and a continuous veranda edge with generous eaves." To complement this pristine, abstract "tropical" aesthetic, two diminutive, obscure timber pavilions were also built in opposite corners of the large, heavily landscaped compound. The architect claimed these were "designed with the vernacular architectural style of Johor and Riau" — a rather questionable claim. The statement further declared:

> *Thus the redevelopment of the Istana Kampong Gelam into the Malay Heritage Centre was not only about the restoration of a historical landmark, but also provided the opportunity to revitalise, reconnect and integrate the historic core of the Kampong Gelam area to its hinterland.*[33]

Exactly what ideological hinterland is being hinted at is anybody's guess. Historically, the Kota Raja Club on the palace grounds once organized social events such as weekend singing performances by local and invited foreign artists in the palace grounds. There was a weekly ritual of giving of alms to children during the sultan's walk to the mosque for Friday prayers. And shelter was provided by the royal household for the wounded during World War II, among others. But none of these vital connections to Singapore's history and local culture have been provided space in the Istana's spectacular, reinvented landscape.

SELL — RESALE VALUE, AND VALUED SELLING POINTS

The prime motivation behind this skewed approach to heritage conservation is revealed in the Singapore government's "Committee on Heritage Report." It outlines how the aim of heritage conservation should be to create "an ambience of enchantment," and "a cultural environment which will stimulate and sustain intensive creative efforts in business, management and leisure."[34] Heritage, in other words, relates to business and leisure, tenants and tourists — not community or social formation, let alone street trading or maintaining a lively bazaar atmosphere. According to Yeoh and Lau, the content of heritage districts is thus reduced to "architectural merit and visual integrity," with an emphasis on spectacle.[35]

Artificiality can thus be seen as deriving from a state obsession with economic return. Yeoh and Lau have argued

FIGURE 17. *The distractions of "spectacle": a dance performance in the Malay Heritage Centre's landscaped forecourt, 2006. Photo by author.*

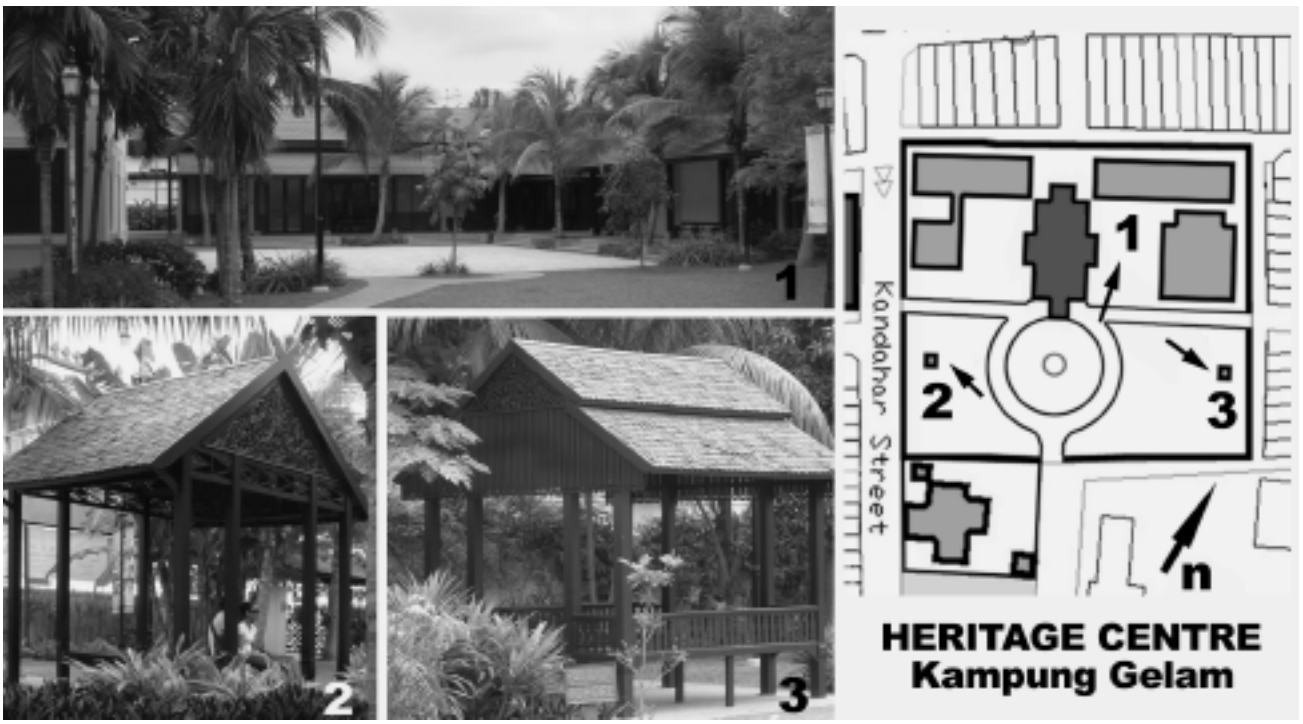


FIGURE 18. *Transformation of the Istana into a Malay Heritage Centre. (1) New ancillary buildings. (2 and 3) Timber pavilions in the landscaped forecourt. Photos by author.*

this first became apparent in the URA's Tanjong Pagar pilot project, where old shophouses, restored to "pristine beauty," were "specially packed, designed and presented," and where "ethnic look" bus shelters were built.[36] This project has served as a precedent for other heritage districts, they argued, with subsequent policies seeking to foster "architectural splendour" and "economic viability," and engender "a new sense of envisioned, conceptual community as opposed to one that is lived or substantive."[37]

At both Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam, government agencies have similarly focused on real estate value — with revenue generation serving as the ultimate indicator of success. According to Leong, this is perhaps inevitable, given that "the Singapore state operates its agencies as if they were economic enterprises." He also pointed out that these agencies are called "statutory boards," and that they are responsible for their own marketing strategies and generation of profits.[38] Above all, reinvented heritage sites must make money for the agencies concerned.

Nonetheless, the degree to which the state has disallowed community involvement or stakeholding, to avoid any interference with money-making, appears rather too driven by greed. Thus, newspaper accounts in the 1980s described how the HDB ignored early inquiries concerning tenancy at the Malay Village by the Singapore Malay Chamber of Commerce, directing it instead to await release of retail units through open bidding.[39]

Reputedly, plans for the Malay Village once envisioned a balance between culture and commerce. "[T]he kampung will have a mix of traditional and commercial activities," one newspaper account reported. "It is the latter, with restaurants and different types of shops selling various wares, which will keep the kampung economically viable."[40] However, this aim proved untenable in the face of insistence by the HDB that it make as much as possible from the project through competitive bidding for all shop spaces. Thus, the initial cultural-cum-commercial ambitions of the Malay Affairs Bureau, "to have a typical Malay setting in which the traditional arts and craft would be made and sold and where cultural shows could be held" (as well as naïve hopes for displays and demonstrations of traditional craft doubling up as retail ventures) were out-priced.[41]

Meanwhile, in Kampung Gelam, where historic reinvention involved expelling existing residents, the URA announces each sale of a restored building in a section of its newsletter jubilantly titled "On Sale . . . Selling . . . Sold!"

Profits aside, the official view of the STB is that heritage districts should primarily serve to titillate tourists. This was first outlined in the TPDP, which contained the STB's plans for the years 1986 to 1990. It argued that "an appropriate definition of Singapore as a tourist destination may be as follows: 'Singapore is a composite microcosm — a unique destination combining elements of modernity with Oriental mystique and cultural heritage.'"

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Singapore Tourism Award for Best Sightseeing/Leisure/Educational Programme 2004 was conferred on an Orientalist-flavored tour called "Sultans of Spice™ — A Kampong Glam Walk." This regaled tourists with the story of "royalty snatched away too quickly," and with "curios" from a "hidden cultural enclave where Singapore's indigenous culture still thrives."[42]

However, despite this optimism for the value of its chosen theme, an STB survey on "appealing aspects of Singapore (1990 and 1991)," showed that less than 2 percent of respondents viewed Singapore's "exotic multi-cultural/multi-racial Oriental background" as a significant selling point.[43] The same document reported that the Malay-Indonesian region constituted the largest source of visitors to Singapore in 1992. And even the TPDP conceded that planned tourist attractions should be enjoyable to Singaporeans, since tourists are not inclined to visit places specifically created for them. Given such views, it is puzzling how the tourist board can still believe attractions touting "Malay ethnicity" sell.

Likewise, the management of the Malay Village may honestly believe its theme-park fabrications reflect the cultural inheritance of Singapore's Malay-Indonesian community, but discerning tourists appear unimpressed. Several websites carry unflattering reviews of the Village from backpackers and independent travelers. Published and web travel guides dedicated to independent travelers (as opposed to package-tour participants or "hyper-tourists") instead celebrate the unpretentious everyday structures of Geylang Serai and recommend visits to its market halls and alleys, brimming with goods and crowded with small shops, itinerant peddlers, and small-scale food vendors.

A contrast between two narratives on Geylang Serai is illustrative of the power of lived or experiential culture to displace the constructed sense of *kampung* nostalgia. First is a conventional portrayal of Malayness for corporate clients of a trade mission:

> *This evening we transfer to Malay Village for dinner. Idyllic, serene, and high on nostalgia. . . . The culture and tradition [sic] come alive . . . the traditional abode of the Malays, the village has been touted as the only living kampung in urban Singapore. . . .*[44]

Compare this to *The Economist*'s opinion at the "City Guide: Singapore" portion of its website:

> *Avoid the Malay Village, a centre aimed at tourists, and head for Geylang Serai, with its brightly painted shophouses and lively fresh produce market. Stay near the market for Malay and Indonesian delicacies. . . .*[45]

Such a culture of the everyday has also begun to disrupt certain official constructs of Malayness at the Malay Village. With declining attendance at the multimedia "Lagenda

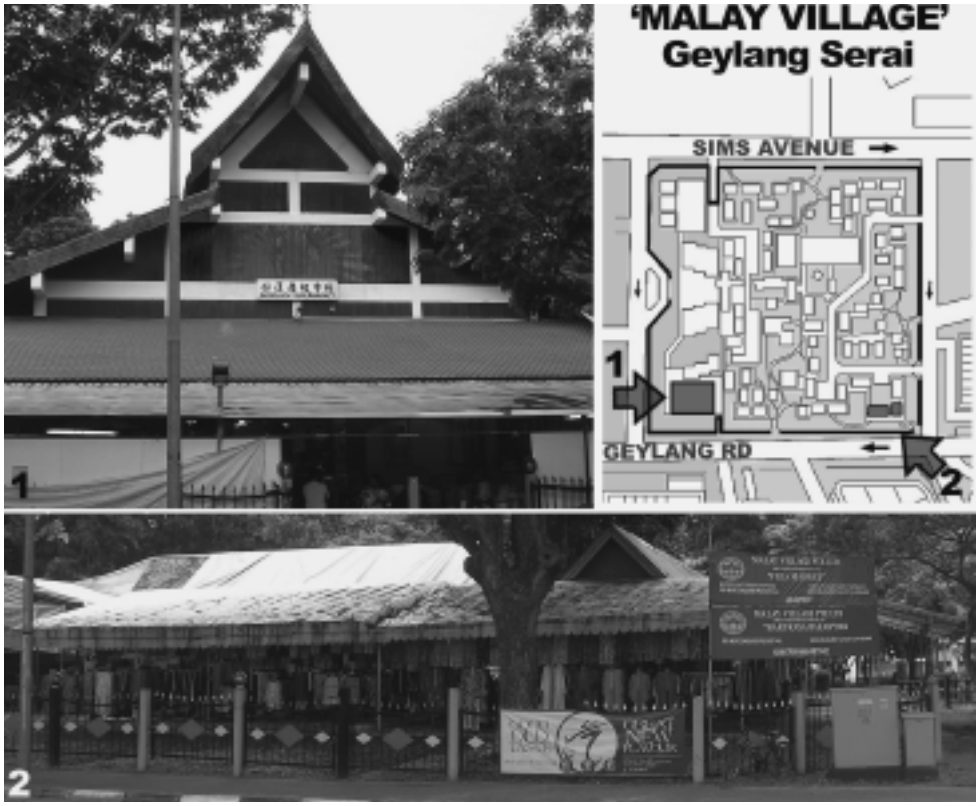


FIGURE 19. *"Everyday" transformations of the Malay Village. (1) Former "Lagenda Fantasi" hall, now the Good Luck Supermarket. Just above the market sign, a trace of the genie's-head image that once promoted the show is still faintly visible on the timber-panel wall. (2) Extension sheds constructed by tenants. Photos by author.*

Fantasi," the large hall where it was once screened has now been rented to the Good Luck Supermarket **(FIG.19)**. Its *gasing* (top-spinning) pavilion has likewise been converted into a *surau*, or small Muslim prayer house, utilized by visitors to the area, especially for congregations during the fasting month. Shopkeepers have also begun appropriating space by constructing extension sheds for shop displays, epitomized by the large tents erected at the new supermarket. For these stakeholders, the Malay Village's ideological version of Malay "living culture" is irrelevant. Geylang Serai's living culture is for them represented by Malay-Indonesian shoppers and market-goers who are potential walk-in customers.

Indeed, a gradual move back to an older bazaar culture can now be discerned at the Malay Village. Borrowing Yeoh and Peng's terms again, the attempt to foster an "envisioned, conceptual community" has failed, and the "lived, substantive" community of the area is gradually taking its place within the project's fences. Thus, state attempts to reinvent heritage at the Malay Village have not been able to displace the conduct of daily life, and people have begun to use it in ways that test the limits of its constructed imagery.

A similar contest is evident in different forms in Kampung Gelam. For example, Kampung Glam Cafe serves as a base of sorts for the association of former residents of Kampung Kaji (Bussorah Mall). It is a coffee shop run by a member of this group. Together with other older coffee shops, this neighborhood institution has tried to negotiate a continued presence for itself within the new upmarket consumption milieu emerging as a result of the URA's high-priced open-tender practices.

Kampung Gelam's character as an old, heterogeneous Muslim district is also constituted partly by such socioeconomic holdovers as its remaining Minangkabau, Javanese and Indian Muslim eateries. However, as noted earlier, these are now being threatened by a new pseudo-tradition of boutique Middle Eastern-themed restaurants and cafes. The Saracenic fabrication initiated by the landscaping of Bussorah Mall has also spawned other businesses which reinforce this invented history.

POLITICAL-ECONOMIC BASES OF THE HYPER-TABULA RASA OF HERITAGE

The reinvention or outright fabrication of ethnic heritage in Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam — imposed by the Ministry of National Development and HDB in the Malay Village, and by the URA and STB in Kampung Gelam — clearly supplanted other possible uses for these areas which could have been more representative of local concerns. Nevertheless, after making clear that its fabrications were official policy, the state moved to co-opt members of the Malay political and cultural elite to "conceive of" and implement, or otherwise endorse, them. In this manner it has

tried to authoritatively reinscribe a notion of *kampung* culture in these project areas that is synonymous with a synthetic Malay race and connected to value structures that are stereotypically either rustic or regal. In the process, they have obscured the dynamic multiethnic communities that once actually existed in these places.

As Hadijah's extensive study on *kampungs* in Singapore has amply demonstrated, the old settlements were neither socioeconomically inert nor ethnically homogenous. Thus, many suburban *kampungs,* today glossed as "villages," were in fact pioneered by merchants or begun as residential enterprises with land purchased from the colonial municipality and Malay-type houses constructed according to formal building plans. Geylang Serai's community, like other "Malay *kampungs,*" also included many Chinese. Similarly, in settlements glossed as "Chinese farming villages," Malays may have comprised as much half or more of the population.[46] Kampung Gelam, being Singapore's oldest urban quarter, was particularly heterogeneous. Its cosmopolitanism within the Muslim community was enshrined, for instance, in the composition of the Board of Trustees for Sultan Mosque, which included representatives from its Bugis, Javanese, Malay, North Indian, South Indian, and Arab communities.

Another body of evidence that belies the state's essentialist narrative is in the role of the Malay-type house in Singapore's residential architecture (FIG.20). A search through building-plan archives reveals that houses of Malay typology constituted a shared formal and spatial vocabulary for architects of different backgrounds who designed for clients of a variety of ethnic groups — including Europeans living in ethnically mixed middle-class areas. In their reinvented forms, however, state agencies have constantly re-presented Malay-Indonesian historical districts and vernacular architecture as ethnically exclusive. The primacy of these "shared forms" in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Singapore, and their position as the common architectural language of Singapore houses across ethnic and socioeconomic lines, has thereby been rendered impotent. It has now even become possible, and somewhat customary, to portray these common older forms as of interest only as evidence of ethnic heritage.

Through their architectural and landscaping choices and manipulations, state-sponsored ethnic districts have thus created ideologically inflected portrayals of Malay-Indonesian urban space which seek to selectively erase or obscure history by over-writing the built landscape. As Upton has pointed out, the various choices of "traditional values, authentic forms, [and] undiluted identities" in portrayals of "heritage" and "tradition" are all in truth shaped by "strategic political positions." As he then concludes, "the focus of critical analysis begins to shift away from cultural effects [of notions of authenticity] and to move toward political-economic causes."[47] As Leong has pointed out, this is especially the case in Singapore, where "government, public bureaucracies and political party are virtually synonymous institutions," to the extent that "the state eventually dominates every institutional sphere of social life."[48]

In particular, official policies of "multiculturalism" implicitly emphasize ethnicity as an important category of identity, fostering essentialist notions to ensure the distinctiveness of each group — a condition Benjamin has termed "cultural involution."[49] Such efforts can also be interpreted according to AlSayyad's three discrete phases of attitude change toward heritage and tradition. In this sense, the divi-

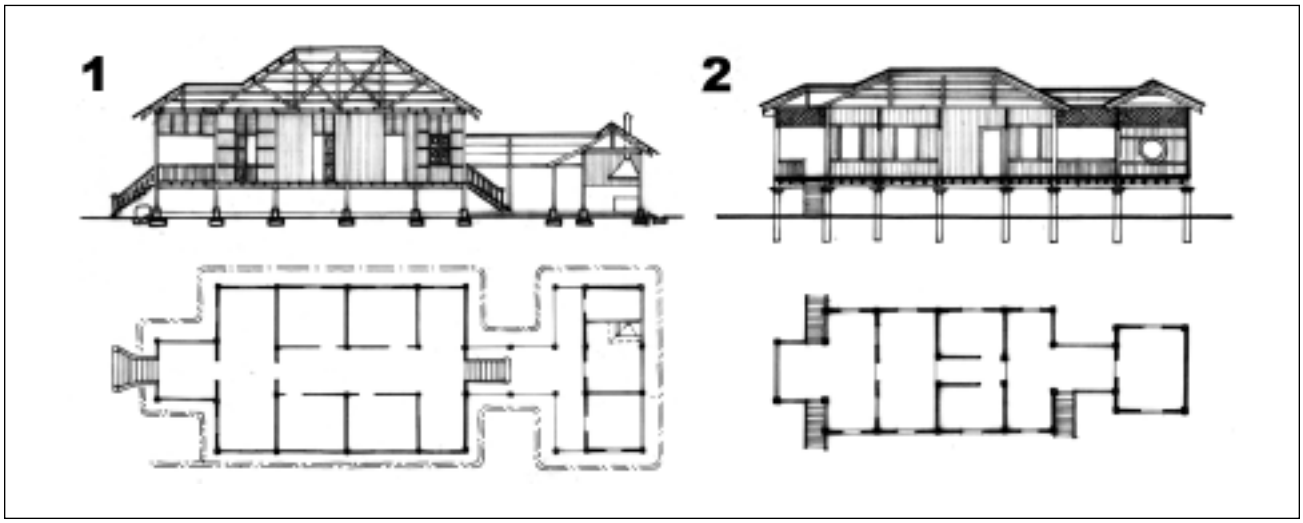


FIGURE 20. *Examples of Malay-type houses in Singapore: (1) built in 1920 at Lorong 18 Geylang Road (eastern suburb) for M. Salleh (Malay) by architect H.A. Puteh (Malay); and (2) built in 1895 at Tajong Rhu (in Kallang Bay, opposite Kampung Gelam port town) for Lim Tay Yam (Chinese). Graphic by author based on* Singapore Building Plans 1884–1946, *collection, Central Library, National University of Singapore.*

sive portrayals of Malay-Indonesian identity being perpetuated in Singapore — via nostalgic notions of rural *kampungs*, "exotic" Arab-Oriental imagery, and former regal splendor — are merely extensions of colonial stereotypes, wherein "local identity [is] violated, ignored, distorted or stereotyped."[50]

The stereotypes perpetuated in these cultural tourism districts implicitly situate Malays as the "other" to the practical Chinese. But, more generally, they illustrate AlSayyad's claim that, between the two possible cultural outcomes of globalization, "capitalism thrives on the construction of difference, [and] the present era of economic universalism will only lead to further forms of division, in which culture will become the globally authoritative paradigm for explaining difference and locating the 'other'."[51]

Thus, the Malay Village's invented rural environment crystallizes an imagined Malay rural idyll that articulates a nostalgic-generic social memory of *kampung* life. And the restored Istana and Bussorah Mall give the false impression that Kampung Gelam was once a settlement centered on a dominant royal court and a Saracenic mosque. This not only allows erasure of its history as the earliest port town in nineteenth-century Singapore, but allows removal of all reference to its vital community of Malay-Indonesian merchants, whose remembrance would require discomfiting reference to Kampung Rochor's expunction.

In the architectural choices and the framing of tourist experiences at both Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam, Malay identity is also recast in ways divorced from any urban economic milieu, echoing colonial-era stereotypes of the "lazy native."[52] In its place, a picture of traditionalist stasis is inserted. Like the Malay Village's orchestrated experience, the recentering of Kampung Gelam around a former sultan's palace thus frames an obliquely derogatory view of what a government website calls "Malay traditions and lifestyle practices [which] have stood strong against modernisation." Meanwhile, fabricated notions of a spectacular regal culture there are contrasted with the "toil and tribulations" of the Chinese, as emphasized in Singapore's Chinatown Heritage Centre.[53] Such emphasis on royal pomp and the framing of a Saracenic landmark at Kampung Kaji using Bussorah Mall's fabricated Middle Eastern ambience leaves no room for social memory of an actual urban Malay-Indonesian maritime-trading community.

On the one hand, these fabrications that willfully ignore history and exaggerate the Malay as the "other" may simply be the outcome of the expedient cultural abbreviations needed to project the naive "Oriental mystique" demanded by the tourism board's Exotic Asia theme. Yet one might also see more deliberate motives behind these fabrications that supplant a particular history of urban economic enterprise and heterogeneous lived culture with simplified notions of the rural and the regal.

First, such reinventions serve the state's interest. The expunction of these neighborhoods can be made to seem justifiable if they are posthumously remembered — even celebrated — as ethnic enclaves that were anomalous within an emerging modern milieu.

Second, the stereotypical reinventions help create a fiction of Malay geographical separateness. Several writers have described a "Malay cultural-weakness orthodoxy" or a "cultural-genetic deficit thesis" by which the state persuades Malays "to see their internal cultural attributes as responsible for their socio-economic problems."[54] In this regard, ethnic-district narratives help support attribution of blame for the present peripheral position of Malays on "Malay culture," rather than what Chih has called "structural constraints upon their geographical and economic mobility as an ethnic group."[55]

Third, the state's "corporatist management of ethnicity," as Brown has described it, relies on the state's ability to engineer for itself a role as the sole, indispensable arbiter of ethnicity. As this article has tried to demonstrate, reinvented "ethnic districts" may constitute the physical counterpart of the socio-political bodies which, Brown has noted, have been "isolated, engineered, then reassembled."[56] Thus, their reinvention results in a deemphasizing of the significance of alternative, vernacular contexts of interethnic intercourse; or, better still, in a re-presentation of them as ethnically pure entities in the name of cultural tourism. Ethnic affiliation is thus restructured from being fundamentally behavioral (embedded in living culture), to being ideological (tied to a set of designated symbols).

In effect, then, cultural commodification for tourism provides justification for extending an initially colonial discourse on the "native." As Kahn has written, this has been internalized, naturalized and disseminated by colonial-educated Malay elites.[57] In Singapore, it has also become atavistically propagated as part of a "cultural and heritage experience of offerings." These stereotypes, which apparently also coincide with certain notions essential to political expediency, are knowingly or unknowingly abetted by the state agencies involved in producing ethnic districts. As Ooi has observed:

> *. . . although [the tourism board] does not have an explicit social engineering agenda, it works closely with other state institutions . . . to allow or promote certain tourism activities . . . [and] economic and institutional resources are mobilized to achieve and maintain [its] goals.*[58]

ORCHESTRATING A SENSE OF LOSS

As this article has tried to show, recent tourist-oriented projects in Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam have selectively applied generic Malay and Arab symbols to the reconstruction of important historical sites. These seek to materially express official constructs of ethnicity that reinforce and solidify latent stereotypical imaginings about Singaporeans of diverse Malay-Indonesian descent and varied economic backgrounds. This effort is intended to be both instructive and authoritative.

Initially, such efforts to redefine the sense of Malay ethnic heritage were coercive. But, by default, these impositions now possess legitimacy and increasing potency as important expressions of identity, situating the Malay ethnic group within the national image and imagination. For this state-sponsored fabrication, the Malay community is expected to be rightfully grateful.

The following comment in 1996 by a 39-year-old Malay sales manager, who admonished Malay readers of the official English-language daily, *The Straits Times*, to help the Malay Village, provided a chilling illustration of the pangs of guilt that fabrications of ethnic heritage can induce:

> *It is high time we accord the village the status of a symbol of the Malay culture. It is no point labelling it as a white elephant when we, on our part, have not done anything to contribute towards realising the dream of a cultural showcase. If the existing management is serious in realising this dream, then the Malay community should support it.*[59]

Meanwhile, in a section titled "About Us" on its website, the Malay Heritage Centre declares its indebtedness for the preemptory move by a visionary government benevolently concerned about culture, heritage and history:

> *With the main focus of today's society on development and industrialisation, the loosening of cultural roots and diminishing of historical links are inevitable. The Government had foreseen this detrimental trend and has encouraged the various communities in Singapore to establish their own cultural heritage centres to showcase their heritage, culture and history, especially targeting the future generation.*[60]

It appears that hyper-traditional fabrications attain greater persuasive power, and can be compellingly and wholeheartedly enjoined, in precisely such conditions of cultural amnesia where a pervasive sense of loss exists, or is perceived to exist. Incidentally, as the case of Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam shows, invented representations of identity which contradict or ignore historical reality can be aided by the passage of several decades between original expunction and eventual reconstruction.

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Hyper-Traditions/Hip Villages: Urbanite villagers of Western Anatolia

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This article analyzes the emerging phenomenon of urban migrants to the villages of Western Anatolia — specifically, the case of two villages, Yeni Orhanli and Yagcilar. Also referred to as "urbanite villagers" in the popular media, these urban migrants, like many suburbanites, are searching for healthier, more authentic lives for themselves and their families. In the process, they have created a phenomenon I call "hip villages" — villages with "country" style. However, their standing in these villages is one of isolation and intrusion: isolating themselves to protect class-based distinctions, and intruding whenever they see a need for improvement. In relation to Yeni Orhanli and Yagcilar, hip villages in the making, the article discusses the conflicts and complexities that emerge from the formation/manifestation of class-based identities and from manifestations of colonial discourse and global consumer culture.

It is hard to pinpoint the date when certain Western Anatolian villages, which I call "hip villages," first began to gain popularity. But it is possible to say their makeover was an outcome of social and economic transformations in Turkey during the late 1980s and early 1990s. This was a period when new professions like advertising, tourism and marketing became popular; when a new class of "yuppies" (young urban professionals) appeared; and when Turkish people first began to indulge in global consumer culture thanks to a liberalizing economy, expanded media, and improved communications networks.

Hip villages are villages with style — "country" style. This is produced from many referents, real and imaginary: a site visited in Tuscany, an image from a lifestyle magazine, a scene from a movie. It is thus globally produced but locally realized, embellished with details that show off the cultural capital of a new class of village residents for a target audience — people like themselves.

Several Anatolian hip villages, including Sirince, Yesilyurt and Adatepe, are now well known. Before being re-created as hip, however, they all shared certain characteristics. First was the presence of an attractive, but degraded (and largely abandoned) building stock.

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The villages had rich cultural histories, frequently dating to ancient times, and the resulting built environment was composed of ancient remains, mosques, churches, and houses. During the nineteenth century these villages generally housed both Greek and Turkish families, but two twentieth-century events contributed to their abandonment. First were the wars and population exchanges between Greece and Turkey in 1923 and 1924, which brought Turkish immigrants from the Balkans and Greek islands to houses left by former Greek residents. Second was a wave of migration in the late 1950s by villagers seeking city jobs, leaving their former settlements half-abandoned and condemned to fast decay.

Another common characteristic of hip villages before transformation was their location. All were situated in the mountains — which isolated them to an extent, ensuring their "unspoiled" character. All were also located in relative proximity to popular summer destinations, enabling their "discovery" by urbanites. Such locations generally also provided them with a picturesque quality, with winding cobblestone roads and traditional stone and timber houses, and with beautiful views of the sea or nearby hills covered with pine and olive trees.

The transformation of these villages to hip status usually began with the arrival of one or more pioneer urbanites, who purchased old houses, restored them, and converted them into boutique hotels and restaurants. Soon, however, other urbanites followed, usually upper-middle-class professionals frustrated with what they considered the cultural and physical pollution of Turkey's cities. The next section will look at some of the features of these villages, with examples taken from Sirince, the epitome of hip villages, as well as Yesilyurt and Adatepe **(FIG.1)**.

FIGURE 1. *Map showing "hip" villages of Sirince, Adatepe and Yesilyurt.*

HIPPED: SIRINCE AND OTHERS

Nestled on the mountains near the ancient city of Ephesus in Izmir, Sirince is an old settlement, dating to the fifth century AD. It is believed Sirince's population was more than 4,000 in the 1900s. But it shrank significantly after the beginning of World War I (1914), and the village was completely abandoned by its Greek residents in 1922 at the end of the Turkish Independence War.[1]

Sirince remained abandoned for two years until the relocation of some Turkish Macedonians there in 1924. By 1927, records indicate the population had risen to 1,740. But a new cycle of abandonment then began, with the population dropping to only 718 by 1975.[2]

During the late 1980s Sirince's fortunes were dramatically altered by a resurgence of interest in Turkey's historic and natural sites. The resulting tourist industry brought attention to the town on the part of potential new settlers and attracted back some former residents.[3] Among the new residents, one person, Sevan Nisanyan, requires further discussion.

Nisanyan — "the pioneer of humanist tourism in Turkey," according to one newspaper — was born in Istanbul to an Armenian family.[4] After completing elite private schools there, he studied political science in the United States at Columbia and Yale Universities. He then returned to Turkey and worked as a CEO in large companies. However, he later quit the corporate world to write travel books targeting an international market.[5]

No stranger to Sirince from his travel writing, Nisanyan settled there around 1995, restoring the houses he purchased and running them as "little hotels." His guidebook, *Kucuk Oteller Kitabi (The Little Hotel Book)*, first published in 1998 and then annually ever since, soon also became popular among young urban professionals, helping to publicize his establishments and promote others like them **(FIG.2)**. Nisanyan was not the first to run a hospitality business in Sirince; pensions were already operating there in the late 1980s. But he was the most successful at promoting "little hotels," and in doing so, he transformed Sirince into the tourist success that it is today **(FIG.3)**.[6]

Today's urban migrants to Sirince are involved in several businesses that have made the village famous: running a "little hotel" or restaurant, making boutique wines, or selling rugs, jewelry and memorabilia to tourists.[7] Tourist shops today dominate Sirince's shopping district. Indeed, the

FIGURE 2. *A restored house in Sirince functioning as a "little hotel."*

whole village is a shopping district, with its winding cobblestone roads lined with the stands of women selling lace, toy dolls, and herbs.

Such conditions are also typical of other hip villages as well, like Yesilyurt and Adatepe on Kazdaglari (Ida Mountain) near the ancient city of Assos. As in Sirince, the increasing popularity of these villages has also attracted some former villagers back. But not everybody is there to settle — only to do business.[8] If villagers have not already sold or converted parts of their houses to pensions, they are running them as *gozleme* houses, serving savory pastries with different fillings; or else they have transformed them to sell local produce and handmade products **(FIG.4)**. Everybody is now so professional in their new business ventures one might wonder if there are any "real" villagers left, or only people dressed to create a village-like atmosphere.

The buildings in these villages also tend to display certain common characteristics. Rusticated garden furniture and old farm machinery are used to furnish courtyards, and a self-conscious "country" atmosphere is established inside through the use of handmade fabrics, paintings, or even murals depicting idyllic settings and scenes from mythology **(FIG.5)**. Locally produced jams, wine, and olive oil, together with agricultural produce like squash and pears, are also scattered around as decorative elements **(FIG.6)**.

Following the old building style, new additions are constructed from natural materials like stone, timber or reed. Since old houses are frequently restored with a lack of sensitivity for acquired patina (only a rigor to "clean" the environment), this often makes it hard to tell addition from original structure **(FIG.7)**. Shop signs, carefully crafted to look old, if not romantic, are another important part of the composition **(FIG.8)**.

Ambition for a country style also does not reveal itself only in physical details and decorations. Indeed, its most direct enunciation may be discursive. In the middle of a Turkish conversation, the English word "country" may pop up to describe the atmosphere the urbanite villagers have a mind to create.

In establishing such a style, authenticity or locality are not of primary importance. Design elements may be drawn from an English country home, an old Tuscan villa, or a

FIGURE 3. *Street view from Sirince.*

FIGURE 4. *A* bakkal *(corner grocery store) selling local produce in Yesilyurt.*

FIGURE 5. *Interior of a cafe in Yesilyurt.*

French home in Provence. The aim is only to create an imagined village, not a real one. After all, the urbanite villagers are not real villagers.

It is important to note there are precedents for such an imaginary re-creation of Turkish villages. During Turkey's early Republican period the transformation of its villages was considered an important component of a national modernization project. During that time, more than 80 percent of the population lived in villages, and Turkey's leaders based their hopes for the new nation-state on their advancement. In a manner similar to contemporary European perceptions of colonized populations, the villagers were viewed as having the potential to be acculturated and modernized. But Turkey's leaders agreed this would have to be undertaken as a "civilizing mission" by the urbanite elite. Thus, in a 1933 article titled "Village Missions" — a forerunner of peasantism (*köycülük*) in Turkey[9] — Nusret Köymen stated:

> *The era of combating the cannibals in African jungles in order to spread Christianity is over. Nor would one any longer consider it bravery to force the gates of Vienna with swords. The missionary work of today is listening to the problems of the people whose blood, feelings, and sweat we share in our bodies and spirit, and to search for solutions to these problems. The bravery of today is to force the walls of illiteracy, conservatism, laziness, and despair, which are more formidable than the most formidable fortifications.*[10]

In the following sections I describe the impact both of these early Republican policies and that of later rural migration to the cities. The discussion is intended to show how in Turkey the spaces of the urban and the rural, and the statures of urbanite and villager, are inextricably bound together, despite all their differences.

URBAN IN THE RURAL

Early Republican efforts to improve the situation of Turkey's villages had legislative, educational and architectural components. The first act promoting "modern" and "healthy" villages was the 1924 Law on the Villages.[11] It was supported by loans and tax policies aimed at reducing the burden on peasants.[12]

Equally important were education initiatives, however. Government agencies first tried to systematically define and characterize the educational needs of peasants; then they embarked on a series of rural educational strategies. Indeed, when problems became apparent with implementation of the Law on the Villages in the late 1930s, the government turned to the educational system for the solution.

At the time, teachers were seen as the main agents of "enlightenment" in the villages, the real representatives of the state. As a result, the education of village teachers was taken very seriously. Village Teacher Schools (Koy Ogretmen Okullari) were founded in 1926, and Village Instructor Courses (Koy Egitmen Kurslari) followed in 1937 to train substitute teachers from among literate peasants. Finally, Village Institutes (Koy Enstituleri), started in 1936 and were legalized in 1940. Aimed at producing educational protagonists from select peasants and enabling an "enlightenment of the villages" from within, they proved to be the height of the education project.

FIGURE 6. *Local produce placed as decorative elements, adding to the "country" atmosphere.*

FIGURE 7. *Restored house in Adatepe.*

FIGURE 8. *Cafe in Yesilyurt.*

Teaching the villagers/peasants not only how to read, write, and think, but also how to live in a "civilized" manner, was likewise the duty of architects. Architect Zeki Sayar, in a 1936 article titled "Interior Colonization," identified the "civilizing mission" of architecture as follows:

> *Although we must consider the habits and lifestyles of the peasants when we are constructing the new villages, we should not hesitate to go against these traditions wherever they clash with contemporary social and hygienic standards. The new village plans should also provide the users with the means for civilized living. A revolution in life styles is also necessary to teach them to sleep on individual beds rather than together on the earth, to teach them to use chairs and tables rather than sitting and eating on the floor. . . .*[13]

Architect Abdullah Ziya, in a 1933 article "Village Architecture," was even blunter. "It is our responsibility to construct their villages and to make our brothers talk, dress, and live like us," he wrote.[14]

Sibel Bozdogan has argued that during this period terms like "missionaries" and "colonization" were devoid of negative connotations.[15] However, the comfortable and uncritical use of such terminology, and the similarities to colonial discourse in enunciating a policy that so clearly that separated "us" from "them," is thought provoking. If nothing else, it pointed to a socioeconomic and cultural division that placed urbanites above villagers — a division that continues today.

RURAL IN THE URBAN

Turkey went through a political and economic transition in the 1950s, a time marked by the end of one-party rule by the Republican People's Party. After the Democrat Party won the 1950 elections, they emphasized foreign investment and the development of the private sector. The majority of programs on villages, like Village Institutes, came to a halt during this period. This was also a period of agricultural mechanization, which changed both cities and villages irrevocably.

Mechanization of agricultural production worked to the benefit of large landowners who could afford to buy machinery for agribusiness. Together with the continued division of land among siblings, which created smaller and smaller parcels (often to small to sustain a family), mechanization caused many villagers to migrate to Turkey's cities. Between 1950 and 1960 this resulted in a 60 percent increase in the country's urban population.[16]

Migration to cities also created a new urban form — squatter settlements called *gecekondu*. As Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu has observed, these were developed in areas close to business centers, but on "topographical thresholds such as steep slopes, and areas threatened by landslides and floods."[17]

Gecekondu districts, which started to appear as early as the 1930s, also provided a sharp contrast to the "modern urban" environments that were the dream of Turkey's urban elite. Indeed, many urban dwellers did not consider *gecekondus*, with their "maze-like" dirt roads, to be part of the city at all; rather, they were regarded as "transitory areas."[18] Yet today, sixty years after their first appearance, *gecekondu* settlements have proved far more than transitory. And their elimination or transformation into "urban environments" continues to be a major issue for city planning departments and municipal governments. Considering the lack of "transformed" *gecekondu* areas, however, *gecekondus* have had a far more important impact in terms of transforming cities than the other way around.

This transformation is today generally described as a "ruralization of cities."[19] Ruralization (*koylesme*) is here a term of relative inferiority, related to a degeneration of the urban environment and the destruction of refined tastes and metropolitan manners.[20] This ruralization has, however, created its own spaces (*gecekondu* neighborhoods); organizations (associations formed by migrants of specific places); music (*arabesk*)[21];

and food habits (*kebab* and *lahmacun* houses). Interestingly, these are neither taken from the village or the city; they are hybrid, marginalized formations that have reached a degree of acceptance only during the "postmodern" period since the mid 1980s. According to Bozdogan:

> *We all began learning to suppress our contempt for gecekondu taste, arabesk music, kebab houses, intercity bus terminals, and cheap little mosques with aluminum domes, if we did not begin rather to like them, as we confronted our own ambivalent experiences of modernity.*[22]

Such a confrontation with local forms of modernity has corresponded with the onset of a truly global economy. In Turkey, among other things, this has allowed the birth of a new yuppie class, the introduction of global consumer culture, and the perpetuation of a new "myth of ideal home" through media and advertisements.[23] This latter imaginary has created its own new urban formation: the gated community. In this case, however, it has been the "genuine" urban dwellers who have attempted to separate themselves from "the crowd" by creating controlled, "civilized" environments.[24] Depending on financial resources, gated communities have now been realized in Turkey either in suburbs, as detached houses with gardens for the rich; or in cities, as highrise apartment blocks with garden areas and recreational facilities for the upper-middle class.[25]

Even more recently, a new group of separatist urbanites has emerged, those choosing to relocate to villages. However, the move has forced these migrants to confront their privileged identity in ways that would not be as necessary in an upscale urban neighborhood or a suburban gated community. In particular, it has revealed stereotypes and generalizations implanted through their enculturation as "urbanites," involving differences that are not only seen to exist, but which are expected to exist. The result of an ingrained sense of superiority, these have become unintentionally manifest in patterns of speech and manner. The next section examines these patterns in greater detail.

HIP IN THE MAKING: *NEW* YENI ORHANLI AND YAGCILAR

Two villages I have studied, Yeni Orhanli and Yagcilar, are representative of the implicit distinctions between urbanite villagers and existing rural populations — but in different ways. Hip in the making, both are located in the Izmir metropolitan area within convenient commuting distance of the city, making it possible for new residents to live in or near them while working in the city (FIG.9).

Of the two, Yeni Orhanli, located 37 km. south of Izmir, does not possess the physical features typically associated with a Western Anatolian village. These have generally been

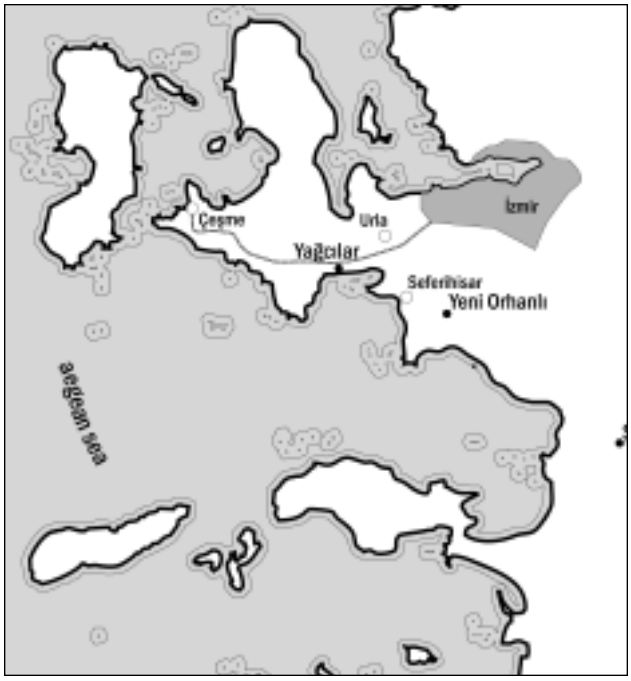

FIGURE 9. *Map showing Yagcilar and Yeni Orhanli villages.*

understood to include an organic pattern of development, dirt or cobblestone roads, and structures built from natural materials like stone, wood, or mud brick. There is an asphalt secondary highway running through Yeni Orhanli, dividing it into two unequal halves. However, since this highway connects the seaside town of Seferihisar with Menderes, it becomes crowded on weekends, providing support for a growing number of roadside businesses.

Most of the houses in Yeni Orhanli are relatively new, one-story, concrete-frame/brick-infill structures (FIG.10). The key to this newness and alikeness can be found in the name Yeni Orhanli ("New Orhanli"). There is, in fact, an "old" Orhanli, a mountain village founded nearly two hundred years ago by nomadic Turkic groups (*yoruk*). Yeni Orhanli was founded in 1976, after the majority of the inhabitants of the original village demanded to be relocated to a site with running water in the houses and easy access to other towns and villages. (There are some who did not leave their houses in the original Orhanli — as well as new residents who are currently purchasing and restoring old houses there.[26])

The very newness of Yeni Orhanli has been further enhanced by the arrival of urbanites. One such person even joked to me about changing the name to "*New* Yeni Orhanli." The very addition of the English word "new" provides a veiled declaration of who is moving there: people with college degrees, who speak a foreign language(s), and who can separate Yeni Orhanli not only from Orhanli but also from Yeni Orhanli before their arrival. In short, the demographics of "New Yeni Orhanli" include both young and retired urban professionals, as

FIGURE 10. *General view of Yeni Orhanli.*

well as a significant number of retired teachers (whose case is slightly different both ideologically and economically, and which deserves more attention than can be given here).

The other village I studied, Yagcilar, is located 50 km. from Izmir. But since 30 km. of this distance can be traveled on a major expressway, it takes less time to reach it from Izmir than Yeni Orhanli. Yagcilar's current residents are descended from villagers moved there from near Selanik in the Balkans during the population exchanges of the 1920s. Formerly, they raised tobacco, which was subsidized by the government during the first half of the twentieth century. Then, as tobacco lost its sustaining value, the village grew poorer. Nevertheless, residents continued their agricultural livelihood by growing and selling fruits and vegetables, like okra and melon, and breeding goats.

Unlike Yeni Orhanli, Yagcilar is today surrounded by gated communities, residents of which refer to it in blogs as "their village," and who publicize its beauty by posting photographs of it (FIG.11).[27] There is only one urbanite living in the actual village of Yagcilar, however. He is an architect who recently received the national architecture award for his "Architect's Office" there. Since settling in the village, his work has brought considerable publicity to Yagcilar, and this publicity may eventually have a similar impact as Nisanyan's did for Sirince.

Compared to Sirince or Yesilyurt, both of Yeni Orhanli and Yagcilar are considerably less attractive in terms of their traditional building stock — a precondition for hip transformation. However, compensation for this condition seems to have been provided by ambitious marketing. On the website for Orhanli, under the heading "Hidden Eden Orhanli," is an explicit invitation to buy property there. "Would you like to purchase your land from one of the hidden paradises of Turkey, Orhanli?" it asks.[28] The site then describes and depicts in photos thyme-scented picnic grounds, natural water springs, the village's high-quality honey and olive oil, its wine production, and the success of its folk-dance troupe in national competitions. It also gives a detailed village history, describes how to buy its products, and explains how to reach it from nearby urban centers.

None of the new residents claim the website had any impact on their decision to move there. They were already "captured" by the beauty of surrounding pine forests or by the efforts of friendly real estate agents. The typical new property owners in both villages are upper-middle-class professionals, either retired or still working, with plans for village-related future businesses, like "little hotels" or restaurants. Although they have moved to the country, they still maintain contacts and relations with the city, however — either directly for shopping and visiting friends, or indirectly by phone, fax and Internet.

FIGURE 11. *Four-wheel drives and Jeeps are common sights in Yagcilar.*

Such a benign image hides a more difficult dynamic in terms of the relationship between new urbanite and older villagers. These conflicts and complexities exist in the formation of class-based identities, an "aestheticized view of the world" on the part of newcomers, and the impact of global consumer culture.[29] In certain regards, the attitudes the new urbanites are also similar to those of early Republican urban intellectuals, who saw it as their duty to develop/modernize the villages by "colonizing" them. I will turn to these issues in the following section.

CULTIVATION OF THE MINDS

Many urbanite villagers, especially in Yeni Orhanli, occupy actual houses in the villages. But for them, this situation is perceived as only being temporary; their real country houses will go on land they have purchased on the village outskirts (FIG.12). Thus, their plans do not exactly follow the Sirince model. In fact, the new Yeni Orhanli residents do not want Yeni Orhanli to be like Sirince. As one woman remarked:

> *Sirince is more like a village-museum, a showroom for tourists. The reason for its [unacceptable] current state is tourism. The products they sell from dolls to vines are not even produced there! The dolls are from Konya and wine from other places with Sirince label. It is all marketing. . . . You can hear roosters in the morning in Sirince as well, but even that rooster is there for the sake of the show!*

Ironically, the tourism this woman so vehemently criticizes also provides a basis for her future business plans — only not exactly as in Sirince. She imagines a place just outside the village: a house with couple of bungalows, a pool, olive trees, and a garden for herbs, vegetables and fruits. The house will be made from stone and wood — not necessarily resembling the village houses, but something not very different. What she really has in mind is this:

> *A complete* country *atmosphere! There may be examples of that in Italy. Maybe I am imagining an Italian village-like place. It is a house that fits there better. But there are houses like that in Turkey, which I saw in magazines like* Country Homes.[30]

In a way, what the woman desires is a hip place in a not-so-hip village. It follows that her business will not have any negative consequences on the village. Moreover, the land she develops will remain in harmony with nature — providing there are no other developments nearby to spoil the dream. Duncan and Duncan have talked about a similar dilemma of development that produces a politics of anti-development in reference to the town of Bedford:

FIGURE 12. *Land purchased by an urbanite couple outside Yeni Orhanli. The plans for the site include a bed and breakfast.*

> *Like Western tourists who seek 'unspoilt' countries where they can return in fantasy to simpler ways of life, so Bedford and other attractive country towns located near large cities are sought out as places where one can lead a more wholesome, authentic life. The irony, as with tourism, is that the more people arrive seeking unspoilt landscapes, the more likely it is that qualities that attracted them will disappear.*[31]

What Turkey's the visions of urbanite villagers thus involve is an expectation of difference between village and city, but one built upon childhood memories of picnics with the family, romantic novels set in unspoiled nature, television shows with a rural theme, or TRT documentaries about the "disappearing" traditions in Anatolia that give special attention to local cuisine, wedding ceremonies, and folkdances.

Urbanite villagers move to the countryside with the expectation that they will be able to experience all these things. But it is in the area of ceremonies and rituals (not so much cuisine) that they frequently experience deep disappointment. "What bothers me is they want to be like city folk!" complained one.

Take weddings for example. They set up an amplified music system. A musician with a synthesizer is on one side of the room, playing the most degenerate music [in reference to arabesk]! I imagine a village wedding with davul *and* zurna *[Turkish folk music instruments]. I imagine the girls' outfits in that [authentic] fashion as well. But they buy their outfits from the city, and get their hair done at the coiffeurs!*

The disappointment is not simply with changes to supposed "unchanging" rural ways; it is also with the resemblance of the village culture to that of "uncultured" city folk, themselves marginalized groups of former rural migrants. It is in the music they hear, the hair, in the outfits. For urbanite villagers, hybrid forms of expression and "mimicry" damage the purity and innocence of *their* countryside.[32] In other words, both they and *their* villager-like-villagers are more respectable than the villager-like-urbanites. The dislike for such a "crowd" is so apparent that one person told me she would not go to the seaside nearby, because "[it] is crowded with lower classes. I mean we do not go to swim [near] here. In the summer, this village is more elite than that [crowd]."

It is ironic that while complaining about the desire of villagers to move freely between urban and rural realms, the urbanite villagers claim precisely that right for themselves — as a matter of nature. For them, however, urban should stay urban, and rural should stay rural. That way they can leave one for the other whenever it gets too over-bearing. According to one: "I do get tired of seeing people with *salvar* all the time. Sometimes I want to see normally dressed people around me."

What is implied here is a hierarchical order that allows urbanites to cross class boundaries without losing their so-called real selves — but not villagers. A married urbanite couple, who had lived in a village for nearly fifteen years, told me: "We are the ones who are more villager-like today, because we did not change. We are the same persons as before. But they are in constant change."

Of course, if change is unavoidable, it is the duty of the "conscious individual" to direct change for the better; and this involves teaching people who to be and how to behave. Indeed, the new urbanites I talked to saw themselves as teachers, carrying out this "civilizing mission" — again, very naturally. "I cannot change them into my likeness. I did not take them in front of me and lecture; but they are influenced from my lifestyle, the way I sit, the way I stand up, the way I talk," one told me.

The act of teaching, however, requires intrusion into the traditions and habits of the villagers. And despite the complaints about the disappearance of certain authentic village qualities, there are also real village qualities the urbanite villagers do not find appropriate. This implies dividing the ways of villagers by appropriateness: those that should not change (outfits, rituals, cuisine); and those that should (local dialect — especially incorrect use of words — readiness to adopt marginalized urban habits, etc.).

The creation of such distinctions clearly points to a desire for authority over the education of villagers. And, as one might also expect, the outsiders do not always find willing participants, or students. For example, one urban villager talked about how he is transforming parts of the old schoolhouse into a library. He explained that the village had so far received many books, sometimes many copies of the same one, and sometimes unwarranted materials:

Clashes [with the villagers] stem from unimportant matters, like in the sorting out of the materials haphazardly accumulated there [in the library]. I was told: "what makes it your right [to sort them out]?" I could not say I founded the library. Then I said "set up a commission to do the job. Who would you put in that commission?"

The responses of the "others" were not limited to such petty confrontations. For example, when one young villager talked about the changes he had seen since the arrival of urban migrants, he first complained about the gated communities around the village that were cutting it off not only from territory inside the gates but from public places like the seaside. Then he protested by using an old saying: "*dagdan inip bagdakini kovmak*." "They are coming down from the mountains, and driving away the people of the vineyard." Of course, "coming down from the mountains" implies a cruder, less civilized folk, versus those of the vineyard who know how to tend the grapes — a reversal of roles.

He further expressed anger for the dismissal of *their* ideas regarding changes they want in *their* village. *Their* ideas were responded to by the urbanite villagers only with snide comments suggesting they didn't have the ability to contemplate serious subjects. He went on: "I cannot say we are on good terms with them. They even cause disagreements among ourselves. There are oppositions and different camps in the village today that did not exist before. We were united before."

Of course, not every villager responded so negatively. Many had formed business partnerships with the newcomers and begun projects like the restoration of old houses for reuse as local business. But the presence of urbanite villagers had clearly begun a process of transformation that was both social and physical.

One physical manifestation of this transformation can already be observed in the landscape — the new vineyards that are popular among urbanite villagers. It has become popular to produce one's own wine and share it friends — and maybe turn it into a boutique business. Furthermore, having a vineyard helps demonstrate appreciation for the culture it represents. It enhances the chic country effect urbanite villagers want to create in their villages by the Aegean.

ANCHORED

In one vineyard near Yagcilar are two structures that are visited by Turkish architects all year round. One an office, the other a residence, they belong to an architect urbanite villager, Serhat Akbay. The site is located just on the village outskirts, bordering a pine forest. Here the residence is placed in the middle of a vineyard — a small wooden structure elevated above the ground **(FIG.13)**. Compared to the stone houses in the villages, it looks more like a pier. The office, a one-story rectangular structure made of stone, received the National Architecture Award in 2006 **(FIGS.14,15)**.

Not surprisingly, Akbay's place and ideas differ from those of other urbanite villagers. He had no intention to realize "country style," and did not have a village-related (especially tourism-related) business in mind when he created the two structures. Today he simply carries on his business the same as if he lived in a city.

However, there is something special about an architect's design for his or her own house — a chance to realize dreams that might not be possible in projects for other clients. Such projects are very personal and provide a chance to showcase what he or she really wants to design. Naturally, the location of Akbay's house in the country also provides a freedom perhaps unavailable in an urban context, subject to greater physical restrictions and government regulation.

But even if he was not concerned with country style, there were other issues with which Akbay, as an architect, had to deal — like locality, globality and authenticity. Such a vocabulary of concerns locates this house within architectural discourse. Thus, it too can be seen as a product of global culture — but architectural culture this time.

Another well-known Turkish architect, Nevzat Sayin, has described Akbay's house as follows:

> *Despite its relation to traditional forms and the use of traditional building technologies, it is a modern structure. Despite its familiarity, it is "authentic." In a world that is homogenizing under the name of globalization, "new regionalism" must be something like this.*[33]

What makes Akbay house regional? Not its materials (Russian pine), nor its form (although it can be likened to many traditional structures from boardwalks to temporary vineyard grape depots). Rather, it is the special dialogue it forms with its site. Akbay described this stance as one of "timidity," by which he implies a desire to avoid disturbing the site and a readiness to leave whenever desired **(FIG.16)**.[34]

Yet it also embodies contradictions. Its careful and rational positioning manifests assertiveness, not timidity. It is located so as to occupy the only part of the site unsuitable for planting vines. It divides the site in two, facing the only possible approach. Furthermore, at the same time it is raised on pilotis, it is also anchored via steel members, and its wooden structure is braced with steel cables. Clearly, this house is ready to stand against inhospitable weather — with every intention of permanence. It thus aspires to belong and not belong simultaneously, just like the urbanite villagers themselves.

The houses of other urbanite villagers of Yagcilar and Yeni Orhanli are also located — or will be located, when they

FIGURE 13. *Architect Serhat Akbay in front of his house outside Yagcilar.*

FIGURE 14 (ABOVE). *Akbay's office on the same site, which won him the 2006 National Architecture Award in Turkey.*
FIGURE 15 (RIGHT). *Interior of Akbay's office.*

FIGURE 16. *Looking at the Akbay house from below.*

are finally designed and built — on the village outskirts.[35] There they will function more like country homes than village ones. Yet, despite physical separation from the village, these houses will be tied to the rest of the world by both visible and invisible lines of communication. This is a necessary condition for urbanites.

In terms of construction, local wood or stone will be used to build these new houses, but not to produce traditional forms. This is neither surprising, nor an enunciation of "critical regionalist" sensibilities. Traditional houses reflect traditional lifestyles that no longer exist, or are even desired. Even the restored houses of Sirince, the epitome of hip villages, were "adapted" to the needs of contemporary users. What is left in Sirince is a traditional shell, with a new interior adorned with traditional decorations. Given the chance to build their own houses, the urbanites I interviewed preferred to manifest their own lives, their own appreciations — be it in the form of a Tuscan villa or a modern box.

In terms of the physical environment, then, the same similarity between the attitudes of urbanite villagers and colonizers seems to apply. The spaces created resemble those of "the other" for the sake of spectacle only — as was the case with the nineteenth-century world expositions.[36] And, similar to Orientalist architectural styles, their elements are eclectic, sometimes invented.

Separated yet connected, modern yet traditional, urban yet village-like: these binaries have lost black-and-white status in the new urbanite villages of Western Anatolia. And yet, at least discursively, they are still deployed to maintain hierarchical distinctions, the former having priority over the latter. Hyper-traditions are a combination of all of these identities and desires. They are produced by/for individuals who easily slip from one category to the next — but who, all the while, maintain a strong urge to feel good about themselves, no matter what kind of contradictions their acts involve.

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2. Ibid.
3. The population of Sirince was 829, according to the 1985 census. Ibid.
4. *Radikal*, January 18, 2004.
5. For more information on Sevan Nisanyan, refer to www.nisanyan.com.
6. From the article by Aynur Erdem, "Ikinci Hayat Sirince'de Basliyor" ["Second Life Starts in Sirince"], published in the *Sabah* newspaper, September 19, 2004. The electronic version may be retrieved from http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2004/09/19/cm/gez104-20040903-103.html.
7. Ibid.
8. Studies in Sirince showed that money from tourism ventures raised the financial stature of its residents, which resulted in higher expectations of their environment in terms of cultural and social amenities. Today especially younger generations are leaving the village to settle in the cities. For more information, refer to Beker, *Sirince Kentsel Sit Alani Koruma Amacli Imar Plani Arastirma Raporu*. There are also families in Yesilyurt who live in the town, as they run a shop in the village where they sell local produce like olive oil.
9. It is not possible to find a direct correspondence in English for the Turkish word *köycülük*. The term refers to a movement and a body of activity aimed at improving the conditions of the villages, reaching and enlightening the peasants. Sibel Bozdogan translated the word as "training of the peasants," while Joost Jongerden has used the term "peasantism" to denote it. See S. Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p.97; and J. Jongerden, "Rural Constitution of a Turkish Popular Identity: Peasants, Modernization, and the Nation in the Work of Nusret Kemal Köymen," paper presented at the graduate workshop, Nationalism, Society and Culture in Post-Ottoman Southeast Europe, organized by the Oxford Balkan Society and SEESOX, May 29–30, 2004, Oxford, U.K. In this article I use the term "peasantism."
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14. A. Ziya, "Köy Mimarisi" ["Village Architecture"], *Ülkü* 9 (1933), pp.37–41. Cited in Jongerden, "Rural Constitution of a Turkish Popular Identity," p.4.
15. Sibel Bozdogan suggested that during the 1930s in Turkey, ". . . the term 'colonization' was devoid of all its negative connotations: it signified a progressive and enlightened state bringing civilization to the countryside." Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, p.105.
16. The urban population, which was 20.1 percent of the country's population in the period 1940–1950, jumped to 80.2 percent in the period 1950–1960. Y. Sey, "Cumhuriyet Doneminde Konut" ["Dwelling in Republican Period"], in Y. Sey, ed., *75 Yilda Degisen Kent ve Mimarlik*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 1998), pp.273–300.
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18. The quotations are taken from a 1966 study conducted by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, as cited in Nalbantoglu, "Silent Interruptions," p.202.
19. M. Ozbek, "Arabesk Culture: A Case of Modernization and Popular Identity," in Bozdogan and Kasaba, eds., *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*;

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20. The use of the word rural in this sense is similar to the use of "provincial" in contrast to "metropolitan." Refer to R. Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.266.
21. *Arabesk* is a music type that emerged in Turkey in the late 1960s, and reached popularity by late 1970s. According to Meral Ozbek, "The term 'arabesk' was originally coined to designate — and denigrate — these popular songs, but it later came to describe the entire migrant culture formed at the peripheries of Turkish cities." M. Ozbek, "Arabesk Culture," p.211.
22. S. Bozdogan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture," in Bozdogan and Kasaba, eds., *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, p.148.
23. A. Oncu, "The Myth of Ideal Home," in A. Oncu and P. Weyland, eds., *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities* (London: Zed Books, 1997).
24. In Turkey gated communities have not emerged out of a desire for more safety and security, as common in the West. Rather, the gates are there to pronounce the enclaves' exclusivity, like a private club.
25. For more information on the formation and character of gated communities in Turkey, refer to S. Ayata, "The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia," in D. Kandiyoti and A. Saktanber, eds., *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey* (London: Tauris & Co Publishers, 2002), pp.25–42; and A. Oncu, "The Myth of Ideal Home."
26. Indeed, "old" Orhanli village fulfills more of the prerequisites to become hip: it is abandoned, it has attractive buildings, and it is located in the mountains. However, the greater current involvement of urbanite villagers with Yeni Orhanli was the reason for its selection for this study.
27. One good example of such a posting is that by Yesim Meric. She posted Yagcilar Koyu images and her own description of the village on Urla Online Communication Portal, http://www.urlaonline.com/urlaaktif/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=106&Itemid=108.
28. www.orhanlikoyu.com.
29. J. Duncan and N. Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
30. Words not in italic were used in English during the interview: "*Tam bir* country *havasi*."
31. Duncan and Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege*, pp.6–7.
32. The word "mimicry" is used here in the same sense Homi Bhabha gave it in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
33. N. Sayin, "Cennetin Kokleri: Urla'da bir Ev" ["Origin of the Eden: A House in Urla"], *Arredamento Mimarlik* 100+43 (2002), pp.56–57.
34. Akbay's exact words in describing the house are as follows: "*Evi ahsap yapmaya karar verdim. Hem oraya ait olsun, hem de orada sakinarak dursun diye. Sanki istedigi anda kalkip gidiverecekmis gibi.*" S. Akbay, *Arredamento Mimarlik* 100+43 (2002), pp.58–59. I translated the words "*sakinarak durmak*" as "being timid," which may not convey their full meaning.
35. There is only one exception to this situation.
36. One example of the re-creation of the colonial environments for exposition is the Egyptian street put together for the 1889 Paris Exposition. For more information, refer to T. Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

All photos and drawings are by the author.

Heritage of Disappearance? Shekkipmei and Collective Memory(s) in Post-Handover Hong Kong

CECILIA CHU

This article examines the ways in which visions of working-class life are being reimagined as "collective memory" in Hong Kong's post-handover period, amidst growing calls to preserve the city's past.[1] It focuses on changing interpretations of the Shekkipmei Estate and Hong Kong's public housing program, and on the current proposal to redevelop Shekkipmei while preserving one fragment of it as a housing museum. The analysis aims to unsettle often taken-for-granted assumptions behind the terms "heritage" and "collective memory." It also questions the role of historic preservation with respect to trajectories of economic development and ongoing political change.

In January 2005 an exhibition was launched in Hong Kong at an unusual venue — several of the residential units in an old, rundown public housing project known as Shekkipmei Estate. Titled "People's Museum at Shekkipmei," the exhibit featured re-created housing interiors that recounted ways of life at Shekkipmei from the 1950s to the present.[2] Although modest in scale, the event was nonetheless significant in at least two respects. First, it was the highlight of a series of activities celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of what was hailed as Hong Kong's "public housing revolution" — started by the British colonial government on this very site in 1955.[3] Second, it previewed a more elaborate housing museum that would be installed in a preserved block of the estate after the rest of the site was cleared for redevelopment in the following year (FIG. 1).[4]

The museum proposal generated quite a stir. Other recent cases of preservation had involved prolonged negotiations over land issues and hard campaigning by preservation activists.[5] But the official proposal to save the last remaining "Mark I block" of Hong Kong's earliest public housing estate has received widespread support from the start.[6] Although few argue that these crumbling, rundown 1950s housing blocks possess much

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FIGURE 1. *A group of secondary school students visiting the "People's Museum" exhibition at Shekkipmei in 2005. Since its commencement, the exhibition had become a major destination for school visits. Source: Tseung Kwan O Government Secondary School.*

architectural merit, strong public consensus has emerged that the estate provides important testimony to the "coming-of-age" of Hong Kong. Hong Kong's miraculous rise to First World economic status is often attributed to the many working-class immigrants who lived in these humble buildings **(FIGS.2,3)**. And stories in official and popular media have underscored the historical significance of Shekkipmei and its potential to proudly commemorate the rise of a society of poor refugees to become Hong Kong's present affluent middle class. To quote from one of the many articles praising the project: "a housing museum portraying starkly and factually the marvel that was Shekkipmei would be a tribute to the men and women who survived the darkest hours and who pressed on with grit, determination and a wry grin to build modern Hong Kong."[7]

The description indeed fits well with the familiar "Hong Kong story," so often invoked in the official histories of the colonial period: of an ingenious, hardworking Chinese population guided by a benevolent British administration, which succeeded against the odds to develop Hong Kong into a modern, prosperous city. Since the handover of the territory to Chinese control, this narrative has also been adopted by the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (the SAR government) — except that the words "British" and "colonial" have been replaced simply by "the Hong Kong government" (allowing the new authority to fully associate itself with the institutions of the past).[8] However, while glorifying the successes of the former colonial government's housing program, the SAR government has also taken steps to scale it back in keeping with its avowed commitment to market-based policies.[9] Although this move contradicts the housing program's assumed "historical" role to provide tenured shelter for the masses, it has gained support not only from the business

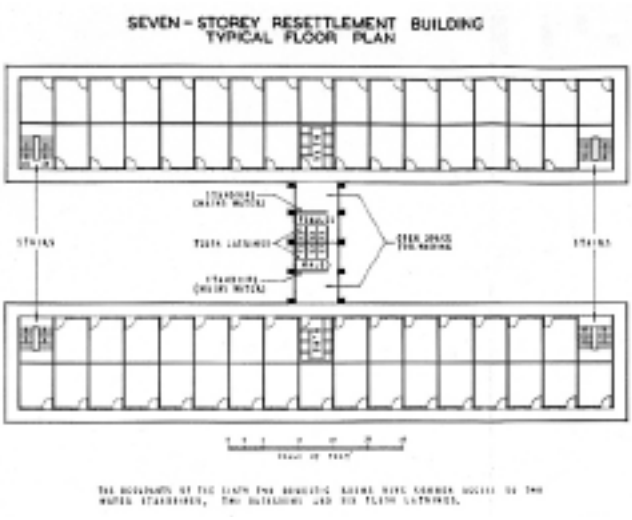


FIGURE 2. (TOP) *View of Block 41, the oldest block of the Shekkipmei Estate, which has been singled out for preservation as a housing museum upon redevelopment of the site. Photo by author.*

FIGURE 3. (BOTTOM) *Plan layout of a typical H-shaped "Mark I" Block. First built in Shekkipmei in 1955, it was the earliest prototype housing block designed by the Public Works Department. Flats were laid out back-to-back with access from the balconies that ran around the buildings. Toilets were communal, and cooking was done in the balconies. Source: Hong Kong Annual Report, 1954–1955.*

sector, but more significantly perhaps, from a growing number of middle-income small property investors, some of whom continue to live in public housing themselves.[10]

The aim of this article is not to uncover certain hidden "truths" masked by official rhetoric, however, but to consider some of the ways the dominant discourse of a "modern Hong Kong society" has been continuously reproduced and appropriated through particular representations under changing political and economic imperatives. Specifically, it focuses on ambiguities surrounding interpretations of Shekkipmei and the public housing program, and the contradictory ways in which visions of past working-class life are being reimagined as "collective memory" in the post-handover period. By juxtaposing the various efforts to recollect, and indeed regulate the past in the present, the article aims to unsettle certain taken-for-granted assumptions behind the terms "heritage" and "collective memory" in Hong Kong. By doing so, it also seeks to question the role of historic preservation, an inherently contested arena that can never be divorced from dominant local interests.[11]

Although the case of Shekkipmei is historically specific to Hong Kong, the article also illustrates more generally how conceptions of the past are constantly mobilized by contradictory forces of the present. It is only by recognizing the gaps and fissures within the narratives surrounding so-called "collective memory" that a better understanding of social transformation can be achieved, particularly with regard to the constant negotiations and struggles that are subjugated in the process. Such inquiry is urgent, and indeed necessary, in the current context of neoliberal economic restructuring, as a deepening social divide is increasingly washed over by the rhetoric of progress and the celebration of upward mobility. Such a longstanding ideology continues to perpetuate inequality and discrimination against "unsuccessful" underclasses such as those who have been excluded from the "Hong Kong success story."

RECOLLECTING THE PRESENT PAST

Hong Kong's public housing estates are arguably one of the city's most familiar urban forms (FIG. 4). Since its emergence in the mid-1950s in response to the crisis generated by an influx of refugees from China, Hong Kong's public housing program has grown to become the largest such program in the world, at one point accommodating half of the city's population.[12] However, despite this omnipresence, life in older housing estates such as Shekkipmei is seen by many members of the present generation as belonging to a fading era. Increasingly, those living in the oldest estates with the most minimal amenities tend to be poor, single, elderly men and women whose family members have long since moved to better accommodations.[13] This demographic shift has caused these already dilapidated buildings to appear even more desolate among their modern highrise neighbors — a far cry from decades ago when they were taken to represent a well-organized industrializing society undergoing rapid development.

But the distancing from Hong Kong's immigrant-turned-working-class origins, as well as from the so-called "darkest period of the past," has been paralleled by an explo-

FIGURE 4. *Birds-eye view of the Shekkipmei Estate showing different phases of its development. Photo by author.*

FIGURE 5. *Cover of* Postmagazine *featuring the rooftop of a housing block of the Shekkipmei Estate. In recent years there has been a marked increase in publications on what is being referred to as Hong Kong's "commonplace heritage."*

sion of interest in these soon-to-be demolished 1950s housing blocks. Along with the other fast-disappearing privately owned tenements that once dominated the city, these old structures have increasingly become privileged subjects of documentation by journalists and photographers (FIG.5). Thus, in 2000, when the redevelopment proposal for Shekkipmei was released, there were already a handful of publications on Hong Kong's "commonplace heritage" that referred not to high-style architecture, but to ordinary buildings historically associated with the working class.[14] Often illustrated with beautifully composed black-and-white photographs, many invoked the notion of "collective memory" — which has become a talking point in the media, and been cited by preservationists in support of battles to save old buildings from the wrecking ball.

The surge of popular interest in documenting Hong Kong's past and salvaging its tangible fragments seems to have suddenly overturned the long-held perception that Hong Kong tears down its buildings before they get "old."[15] And it has prompted many commentators to search for explanations for this "mental change." A common thread linking these responses involves the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997. Today this is viewed as a major rupture that caused Hong Kong residents to search for their own cultural identity for the first time. Preservation is thus understood as a reflex to decolonization, the result of a changed relation to culture and history. Some writers, including preservation advocates, see the phenomenon as a positive sign of a growing "historical consciousness."[16] But other critics dismiss it as mere nostalgia among people trying to hold on in uncertain times to the illusory image of a "safer" past. Although any preserved image may serve as "communal history," as pointed out by Ackbar Abbas, in Hong Kong such images are often deliberately altered and sanitized, which only leads to a further aesthetization of the past.[17]

But whether the new preoccupation with the past is really a self-awakening, or merely nostalgia, it is worth noting how the recent discourse on heritage is itself the product of historical change. Thus, if Hong Kong's handover to China is indeed a rupture that has prompted a "collective" contemplation of the past, it has not been manifested in the same way for all groups of people. Indeed, the so-called present-day "popularization of heritage" can be seen as a set of contesting dynamics that continue to unfold in multiple domains, and which in turn have produced varying effects in social life. It would thus seem fruitful to pay closer attention to how some of these dynamics actually play out on the "ground" — sometimes in rather unexpected ways.

Take, for instance, the recent proliferation of publications on Hong Kong's heritage, including everything from popular magazines, to commercial adverts, to tourist guidebooks provided by government agencies and independent writers. Whether or not these portray an aestheticized or romanticized image, they provide new ways for tourists and locals to look at the contemporary city, seeking out elements that would otherwise go unnoticed. In tandem are many new personal websites and discussion blogs of "old Hong Kong," where photographs of newly discovered "old" sites are posted along with expressive sentiments about the past (FIG.6).[18]

Another consequence of historical change, which seems to have had a more direct political impact, is the growing number of community campaigns to protect old buildings that may lack "monumental quality," but are believed to be invested with "collective memory" and "social significance."[19] These campaigns have gathered support across different sectors, and have exerted pressure on the SAR government to formulate a new preservation policy that gives legal protection to a wider range of built forms (FIG.7).[20] At the same time, this new "preservation movement" has opened up alternative channels for the government and political actors.

FIGURE 6. *One of the many websites that displays photos of Shekkipmei and other early public housing estates in Hong Kong. Photo by author.*

Why is it taking so long to decide how to save HK's precious heritage?

Critics say that a consultation paper on the issue is vague and fails to make any concrete proposals

WHAT IS HONG KONG'S HERITAGE?

Are these also worth preserving?

FIGURE 7. *A headline news article on the* South China Morning Post *from February 9, 2004, reporting the surge of concerns over heritage preservation in Hong Kong.*

Increasingly, the rhetoric of "protecting Hong Kong's heritage" has become not only a means to project a positive image in policy addresses, but to help legitimize, usually with some twists in phrasing, new projects where heritage preservation is only part of an "overall development strategy." Thus, in the presentations of many new development proposals, images of "heritage buildings" — either preserved or re-created anew — are often posed as counterparts to modern architecture.[21] In this way a new twist is added to the familiar story of Hong Kong's success: after decades of rapid growth, the city has now come of age, and should turn its attention to "history" and "culture."[22]

It can be conjectured that the "official turn" toward preservation has been both pragmatic and ideological. Specifically, it has been underpinned by the SAR government's attempt to foster collective solidarity and bolster its legitimacy at a critical historical moment, when the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty coincided with the Asian financial crisis that halted a three-decade-long economic boom.[23] The post-handover period has thus shaken the old relations of the government and the governed — relations that had already been put into flux by the change of sovereignty and growing demands for democratic participation.[24] It is no accident, therefore, that the forceful call for building a strong sense of history and culture via preservation and other means has emerged in the midst of political change, economic pessimism, and simmering discontent. However, while the avowed commitment to protecting Hong Kong's heritage seems to resonate with popular sentiment, the actual implementation of a preservation policy has proven far more difficult. This is not only because, as elsewhere, preservation inevitably involves resolving a host of competing interests, but more fundamentally because it has set itself against a long-established development discourse in Hong Kong. Entrepreneurial property activity has long been key to the profitability of many Hong Kong corporations, a primary source of revenue for the government, and an important generator of wealth for many average citizens who speculate on real estate investments. All of these interests were indirectly assisted by an unusual set of land policies that continue to discourage the preservation of old buildings **(FIG. 8)**.[25]

But there is another, bigger irony in the SAR government's effort to recall the "Hong Kong can-do spirit." By constantly referring to the difficult life of the older working class — invariably portrayed as hardworking, pragmatic people who cared more about economics than politics — it has further incited nostalgia for colonial rule under the British. In the eyes of many people the colonial government was more capable of governing Hong Kong than the present regime, and, ironically, more ready to stand up for the "people's interest," including the now widespread desire to implement universal suffrage.[26] The paradox illustrates that the

FIGURE 8. *Urban landscape in Shumshuipo showing an existing tenement building facing the fate of demolition. Many of these old tenements are located in districts that have been earmarked by the Urban Renewal Authority for redevelopment. Forced displacement resulting from this process had incited discontent among existing tenants and landlords. Note the banners on the building protesting the demolition. Photo by author.*

ways in which Hong Kong's "good old days" are remembered are far from settled. The so-called "collective memory" of the past, just like the term "collective interest" (constantly invoked by political actors today), is composed of contested elements that leave it open to changing appropriation.

SHEKKIPMEI AS COLLECTIVE MEMORY(S)

How, then, is it possible to make sense of the overwhelming enthusiasm for preserving part of Shekkipmei as a museum? While there is no doubt that the old estate has been widely regarded as a "testimony" to Hong Kong's economic success, a closer look at the sentiments that revolve around it seems to indicate that "success" does not necessarily mean the same thing to all who support Shekkipmei's preservation. For example, in a featured article by Kevin Sinclair, a popular columnist for the *South China Morning Post*, Shekkipmei was described as "grim, dreary, ugly and drab." But he added that, "for the refugees, the poor, the miserable, the unwanted, the housing estate was heaven." After a recent visit, he wrote:

> *Some people today look at Shekkipmei and feel embarrassment and shame. I view the crumbling slabs with awe, respect and a sense of achievement. . . . To the residents, it is home, with a community warmth and affection missing in places where residents are blessed with money, status, and power.*[27]

Although, like many others, Sinclair is affirming the historical significance of Shekkipmei and the public housing program, his critique of the building's condition, his labeling of the residents, and his admiration for the now-lost "community spirit" go beyond the official bounds of the Hong Kong story. Sinclair is a British expatriate and long-time resident of Hong Kong (and someone who never lived in the estate himself); for him, Shekkipmei seems a reminder of a somewhat romanticized colonial era, when benevolence and paternalism underscored the rule of a regime that won a reputation for prudence and efficiency in guiding Hong Kong to its "economic miracle."[28]

On the other hand, for the SAR government, which came to power on the eve of the Asian financial crisis, and has since been under pressure to cut back the housing program and other colonial-era welfare practices, the point of the Shekkipmei story is much less about government benevolence and paternalism than the self-actualization of a Hong Kong people who are resilient, hardworking and harmonious in "nature." In other words, the SAR government's re-presentation of Shekkipmei is more than simply a reminder of the good old days when the economy was doing well. It also implies a message to those who are disillusioned today to refocus their energy on improving their prospects, rather than challenging the government's legitimacy. Just like the older working class who are depicted as having always given their trust and compliance to their colonial master, the new authority is now asking that this "winning formula" be reinvigorated.

A telling reference to this discourse of a harmonious society and working-class ethic of determination came in the annual budget speech by Anthony Leung, the SAR's financial secretary during a worsening recession in 2002. Instead of ending his speech with an anticipated forward-looking statement, Leung recited the lyric of a theme song for a 1970s television series called "Below the Lion Rock," about working-class families living in a public housing estate (FIG. 9).[29] The sentimental lyrics underscore the "collective spirit" of Hong Kong people who — to paraphrase — have proven they can excel again and again under the most adverse conditions by clinging to each other as if in the same boat. Leung's well-received speech caused instant renewed interest in the show, which was replayed shortly afterwards on Hong Kong's two main TV channels and reproduced on DVDs.[30]

FIGURE 9. *Cover of a newly released DVD featuring a reissue of the popular 1970s TV show "Below the Lion Rock." Source: Radio and Television Hong Kong, 2005.*

It is tempting to conclude that the popularity of the lyrics had indeed come to represent a "collective memory" of Hong Kong's working class — which, after all, had "collectively" moved upward in social terms during the past three decades of economic boom. However, it seems that for the majority of this population, the invocation of working-class life in early public housing is not so much a reminder of their so-called hardworking "nature," as highlighted by Leung, as it is a source of pride and confirmation of their success in leaving that life behind. To many members of today's middle class, whose parents spent half their lifetime in public housing, looking back to this past is energizing only by way of contrast to a present that is more affluent, modern and superior. Seen this way, Sinclair's lamentation of the loss of "community spirit" among those who now have money and power is indeed somewhat ironic when placed against Leung's pledge for recuperating collective solidarity by looking back to those humbler days.

This point brings up another pertinent question. It is obvious that the popularity of "Below the Lion Rock" extends far beyond those who live, or once lived in public housing. How can this widespread resonance be explained? To put it another way, why is the story of public housing appealing to so many people today when public housing itself is no longer a desirable option?

If the recollection of memories is, as discussed earlier, always contingent upon the dynamics and demands of the present, then the distancing from Hong Kong's working-class origins does not mean that the past is simply fading away with time.[31] Rather, in the course of evoking "a" collective memory, such as Leung's recitation of the 1970s song lyric or the re-presentation of the material traces of Shekkipmei through an exhibition, the past working-class life is abstracted and recomposed as evidence of a common "history." Yet, as the varied interpretations presented above also show, this dominant narrative, so to speak, can never become fully dominant, essentially because the particular material relations embedded within Hong Kong's industrializing economy propagated very different historical experiences — not only between different social groups, but within the same group of people whose social status had shifted over time.

In seeking to utilize the past to narrate the diverse and multiple versions of the Hong Kong success story, the present is also necessarily presented as a utopian conclusion of history — not in the sense of reaching the apex of development, but in terms of cementing a particular model of development centered on upward mobility and maximization of individual capability. This model, which already fits well with today's neoliberal ideology, was arguably already in place early on in Hong Kong's economic development.[32] The fact that so many of the former working poor have become wealthy and successful within half their lifetime is taken as affirmation that hard work and self-initiative should "naturally" lead to spectacular advancement. The concomitant of this neoliberal logic, of course, is that those who are not "successful" have only themselves to blame. As emblematic of a program that once housed half of Hong Kong's population, Shekkipmei therefore also has the ability to represent the mythical origin of the Hong Kong success story, in which past practices, now construed as "collective memory," can be employed to justify the trajectories of the present.

However, perhaps the most ironic part of the story is that, given the historical significance of Shekkipmei, its power as testimony of the "coming-of-age" of Hong Kong cannot be fully manifested until it becomes the "past" itself. Only by anticipating the estate's eventual demolition and the preservation of a fragments of it as "heritage," can it be reconceived as a "collective memory of the people," to be looked back upon repeatedly with affection and admiration. In this sense, the emphasis on the "backwardness" and strangeness of the old estates, which are fast becoming a rarity in urban Hong Kong, is exactly what is needed by various groups to reaffirm their achievements and association with the touchstone of Hong Kong's economic progress (FIG.10). But in the process of reinterpreting Shekkipmei as the "evidence" of history, the actually existing spaces of the buildings and the actual life of the 13,000 tenants still living there are made even more irrelevant than ever in the modern world.[33] Like the soon-to-be-demolished buildings treasured by photographers and architectural enthusiasts, these men and women, among the poorest of Hong Kong's population, are abstracted into the image of a group left behind by economic and social progress.

This point is clear in the photographs of Shekkipmei and other old estates portrayed in the media and elsewhere.[34]

FIGURE 10. *View of Block 18 of the Shekkipmei Estate in 2006. At this time all the tenants had already moved out. Photo by author.*

FIGURE 11. *Photographs of Hong Kong's old public housing estates on personal websites tend to focus on the lonesome figures of elderly tenants sitting in front of their dilapidated apartment blocks.*

With a few exceptions, these exhibit two central themes: the sober, empty spaces of the crumbling housing blocks; and lonesome old tenants in front of their dilapidated housing blocks **(FIG.11)**. Yet, as indicated in comments posted on many websites, these photographs were not taken without challenge. Visitors to the estates often encountered unfriendly residents who refused either to let them take pictures or venture into other parts of the buildings.[35] Despite these complaints, however, most news accounts and commentaries seem sympathetic to the estate tenants, who are often referred to as the "stubborn old folks" who are "just the way they are."

Whether or not these observers are really interested in the "old folks" or sympathetic to their "miserable life," what comes through most clearly is a particular way of seeing Shekkipmei and its residents as an extraordinary image of a place, representing the end of an era, to be looked on with empathy and fascination. At the same time, the urge to salvage and preserve this image as Hong Kong's "common heritage" provides a conclusion to the story of Shekkipmei — as well as an introduction to its reincarnation as a new development for the well-to-do.

In a different format, this image is also present in the "People's Museum" exhibition at Shekkipmei, in which the history of Hong Kong's public housing is displayed by re-created interiors of four periods.[36] While the narrative recounts the familiar story of the rise of Hong Kong's working class, the emphasis here is on their material progression: from having little in the 1950s, to improving their living conditions in the 1960s, to accumulating an increasing amount of consumable goods in the more affluent 1970s **(FIG.12)**. The fourth and last period, the present, is, however, represented by the dilapidated interiors occupied by the current elderly tenants. Along with other remaining old housing estates, Shekkipmei is thus depicted as having turned into an "elderly village" in recent years, from which most younger people moved long ago **(FIG.13)**. This true-to-life exhibition thus reinforces the "irrelevance" of the present estate itself, and by doing so, marks the end of the Shekkipmei story.

In celebrating and commemorating the success of the "common people," the "People's Museum" exhibit thus indirectly serves to justify the need to demolish and redevelop the estate. Amidst all the simmering passion to recollect and preserve "old Hong Kong," the future is seen as embodying continuing progress underpinned by an ideology of upward mobility. Indeed, the site of Shekkipmei itself will manifest this discourse as it is transformed into an arena for speculative gain in the private housing market.

FIGURE 12. *Re-created interiors in the "People's Museum" exhibition. The display highlighted the material progression of Hong Kong's working class from the 1950s to the present. Source: People's Museum, Shekkipmei.*

FIGURE 13. *Display at the "People's Museum" exhibition showing the conditions of the present estate occupied by elderly tenants. Source: personal website.*

THE HONG KONG STORY AND ITS SUB-VERSIONS

As the preceding discussion shows, the image of Shekkipmei is constructed of multiple memories and associations, which, despite their differences, work together to support a powerful discourse of redevelopment derived from the experiences of past economic advancement. It is also worth noting that the associations in each sub-version of this story involve contrasts that are dependent on the progress of time. Shekkipmei's "irrelevance" is made apparent only by conceiving of its former (and therefore already obsolete) role as an enabler of the poor, and its potential as a site of future investment to benefit today's middle class. Visual presentations are crucial in these conceptions, but they are supported by specific language that conjures up further imaginaries. As noted, one of the most notable is the reference to Shekkipmei and other old housing estates as "elderly villages."[37] With many of their current tenants being old people who survive on welfare subsidies, they are seen to have little future should they remain the way they are.

But the "future" being referred to here is clearly one conceived almost entirely out of an ideology of upward mobility and calculations of monetary profit. It is thus a future in which the remnant elderly population, themselves part of a past "admirable working class," are not qualified to share. The perception of who is worth more and less in Hong Kong provides justification for the prioritization of social resources. In other words, the portrayal of the elderly as an "undeserving underclass" who no longer contribute to economic progress provides a once-and-for-all explanation for why they receive little support from the government — and often even from their own family members who have already moved out of this "undesirable" living environment. The idea of living on welfare has historically been scorned in a city that continues to uphold the merit of hard work and self-reliance — a belief that ironically was built on the largest welfare program in the world.[38]

Today, although the elderly can survive on the small "old-age pension" available to poor seniors, the amount is so scant that few can afford any additional amenities.[39] But the most pressing difficulty remains forced displacement as a result of pending redevelopment. Although offered opportunities to move to other public housing areas, the options are extremely limited for those at the bottom of the income ladder. If they are not able to pay the higher rent at a newer estate, they can only move to other old housing blocks, which themselves face eventual demolition.[40]

However large a group they may be, the elderly are also not the only people living in the old housing estates. In this regard, reference to the estates as "elderly villages" also downplays problems faced by their remaining younger residents. Indeed, these people often find themselves ostracized by their schoolmates or refused jobs because of their addresses.[41] Persistent discrimination against current tenants (many of whom are ashamed of where they live) is hugely ironic when compared to the positive sentiment most people express toward preserving Shekkipmei as a "commonplace heritage." It is, of course, those who have never lived

there who are most likely to exclude those who do as "Others" with no presence in Hong Kong's "collective memory." Conversely, the estate residents are among the only people who display little interest in the exhibition at Shekkipmei and the museum proposal. As explained by one resident, the old estates are certainly not a great place to live, but they are still home. Current residents' concern is first and foremost for compensation in terms of resettlement — not preservation of the old buildings. Some who live in the same block as the exhibition even said they did not have a clue of what the exhibit was about.[42]

The stigma imposed on the current public housing tenants also makes it clear that the sequential progression and improvement of working-class life is much less clear-cut than as presented in the "People's Museum" and other official and unofficial narratives. While the harsh living conditions of the past are often emphasized, most descriptions barely mention the social problems experienced by present residents. It could be argued that this deliberate exclusion is necessary to tell a convincing story of success, in which the former working class represent an ideal model of Hong Kong citizens who are upwardly mobile, increasingly sophisticated, and "cultured."

But this image of the ideal citizen, as with the image of Shekkipmei itself, is not stable. This point can be illustrated by revisiting a set of images that belong to another time. In 1962, Hong Kong's industrialization had just taken off, and its public housing program had begun to symbolize a well-organized society under the rule of a benevolent administration. Official photographs in both local and international media featured magnificent perspectives of housing estates along with close-up shots of happy-looking Chinese youths, presented as model citizens (FIGS.14,15). However, at the same time, local films, TV shows, and popular fictions frequently conveyed imaginations that related to, but sometimes

FIGURE 14. (ABOVE) *Perspective view of the Li Cheng Uk Estate in 1962. Source: Personal collection of a retired officer of the Resettlement Office.*
FIGURE 15. (RIGHT) *A visitor posing in front of a group of children at a public housing estate in the1960s. Source: Private collection of a retired officer of the Resettlement Office.*

exceeded or subverted, the official portrayal of a "harmonious" society. These stories often highlighted the difference between the ways of life of the working class and those of the private-property-owning middle class and elite. Many stories concerned the move from "immigrant" to having "made it" as part of the privileged upper class. In both the "official" and the "popular" representations, however, the idea of Hong Kong as an entrepreneurial city where one could gain rapid advancement through hard work has been an ongoing myth — one that has served to legitimize a highly unequal society with a profound lack of political participation.[43]

SITES OF IRONY AND DISCRIMINATION

Throughout the past four decades, during which Hong Kong has been transformed into an advanced economy, there have been ongoing processes of identity formation occurring in different domains of social life. Public housing has been a key site in which such processes occurred, and has significantly shaped the development of class consciousness and social stratification. While Shekkipmei and other early housing estates continue to be a central component of the Hong Kong story, the ways in which it has been used to represent Hong Kong society and its people have changed over time. As discussed here, there have been differences between the official narratives of the colonial government in the 1960s and the SAR government in the post-handover period — with the former emphasizing paternalistic benevolence, and the latter the self-initiative of the working class. However, what has been consistent is that both have attempted to define an ideal model of Hong Kong citizen in alignment with the contemporary political and economic order. In both cases, these models of citizenship have also been taken on and appropriated, and sometimes subverted, in the self-representation of the populous. The aspirations that characterize these narratives evidence the constant negotiations entailed in the transformation of Hong Kong's society, and the continual shift in social relations and material life underpinned by a widely held ideology of upward mobility.

Popular support for the preservation of Shekkipmei as a "commonplace heritage" today can, in part, be seen as the attempt by various groups to look back to the past for reassurance in an unsettling present. But in seeking to re-present the "collective memory" of a "common people" who have moved upward from a humbler life, those who actually still live in the old housing estates, along with the buildings themselves, have been abstracted into an nostalgic image that works only to erase the actual historical conditions of working-class life. As this article has attempted to show, these representations were conceived out of boundary-drawing processes that continues to propagate discrimination against the disadvantaged.

The Hong Kong story is thus an ironic story in a sense — a celebration of humble beginnings, of working class and immigrant success in a city that continues to marginalize its poor, its working class and immigrants. It also shows the incompleteness and instability of the narratives surrounding preservation and memories of working-class life. And it touches on the processes in which social control, capitalistic development, and identify formation, are inexorably intertwined.

REFERENCE NOTES

An earlier version of this article was presented at the Tenth IASTE conference, held in Bangkok, Thailand, in December 2006. I am indebted to Mishko Hansen, Rebekah Collins, and William Schaffer for their comments on it.

1. The term "post-handover period" refers to the time since the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the People's Republic of China from Britain on July 1, 1997.
2. The temporary exhibition was held at Block 18 of the Shekkipmei Estate from January to September 2005. The proposed block to be preserved is Block 41, which is also one of the earliest blocks erected on the site. Details of the exhibition can be found on the exhibition website: http://www.naac.org.hk/skm/index.htm/
3. "Shekkipmei Museum Recalls home Truth," *South China Morning Post*, January 20, 2005, p.4.
4. At the time of writing, the demolition of the rest of the buildings of Shekkipmei was already underway. The decision on the preservation of Block 41 is currently on hold, awaiting further study by the Housing Department.
5. Recent high-profile campaigns against the demolition of heritage buildings include the battle to save the Wanchai and Central Markets. Both campaigns involved the active participation of professional bodies, including the Hong Kong Institution of Architects, which in recent years has become actively engaged in promoting heritage preservation in Hong Kong. Although these two campaigns were ultimately unsuccessful, they generated significant public attention, and become a talking point in the media.
6. The H-shaped "Mark I" and "Mark II" blocks were the earliest prototype housing blocks designed for the public housing program by the Public Works Department. During the period 1954–1964, approximately 240 of these basic blocks were built to accommodate around 500,000 people. See Y.M. Yeung and M. Wu, "Introduction," *Fifty Years of Public Housing in Hong Kong: A Golden Jubilee Review and Appraisal* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003), p.8.
7. "Kevin Sinclair's Hong Kong," *South China Morning Post*, September 21, 2005, p.2.
8. The key infrastructure of the colonial administration, along with all its civil servants, were retained and transferred to the authority of the SAR government after Hong Kong's handover. This included the Housing Authority and the Housing Department, the two main departments responsible for managing the public housing program.

9. When the first SAR Chief Executive, Tung Chee-hwa, assumed office in 1997, he promised to expand the public housing program by providing an additional 85,000 owner-occupied units to help the low- to middle-income population become homeowners. However, after the Asian financial crisis and the subsequent crash in the property market, he changed course and proposed the gradual reduction of public housing as a way of supporting property prices.

10. The idea of upward mobility in Hong Kong has historically been closely tied to investment in property. This is not only because the move to private ownership from living in government housing has been a major class distinction within the territory, but because the dramatic gains in property values from the 1970s to 1990s made such investment a cause and indicator of prosperity. The huge decline in the property market in the period following 1997 thus not only led to a loss of wealth among the middle and upper class, but also shook their faith in upward mobility.

11. While preservation often claims to be a practice that is politically neutral, the ways in which "heritage values" are designated in preservation projects inherently elevate certain values and associations while subjugating others. Although there has been a considerable increase in community participation in heritage preservation in recent years, the tendency is toward cooption with commercial interests and commodification of sites.

12. Although the number of people living in public housing has been steadily declining in the last few years, it still houses about 40 percent of Hong Kong's population. For a general view of the relationship between public housing and economic development in Hong Kong, see M. Castells, L. Goh, and R.T.W. Kwok, *The Shek Kip Mei Syndrome: Economic Development and Public Housing in Hong Kong and Singapore* (London: Pion Limited, 1990).

13. As explained by the elderly tenants of these estates, some family members emigrated to other overseas countries as well.

14. See, for example, D. Chamber, *In the Heart of the Metropolis: Yaumatei and Its People* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Company Limited, 1997).

15. Because Hong Kong's housing and land policies discourage preservation, the average building life expectancy is only about thirty years. For an account of the dynamics surrounding Hong Kong's preservation and development, see J. Cody, "Heritage as Hologram," in W. Logan, ed., *The Disappearing Asian City: Protecting Asia's Urban Heritage in a Globalizing World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.185–207.

16. As mentioned earlier, there has been a sizable increase in the number of publications on Hong Kong's heritage in recent years. Some books have been written by academic architectural historians, who have dedicated themselves to historic preservation in Hong Kong not only by writing texts but by teaching and through community service. Some even play an advisory role in policymaking. It can be argued that their efforts have significantly raised awareness of Hong Kong's history in the last few years, especially in regard to linking preservation with the larger issues of urban planning and sustainability.

17. See A. Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997), p.83. In his essay on Hong Kong's architecture, Abbas asserted that preservation in Hong Kong "is not a return of past memory, but a return of memory to the past." However, for Abbas, the recent surge of interest in preserving the past does not indicate the emergence of a critical "postcoloniality," which would be required to unsettle the dominant narrative of Hong Kong's history.

18. Many of these websites are setup by young people with an interest in photography and architecture. A look at the discussion on these sites is instructive, as the past being referred to here is obviously partially imagined. The varied narratives also show that they display a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward Hong Kong's history — something that does not seem to fit well either with the official "Hong Kong story" or the "diagnosis" offered by cultural commentators.

19. In order to give legal protection to a building in Hong Kong, it needs to be graded as a heritage building and officially declared a monument. "Monumental quality" here refers to the special architectural characteristics that qualified the building as "heritage." Details of the criteria and grading procedures of monuments are outlined in the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance enacted in 1976.

20. In February 2004 a consultation document named "Review of Built Heritage Conservation Policy" was released by the Home Affairs Bureau to solicit public opinions on establishing heritage policy.

21. A case in point is the newly completed Star Ferry Pier whose "Edwardian" design is based on a re-creation of a former 1912 pier demolished in the 1950s. The existing 1952 pier, which was designed according to a functionalist style, will be demolished once the new pier is put into operation at the end of 2006.

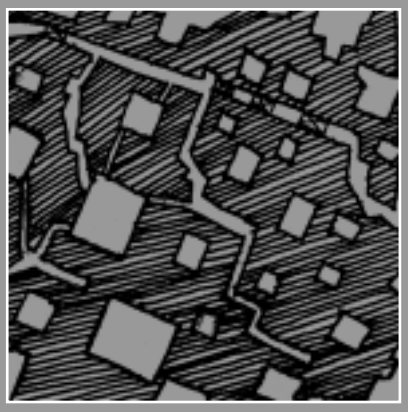
22. One example of such effort is the formation of the Cultural and Heritage Commission in 2000. The purpose of this advisory body is to give recommendations to the SAR government on the long-term policies and funding priorities in the development of culture in Hong Kong. The commission has since held a series of workshops and public consultations and published two reports containing policy recommendations. However, to date no new policies have yet been set in place based on the recommendations.

23. The Asian financial crisis, which began in 1997, had significant economic impact throughout the region, and in Hong Kong the property market went through a deep multiyear slump. More important than the direct effects was the damage to the confidence in the future that had assumed the coming years would see the start of the "Asian Century."

24. These demands for greater political participation had in part been precipitated by the democratic experiments carried out by the last colonial administration in the years running up to 1997. However, they were rolled back immediately by the SAR government after the handover.

25. Hong Kong has long prided itself on its "laissez-faire" credentials, and therefore has historically been hesitant to prevent entrepreneurs from developing property in the way they see fit. The government has also been accustomed to deriving a considerable portion of its revenue from land sales as well as from the payment of fees for any change of land use. For example, the destruction of old buildings and their replacement with apartment blocks has in the past been a substantial source of wealth for both private

developers and the government.
26. The forceful push for universal suffrage by Hong Kong's last governor, Chris Patten, led to an almost complete breakdown of communication between Britain and China in the years running up to 1997. But while Patten was severely criticized by China, he remains a "hero of the people" to many Hong Kong citizens. This was evidenced by his recent return to Hong Kong in 2006, which generated an immediate sensation. See "The British Factor Won't Go Away," *South China Morning Post,* July 26, 2006, p.10.
27. K. Sinclair, "Kevin Sinclair's Hong Kong," *South China Morning Post,* September 21, 2005, p.2.
28. It can be argued that, as a non-Chinese "expat" who has never lived in these estates himself, Sinclair's praise for the solidarity of the working class could be a romanticized vision stemming from a somewhat abstracted empathy for the poor. His lamentation of the loss of warmth and affection in those who possess wealth and status, including many nouveau riche who once lived in public housing, and his constant effort to fight for the preservation of ordinary dwellings, however, also evidence his desire to affirm his identity as a legitimate local Hong Kong citizen-activist committed to speaking out on behalf of the populous against the ruling class.
29. The TV series "Below the Lion Rock," which ran from 1974–1994, was produced by Radio and Television Hong Kong (RTHK).
30. Despite being criticized by some politicians for lacking new initiatives, public opinion polls showed that Leung's speech was generally well received. This indeed was an unexpected outcome in the midst of a recession coupled with increasing distrust of the SAR government. Many people, especially the older generations who remembered "Below The Lion Rock" well, admitted that they found strong resonance with the sentiments of the song lyrics. The series was repeated shortly afterwards on the ATV home channel. In 2005, a new season consisting of ten episodes started to air on TVB Jade — the prime Cantonese TV channel in Hong Kong.
31. This discussion draws upon Richard Terdiman's idea of memory crisis. See R. Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp.3–32.
32. Hong Kong has long explicitly endorsed a policy of free markets and government "positive nonintervention" that arguably echoes with neoliberalism. The term neoliberalism is used here in correspondence with David Harvey's definition, which defines it as "a theory of economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." See D. Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.2. On the other hand, Hong Kong's international reputation as a bastion of "economic freedom" is somewhat paradoxical given that it has one of the largest government welfare programs in the world, particularly in relation to the provision of housing. See, for example, Castells et al., *The Shek Kip Mei Syndrome*.
33. At the time of writing, some of the tenants have already begun to move out. Those who could afford higher rent typically have chosen to relocate to the newer estates nearby. But a significant portion of the single elderly tenants who lived mostly on welfare could not do so.
34. The exhibition is accompanied by a photography competition, whose aim was to "capture the memory of life at Shekkipmei."
35. On a number of websites featuring Shekkipmei, contributors offered various tips on how to lure the old tenants to agree to have their pictures taken, such as making claims that they were students working on a project, or that they were revisiting their childhood homes (which was true in some cases).
36. Photographs of the re-created interiors can be seen on the official exhibition website: http://www.naac.org.hk/skm/index.htm/
37. Note that this term, which has been commonly circulated in everyday conversation and the popular media, was also employed in the official exhibition itself to describe the current state of Shekkipmei and other old housing estates.
38. For a detailed analysis of how a laissez-faire ideology came to be built upon the largest public housing program in the world, see Castells's landmark study on the public housing programs of Hong Kong and Singapore (Castells et al., *The Shek Kip Mei Syndrome*).
39. An example relates to medical services. Although Hong Kong has a free universal health care system (aside from small user fees), not all services and drug provision are covered, which can lead to difficulty for impoverished groups.
40. Existing tenants were given the choice of moving to other estates, but the majority of these options involved significant increases in rent. Referring to the comment by a social worker with the elderly in the Sau Mau Ping Estate, these early public housing estates are the last place she would choose to live, as nobody would give a damn about you. After all, Hong Kong has the highest suicide rate for elderly people in the world, some of whom kill themselves by jumping out of the windows of these housing estates.
41. To avoid being looked down on by others, a thirteen-year-old resident of the Sau Mau Ping Estate was warned by his mother not to admit where he is from and to give only a general district address. See "The Estate Time Forgot," *Postmagazine*, March 26, 2000, p.17.
42. Although it has been emphasized that the exhibition was organized with the help of the existing residents, many elderly tenants indicated that they were not aware of the event.
43. Although the image of the ideal citizen has retained a degree of continuity over time, it should be noted that toward the mid-1970s, as immigration control began to restrict the influx of Mainland refugees, official narratives shifted to depict the Mainland Chinese in increasingly derisive terms, often emphasizing the differences between urbane Hong Kong citizens and the backward Mainlanders and unsophisticated "new immigrants." Discrimination against the latter was also manifested in government policies, as new regulations were put in place to restrict welfare benefits including public housing to permanent citizens. Indeed, he right to reside in (or apply for) a unit in the housing estates were granted to all immigrants of Chinese origin who entered Hong Kong's territory before 1971, but was denied to those arriving afterwards, resulting in a significant shift in the discourse about who counted as a "Hong Kong person." For an account of the shift in housing policies, see A. Smart, "Sharp Edges, Fuzzy Categories, and Transborder Networks: Managing and Housing New Arrivals in Hong Kong," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26 (2003), pp.218–23.



Special Article

The Nature of the Courtyard House: A Conceptual Analysis

AMOS RAPOPORT

There is a need for conceptual clarification of both theoretical and empirical terms in Environment-Behavior Studies. This article does this for the case of the "courtyard house" by developing a number of possible criteria to characterize it as a dwelling form. Many examples from a variety of locales and periods, both of individual units and the resulting urban fabric, are shown and discussed. The study suggests that many dwellings which do not resemble the prototypical courtyard house may be classified as such on the basis of some of the criteria developed. Some implications are briefly discussed.

This article is part of an ongoing project to develop theory in Environment-Behavior Studies (EBS). Such efforts require explicitness, clear definitions, and conceptual clarification of both theoretical and empirical terms. In this article I try to clarify the concept "courtyard house" both as a unit and as part of settlement fabric.[1]

One important way to clarify concepts is by asking questions — including skeptical questions, some of which might not yield answers immediately, but which might stimulate further analysis and research leading to eventual answers. This article, therefore, poses a series of questions, starting with the most basic: What is really meant by "courtyard housing"? Even the nature of dwellings, more generally, is not self-evident, and needs to be clarified.[2] In this process, I inevitably use my previous work.[3]

Without a systematic search, and only from materials I own, I have collected more than two hundred examples of potential courtyard houses. These come from locations in more than forty countries, spanning the globe and also ten thousand years, from Çatal Hüyük (10,000 B.P.), through the Indus Valley civilization (5,000 B.P.), the ancient Middle East (Turkey, Mesopotamia, Ur, etc.), China, Ancient Greece and Rome, to the present. The selection is thus partly an "opportunity sample," but choice was also based on several hypothetical criteria discussed in the next section.

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It is significant that not all the examples chosen would automatically be classified as "courtyard houses," nor would they elicit the corresponding image. Dealing with this issue is a principal objective of this article.

WHAT IS A "COURTYARD HOUSE"?

To begin to answer this question, a distinction between form and shape may prove useful. Form refers to the fundamental organization of space (as well as time, meaning and communication). In this regard, changes in shape and/or materials are less fundamental than relationships among domains. Examples based on this distinction, such as New Guinea villages and comparable examples from Amazonian Brazil, show the relative importance of the shape of houses and central spaces as opposed to their form (the more fundamental organization of space). It follows that a court can be square, rectangular, round or amorphous, and its boundaries can be defined in different ways.[4] This has also been shown to be the case with the shapes of pueblos as opposed to Navaho hogans.[5]

Similarly, a settlement based on courtyard houses or compounds, a form that I call the "the inside-out city," is fundamentally different from one where houses (and other buildings) face outward, relating to the street.[6] Two points can be made about these two basic settlement forms. First, as traditions, they go back at least nine thousand years, and seem to remain distinct and separate until recently, when outward-facing houses seem to replace courtyard models. (This will become important when I discuss the potential use of courtyard houses, however defined, as precedents). Consider the contrast between the contemporaneous settlements of Nea Nokomedia (northern Greece) and Çatal Hüyük (Anatolia). The former consisted of individual 25x25-foot houses spaced 6–15 feet apart; the latter was composed of a continuous urban fabric around communal courts (as in the case of traditional pueblos), with individual houses entered through the roofs.[7] Note that in certain locations (including Greece and Turkey) the forms have coexisted, their use depending on region, tribe, culture, religion, degree of modernization, etc.

The second point also concerns the shape/form distinction, and involves an important attribute of courtyard houses — their distinct privacy mechanism. This mechanism mainly emphasizes privacy vis-à-vis the outside using physical elements (such as walls and doors). Often (although not always) there is less concern for inside privacy, where other mechanisms may be used, such as separation in time, rules, penetration gradients, etc.[8] It is in terms of this privacy attribute that, as discussed below, one can regard sub-Saharan African compounds, walled suburban lots, modern Mexican houses, etc., as "courtyard houses."

In principle, of course, every dwelling is a private domain (and parts of it even more so[9]), although the nature of privacy, between whom and whom, and the mechanisms used all vary. In all cases, this private domain is also linked in some way to the public domain of the settlement. The forms of these linkages (and hence intermediate domains) further tend to vary more than either the dwelling or settlement, and change more over time.[10] These are often studied in terms of the sequence of outdoor spaces — e.g., cul-de-sacs, streets, avenues, neighborhoods, etc.[11]; or fence, gate, path, steps, porch, door and hallway.[12]

The courtyard house itself can be seen partly in these terms. Thus, the form of the relation between the private and public domains — via a "lock," rather than without such a lock and with a permeable boundary — is more fundamental than the shape of the domains (let alone the materials used) **(FIG.1)**.

One criterion for courtyard houses then must be the nature of the privacy mechanism used (walls rather than distance), leading to abrupt transitions, and providing one way of coping with overload. However, as I have argued elsewhere regarding vernacular design, tradition, spontaneous settlements, ambience and meaning, one needs to use polythetic definitions, or at least multiple criteria.[13] This is also the case in conceptualizing the courtyard house, and in this article I begin to develop a set of multiple possible criteria or attributes.

A second attribute (after privacy) of the courtyard house is that the courtyard itself provides a critically important setting

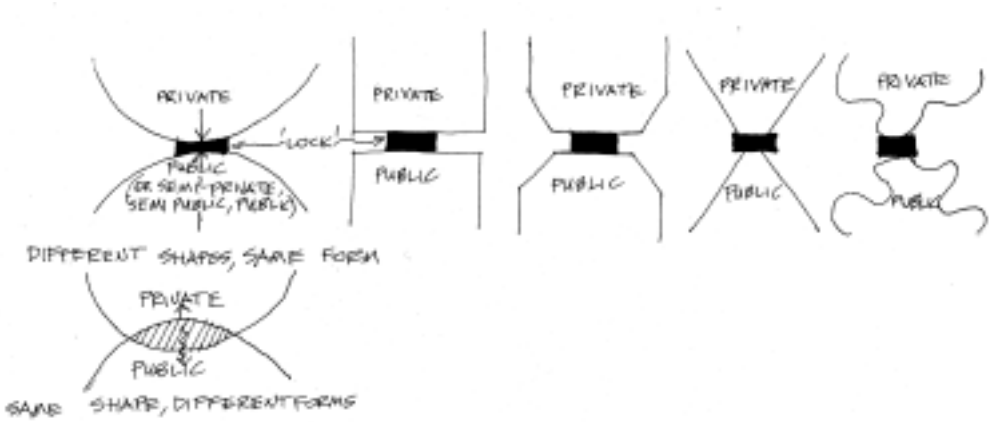


FIGURE 1. *Form vs. Shape. Based on Rapoport,* Human Aspects of Urban Form*, Fig.1.3, p.10.*

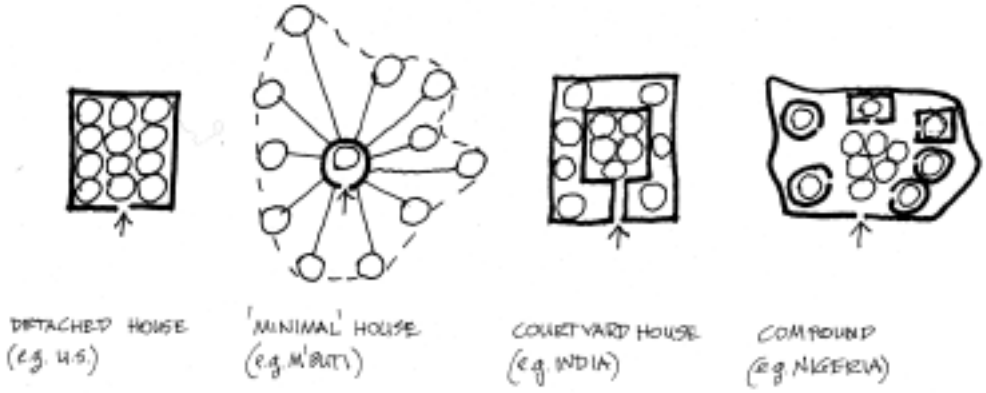


FIGURE 2. *Dwelling defined in terms of systems of activities and systems of settings. Based on Rapoport, "Towards a Cross-Culturally Valid Definition of Housing," pp.310–16; "Systems of Activities in Systems of Settings," Fig.2.5, p.16; and* Cross-Cultural Studies and Urban Form, *Fig.2, p.17.*

or subsystem of settings, within which specific activities occur as part of a larger system of activities, within a larger system of settings (which is the dwelling) **(FIG.2)**.[14] As an important setting within the dwelling, the courtyard also fits into an even larger system of settings that encompasses the surrounding street(s), block, micro-neighborhood, neighborhood, etc.[15]

A third attribute of courtyard housing is that the courtyard, as a central space, provides access to other spaces **(FIG.3)**. This, of course, raises the question whether interior spaces used in this way may be equivalent to courts — as in such cases as Kwakiutl dwellings, houses in Ibadan, Nigeria, and living rooms in Korean and Puerto Rican apartments in Boston.[16] It also again raises the question whether compounds — in Africa, Mexico, ancient Peru (Chan Chan), etc. — are equivalent, and how to think about spaces with low or no walls **(FIGS.4,5)**.[17]

Whether all the types shown so far (and the many not shown) are courtyard houses depends on the attributes used. Of the three developed so far, I hypothesize that privacy is dominant, followed by the courtyard as setting(s), and finally the courtyard as a means of access. It would, however, be interesting to analyze the hundreds of examples available from many locations and periods using the criteria developed.

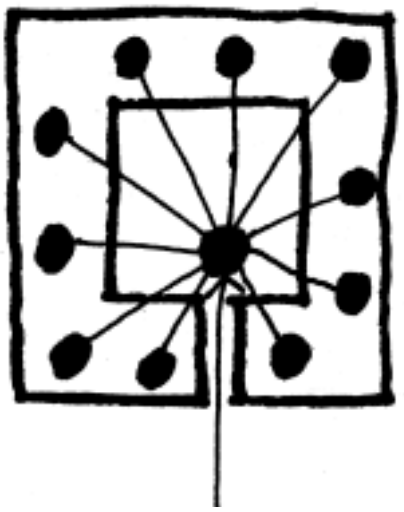


FIGURE 3. *Courtyard house in terms of access.*

So far only the dwelling has been discussed. There is a difference, however, between rural (free-standing, isolated) courtyard houses (in their broader sense) and those forming a part of settlements **(FIG.6)**. The latter sometimes reveals the ability of courtyard houses to be "packed," creating a dense urban tissue. This provides a fourth attribute, which reveals what has also often been regarded as a major advantage of courtyard houses — their ability to allow a "more efficient" use of space, thus reducing the area of settlements.[18] However, as will be seen later, this may also create problems when one wants either to use courtyard houses directly or as precedents for learning.

Another attribute (the fifth) of certain courtyard houses (partly attributable to their ability to form a dense settlement fabric) that has received much emphasis is their climatic efficiency. In hot, arid climates such houses and the resulting settlement tissue supposedly provide a greater measure of comfort.[19] However, there are several problems with this view. First is the existence of what I have called anti-climatic solutions, such as the appearance of courtyards in hot, humid climates — for example, in parts of China generally, and Chinese shophouses elsewhere.[20] Courtyards also appear in traditional houses in Ghana, Hanoi "tube houses," bazaar houses of Bangladesh, and dwellings in Korea, India and elsewhere **(FIG.7)**.[21] Another problem is the frequent rejection of courtyard houses in favor of free-standing ones, often with large windows, in many hot, arid zones.

Views about climate may also tend to romanticize the courtyard house, which actually may not work that well climatically even in hot, arid climates. For example, in Baghdad, modern houses, both individually and as part of the urban fabric, were considered climatically more comfortable than courtyard houses. In fact, noise was the only variable on which the courtyard house was judged to be better.[22] Living patterns in courtyard houses in Algeria (for example, at Ghardaia) and in Morocco involve moving to different parts of the house at different times of the day and during different seasons.[23] This is also the case in Iran.[24] Different summer and winter settlements may even be used, as in Algeria.[25] An emphasis on climatic comfort also ignores

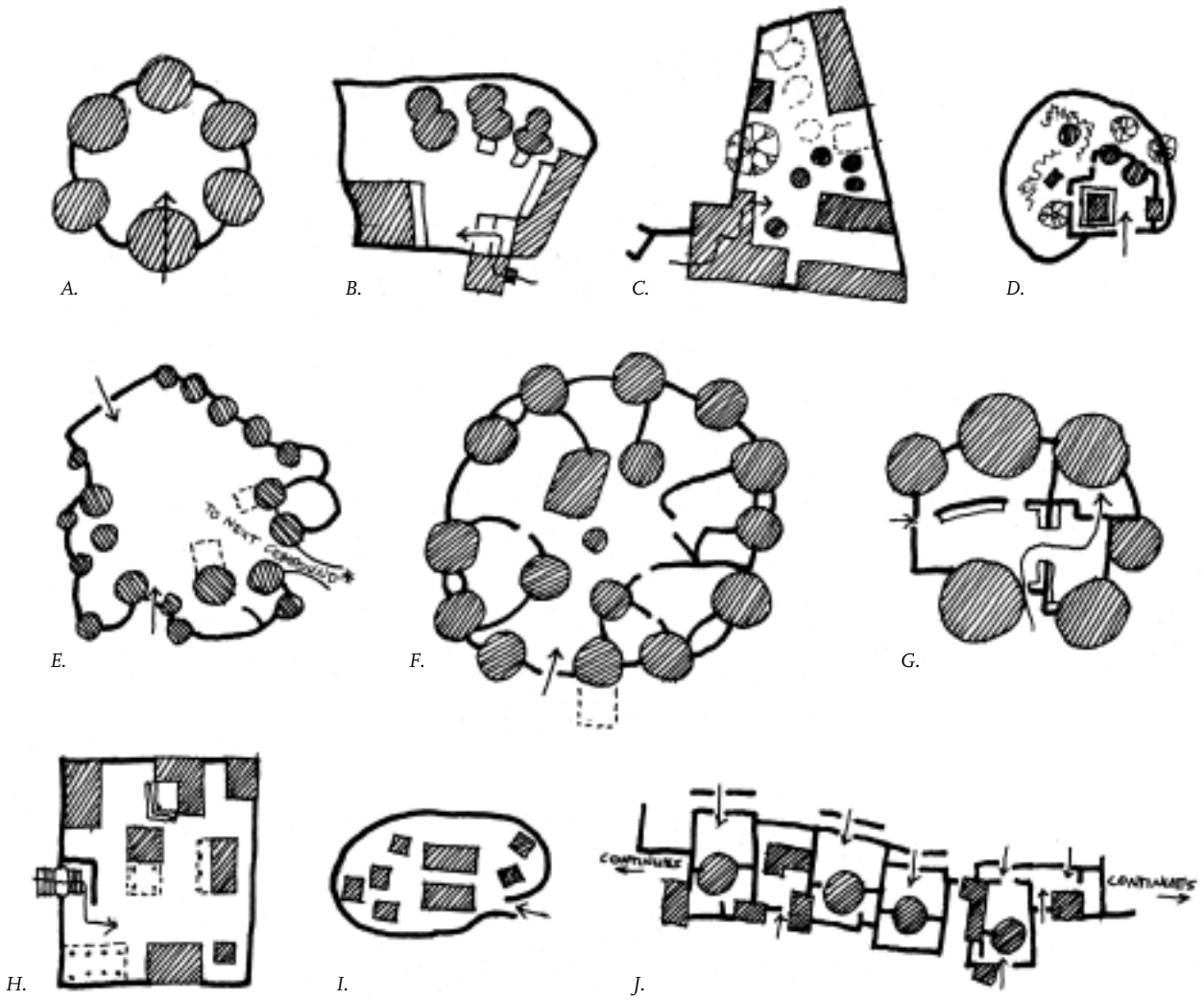


FIGURE 4. (ABOVE) *(A) Nuba (South Africa), based on J. Walton,* African Village *(Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1956), Fig.41, p.109. (B) Zaria (Nigeria), based on Schwerdtfeger,* Traditional Housing in African Cities, *plan 4.5, p.54. (C) Hausa (Daura, Botswana), based on J.C. Moughtin, "The Traditional Settlements of the Hausa People,"* Town Planning Review, *Vol.35 No.1 (April 1964), Fig.3, p.25. (D) Tswana (Oodi, Botswana), based on A. Larsson and V. Larsson,* A Documentation of Twelve Tswana Dwellings *(Lund: Department of Functional Analysis, School of Architecture, University of Lund, Report R1, 1984), Fig. Oodi 1, p.89. (E) Malinke (Senegal), based on Bourdier and Minh-Ha,* Drawn from African Dwellings, *Fig.28, p.56. *See Fig.112, pp.214–15. (F) Kusasi (Zebila, Ghana), based on J. Stanley, personal communication, 1975. (G) Venda (South Africa), based on Frescura, "Major Developments in the Rural Indigenous Architecture of Southern Africa of the Post Difagane Period," p.343. (H) Bali (Tihingan village), based on A.P. Parimin, "Fundamental Study of Spatial Formation of Island Village: Environmental Hierarchy of Sacred-Profane Concept in Bali," Ph.D. diss. University of Osaka, 1986, Fig.(1-5).3, p.42. (I) Wolof (Senegal), based on E. Johnson, "The Wolof of Senegal and Modernization Processes," term paper in Architecture 755, Department of Architecture, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, April 1992, p.8. (J) South Amendebele (South Africa), based on Frescura, "Major Developments," p.330.*
Note that when walls are high the privacy attribute applies; when they are low it does not. The activities/settings and access attributes continue to apply. In all cases there are many different shapes and configurations, but the form remains the same.

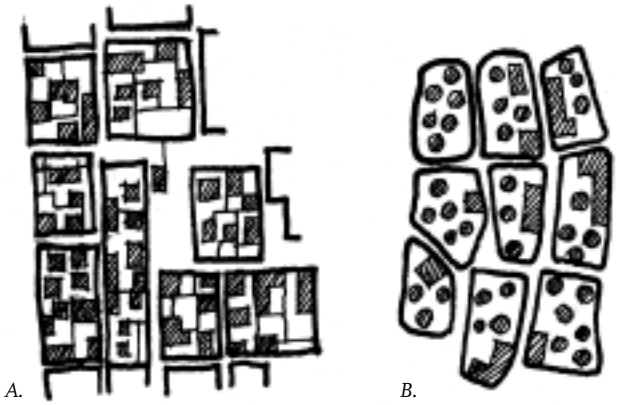
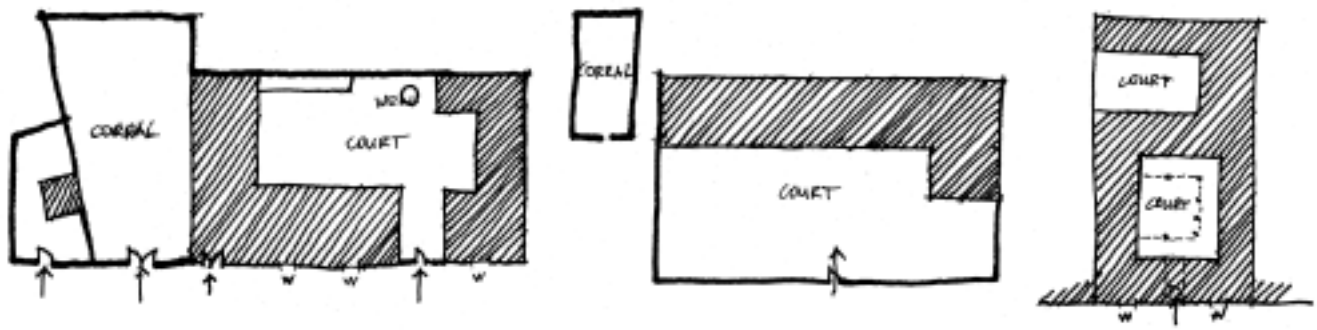


FIGURE 5. (RIGHT) *Compounds forming settlement fabric (not to scale). A) Part of the Chimu capital of Chan Chan (ancient Peru). B) Diagrammatic plan of part of a Yoruba city (Nigeria), based on various written descriptions.*



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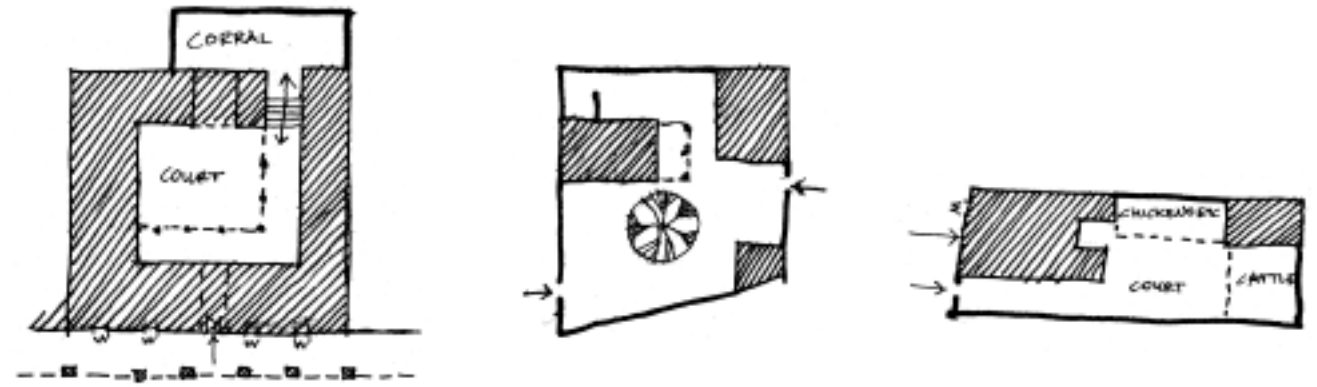

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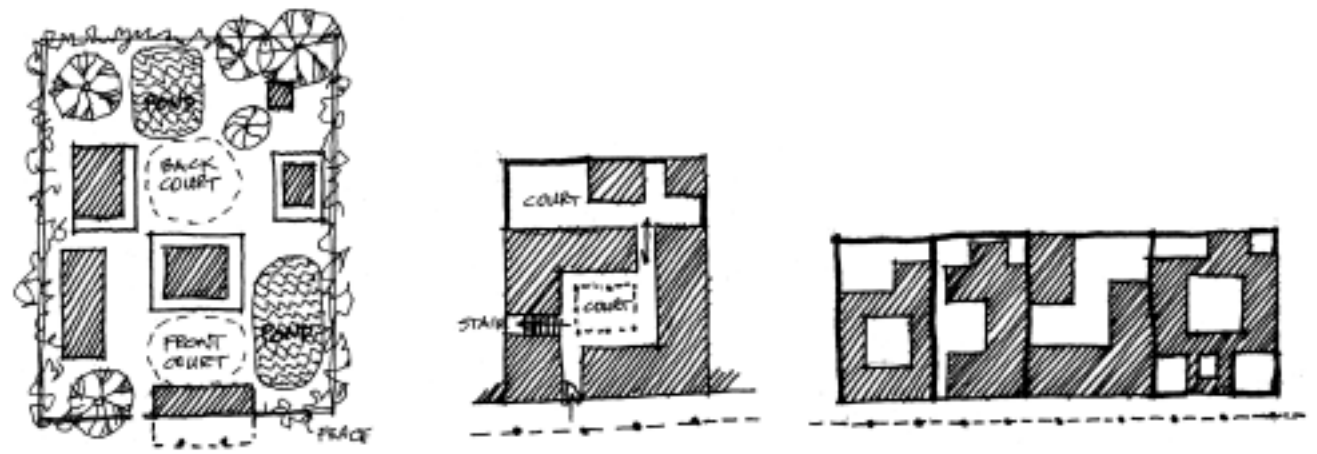


G. H. I.

FIGURE 6. *A) Rural house in Mexico, based on R.C. West, "The Flat-Roofed Folk Dwelling in Rural Mexico," in B.F. Perkins, ed.,* Man and Cultural Heritage: Geoscience and Man, *Vol. V (Baton Rouge: School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University 1974), p.113. B) Rural house in Mexico, based on E.J. Pader, "Spatiality and Social Change: Domestic Space Use in Mexico and the United States,"* American Ethnologist, *Vol.20 No.1 (1993), Fig.2, p.112. C) Urban house in Mexico, based on personal observation. D) Urban house in Mexico, based on F. Lopez Morales,* Arquitectura Vernácula en Mexico *(Mexico City: Editorial Trillas, 1987), Fig.4.17b, p.82. E) Rural house in Sudan, based on M. Tewfik, "Aspects of Regional Planning and Rural Development Affected by Factors of Physical Environment," Ph.D. diss, Dept. of Architecture, University of Lund, Sweden, 1976, Fig.43, p.190. F) Rural house in Egypt, based on Y. Moustafa, "Recommendations for the Design of New Villages to be Built in the Context of Land Reclamation Projects in Egypt," term paper in Architecture 755, Department of Architecture, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Fall 1995. G) Rural dwelling in Bangladesh. H) Urban house in Dhaka, Bangladesh. I) Urban fabric in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Bangladesh examples are based on Mahmood, "Third World Design: Bangladesh as a Case Study."*

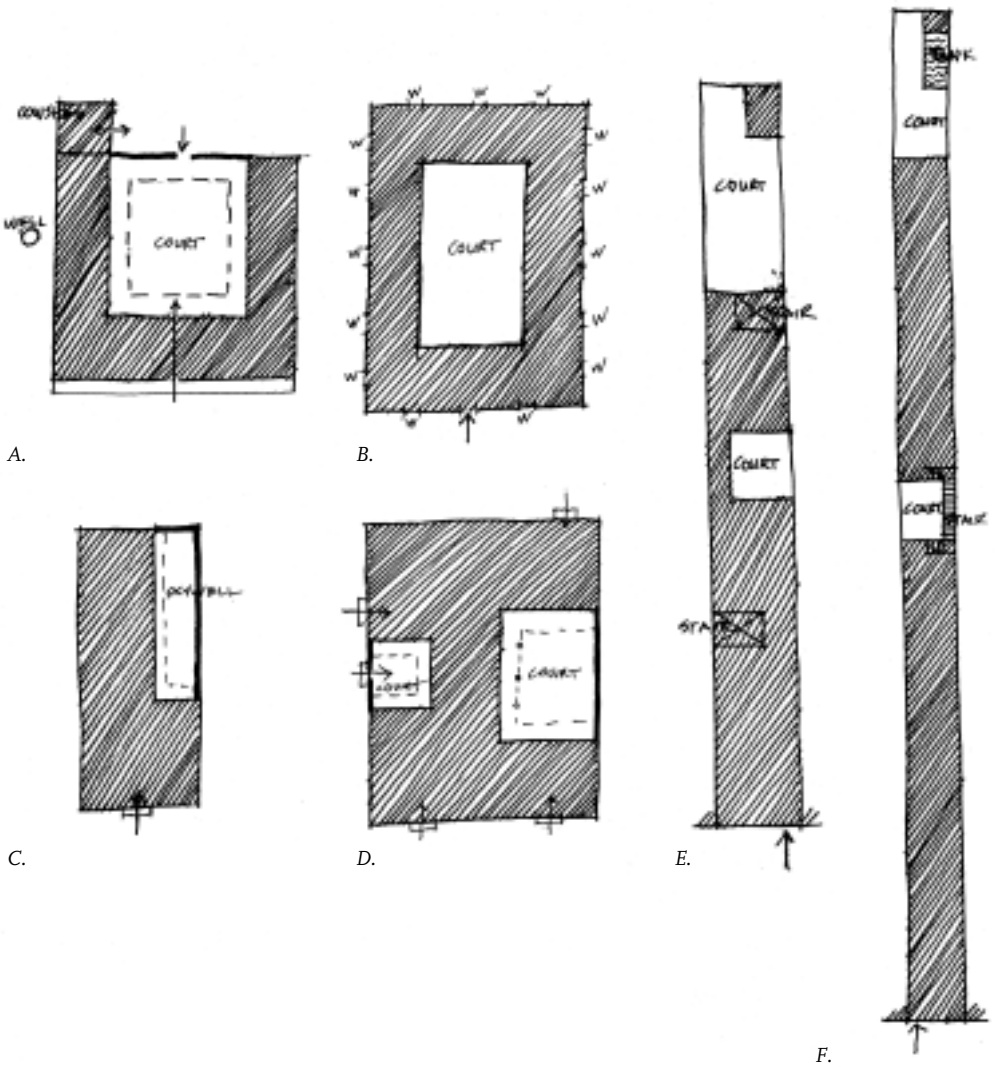


FIGURE 7. *A) Courtyard house in South India; based on Sinha, "The Center as Void," Fig. 4, p.30. B) Traditional compound in Ghana, based on Tutu, "A Ventilation Study of a Typical Traditional House in Ghana," Fig.43, p.122. C) Skywell house in China, based on Knapp,* China's Vernacular Architecture, *Fig.2.24, p46. D) Courtyard house in China, based on ibid. (E) Ground floor of a bazaar house in Dhaka, Bangladesh; based on Mahmood, "Third World Design: Bangladesh as a Case Study." (F) Ground floor of a "tube" house in Hanoi, Vietnam, based on Hoang and Nishimura,* The Historical Environment and Housing Conditions in the "36 Old Streets" Quarter of Hanoi (Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology, Division of Human Settlements Technology, 1990).

issues such as modernity of form, new materials, and technology.[26] This can be clearly seen in a photograph of Yadz, showing air conditioners replacing the wind towers that traditionally served courtyard houses there.[27]

Hence one can, at best, argue that given the constraints of resources, materials, technology, and the like, the courtyard house can, in certain circumstances, work well climatically; but so can other types — such as the Turkish houses in Alanya.[28] Moreover, one cannot separate climatic comfort, resource use, and the like from social aspects. Indeed, these should be emphasized, since they possibly pose the most major obstacles to using and learning from courtyard houses.[29]

I conclude this section with a question already raised briefly — concerning communal courts. These are found both in spontaneous settlements (e.g., India) and, as discussed, in traditional forms in Africa, China, and even Europe **(FIG.8)**. In China, for example, there is the Hakka dwelling, in which multistory, multifamily blocks surround a court which has the same form whether the shape is circular or square.[30] In the southwestern United States communal courts include some pueblos (e.g., Pueblo Bonito), the shapes of which may vary. There are also pueblos (such as at Taos) where the court is not enclosed.[31] This is also the case in some African examples and examples from rural Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere. Such courts often satisfy the social, access, and settings criteria — but not necessarily that for privacy. They thus leave unanswered a "subsidiary" question — whether courts need to be totally enclosed to be counted as such **(FIG.9)**.

Also well known is a type found in many parts of Europe (including Germany, Poland, France, Switzerland, etc.) of an apartment building around a court, which also resembles Oxbridge college courts. In effect, this poses the question whether courts need to be for a single dwelling or family (even if extended), which often seems to be implicitly assumed; or whether they can exist for groups or aggregates. This question really comprises several subquestions. Can courts be shared? If so, by whom? How large need these

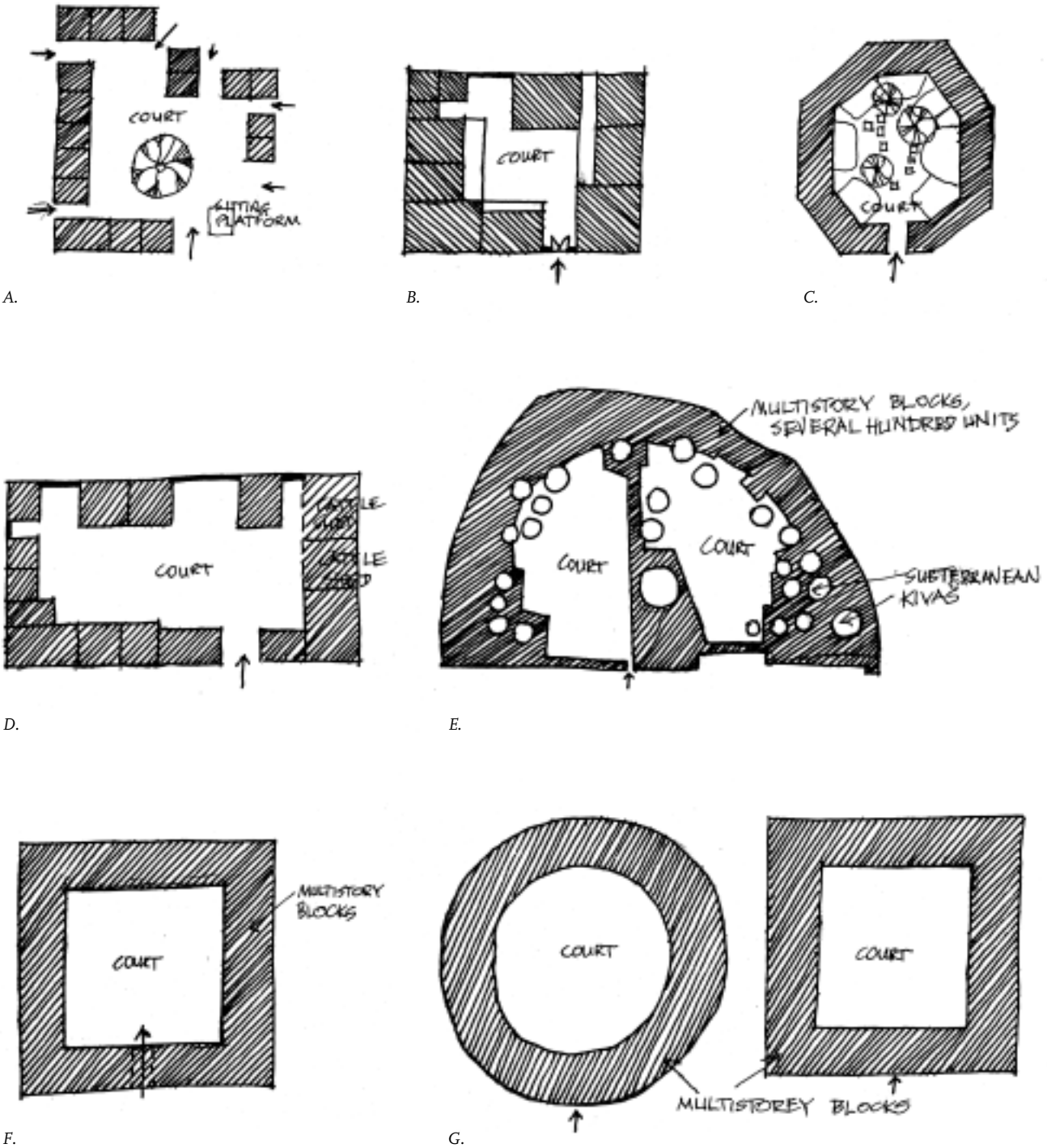
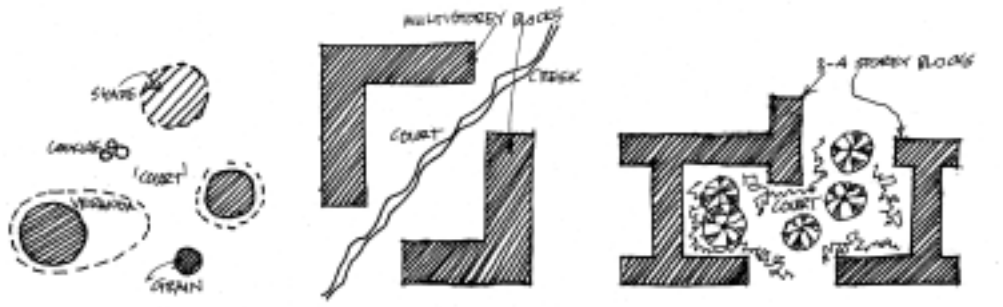


FIGURE 8. *Communal Courtyards (not to scale). A) One of a number of communal courtyards in a spontaneous settlement in New Delhi, India (this cluster contains seventeen units, but the number of units and the shape of the clusters may vary), based on G.K. Payne,* Urban Housing in the Third World *(Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979). B) Communal court in the spontaneous settlement of Darepada in Calcutta, India (these again are variable in size and configuration, but this cluster has eight units), based on personal communication from M. Bose. C) Six-unit communal court in Jamshedpur India, based on personal observation. D) Communal court containing seven dwellings and other buildings in Chhatera Village, India, based on S.K. Chandhoke,* Nature and Structure of Rural Habitations *(New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co./School of Architecture and Planning, 1990), Fig.5.6, p.144. E) Communal courts in Pueblo Bonito, New Mexico (the shapes and sizes of the pueblos vary a great deal), based on Rapoport, "On the Cultural Origins of Settlement," p.58. F) Communal court in a typical European apartment building. G) Communal courts in a Hakka dwelling in Hekeng Village, China (25–30 units, 150-plus people), based on Laude, "Hekeng Village, Fujian: Unique Habitats."*



A. B. C.

FIGURE 9. *Unenclosed "courts" (not to scale). In terms of privacy these are not courts; in terms of activities same are and some are not. In terms of other attributes — not known. A) Unenclosed "court" in Sudan, based on A. Rapoport, "An Approach to Vernacular Design," in J.M. Fitch, ed.,* Shelter: Models of Native Ingenuity *(Katonah, NY: Katonah Gallery 1982), Fig.2, p.46. B) Unenclosed communal court in Taos Pueblo, U.S., based on personal communication. C) Unenclosed court in public housing, U.S., based on Franck and Mostoller, "From Courts to Open Space to Streets."*

be? In practice, the size of courtyards varies considerably — from Chinese skywells 1–2 meters wide[32]; to the not much larger courts in Hanoi tubehouses and Dhakka bazaar houses **(REFER TO FIG.7)**; to those discussed above; to those of the Masai, Zulu or Swazi.[33]

Potential Problems with Courtyard Houses

The ability of courtyard houses to create very dense settlement fabric is often seen as one of their major advantages. If one considers the example of Yazd, however, one finds that the very narrow streets and cul-de-sacs of such settlements may not be the only means of circulation; doors among dwellings may also be used **(FIG.10)**.[34] This obviously depends on social variables, including great homogeneity (and often kin ties).[35] It thus represents a different culture-specific set of transitions in and use of the street system than, for example, in Isfahan, Cairo and elsewhere.[36] Also involved is a rigidly maintained system of rules (whether of behavior, roles, space use, organization of time, privacy, etc.), which makes such systems work, but which may be increasingly difficult to maintain today.

Codes of behavior also seem to be applicable to the underground courtyard houses of Matmata (Tunisia) and the Loess region of China.[37] In both cases the court is very exposed to people looking down, apparently providing no privacy. I am not aware of any studies specifically on this topic, but it is likely that privacy is achieved as discussed above, by groups being homogeneous (possibly related) and observing strong rules about keeping away from edges and not looking down **(FIG.11)**.[38] At the same time, in terms of activity settings, access, and climate (and possibly "packing"), these are clearly courtyard houses. (Today, however, they have acquired a negative image because they are underground, and are currently being deserted — as are other prototypical

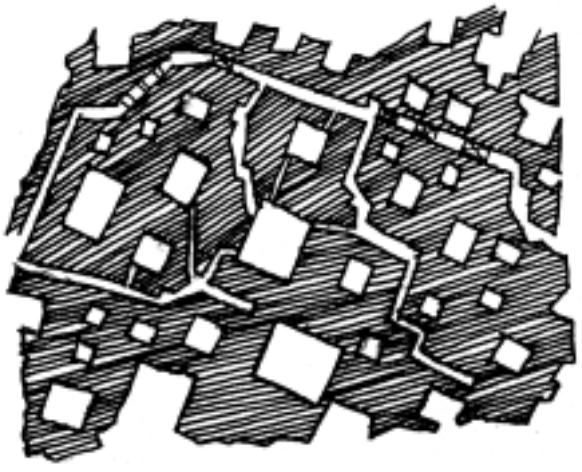


FIGURE 10. *Urban fabric of traditional Iranian city (e.g., Yazd) (not to scale). Based on Rapoport, "Settlements and Energy: Historical Precedents," Fig.13, p.229; and "Learning about Settlements and Energy from Historical Precedents," Fig.3, p.265.*

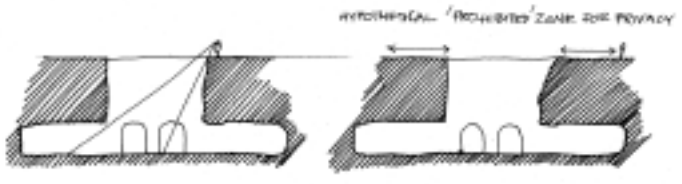
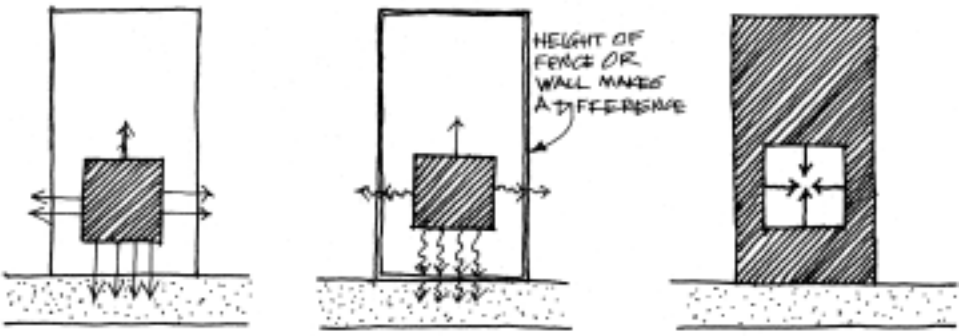


FIGURE 11. *Underground courtyard dwellings of Matmata, Tunisia (section, not to scale) and China. Based on Rapoport,* House Form and Culture, *p.91, and personal observation; and "International Symposium on Earth Architecture," report, Architectural Institute of Japan. Note the absence of privacy unless rules apply, or other attributes are present.*



A. B. C.

FIGURE 12. *Communication of meaning. A) Free-standing "open" house, able to communicate meaning. B) House in a fenced or walled lot — may or may not be able to communicate meaning. C) Courtyard house — unable to communicate meaning. Note that B with high wall and C are identical in terms of privacy and meaning, but not other attributes; note also that they represent a figure/ground reversal.*

courtyard houses, compounds, earth-sheltered dwellings, and other structures built of traditional materials elsewhere.[39])

Courtyard houses might present problems currently for another reason — the increasing emphasis on individual identity as opposed to group identity, and privatization (whether of recreation or more generally).[40] At one level these developments might help courtyard houses serve as a precedent. But at another they raise major problems related to an important characteristic of courtyard houses, especially those forming part of settlement fabric. This is that such houses are generally not as effective in communicating meanings externally as are free-standing houses (unless in a walled lot or compound, when they may be considered courtyard houses under the terms developed here) **(FIG.12)**. This might then be seen as a sixth attribute of courtyard houses.

Increasingly, as identity, social relations, status, and the like have become more heterogeneous, varied, flexible and dynamic, the meanings projected by dwellings have become ever more important.[41] Increasingly, as a student of mine (Dr. Paul Maas) put it: "You are where you live."

I would suggest, as a hypothesis, that this is one important reason why people are giving up courtyard houses (in the broad sense) for house forms that can communicate identity, status, and other meanings. There are, of course, intermediate stages, such as free-standing houses behind walls (as in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, other Arab countries, Mexico, Africa, etc.); although, often being two-storied, some of the house is still visible. In any case, the process of syncretism or synthesis occurs over time, not all at once.[42] This also applies to the meaning of "modernity," communicated by technology and materials as well as house forms.[43]

One of the few diachronic studies of vernacular design shows that, contrary to what is generally believed, status was important in at least some traditional vernacular design, and was communicated through subtle cues.[44] Currently, however, it appears that higher redundancy is required.[45] Moreover, these meanings are now communicated by new cues which may not fit, or work in, courtyard houses (or their equivalents).

This problem is shown by two *New York Times* stories about China.[46] The first deals with Beijing:

> *Just north of the Forbidden City, where China's emperors once lived, a maze of dusty lanes and grubby back alleys are punctuated by simple red doorways befitting ramshackle homes. Behind some of these doorways, however, lie the elegant and spacious courtyard dwellings of China's Communist Party leaders, a new kind of Forbidden City.*[47]

The issue is clearly the lack of communication of status through buildings to the exterior. Two additional points can be made in this regard. First, the communication of status and other meanings can be associational rather that perceptual (thus, in the Chinese example, one knows that the leaders live there, but this is not communicated by the dwellings). Second, in traditional China (as in other locales) the number of courts, the materials used, the elaboration of decoration, and the size of dwellings related very closely to rank and status, sometimes through sumptuary laws.[48] But the rigidly defined measure of status and its relation to dwellings only works when the social system is extremely stable, making clear communication through the built environment less important.[49] When this does not apply, dwellings do need to communicate social meanings.[50] And it is here that courtyard houses may present problems, although other means might be used as associational cues, such as location within the city.[51] Items from the "repertoire" of design patterns available for communicating meaning might also be used, such as street type, vegetation, wall materials, entry decorations, and the like.[52]

However, a direct contrast is provided in the second *New York Times* story, about a Chinese city (Zhangjugang) where traditional houses were being replaced by what could be Scandinavian apartments (except for vestigial "symbolic" roof details). The emphasis here was on what is a "rarity in China" — lawns and shrubbery, and cleanliness and tidiness of the public domain ("clean living").[53]

It thus seems that the free-standing house is becoming a new norm all over the world. This has been happening gradually, and there has not necessarily been an acceptance of the new model as a whole. (As mentioned, one intermediate form involves siting a free-standing house behind high walls, thus producing the equivalent of a courtyard house in

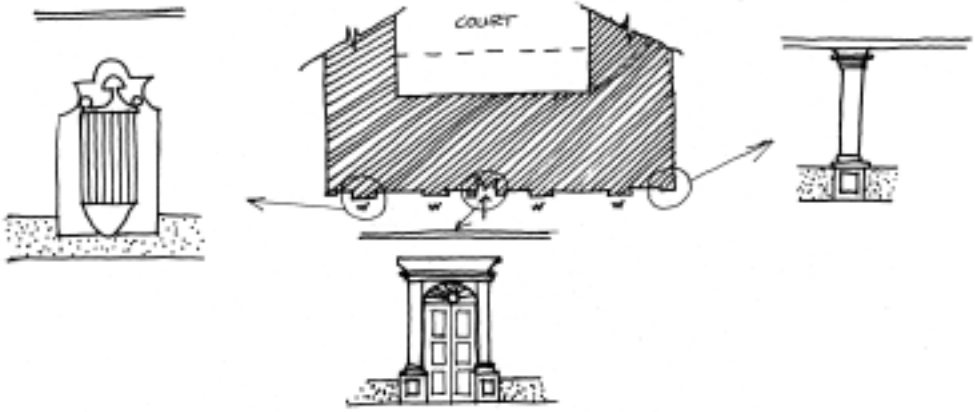


FIGURE 13. *Courtyard house able to communicate meaning (not to scale). Front of Mexican courtyard house shown in Figure 6. Examples of window, door and pilaster used to communicate meaning (e.g., status). Numerous highly varied examples are found all over Mexico (with regional variations) using mainly these three elements.*

terms of privacy, if not the other criteria.) Moreover, in some cases, even when the outward-facing house is accepted, it may fail to be supportive of privacy, lifestyle, religion, etc.[54] In other words, it may be accepted, and even eagerly sought, even if inappropriate, because of its appropriate image.

The proper response involves synthesis or syncretism, combining essential traditional elements of the culture core with new elements. Here also the distinction between shape and form and the use of multiple attributes becomes relevant and useful.

The traditional Mexican urban courtyard house (possibly found elsewhere in Latin America) provides an interesting example of being able to communicate meanings while creating compact urban fabric and the "inside-out city." Ornamental details around windows and entrances (which can also be used with blank walls, as in Tunis), pilasters, colors, and facade treatments marking the extent of individual properties (and hence size) all project the requisite meanings **(FIG.13)**. With its windows facing a grid of relatively wide streets, this type marks a partly outward-facing compromise with the continuous, windowless blank-walled courtyard houses found in other countries, which cannot communicate either their size, the number and elaboration of their interior courts, or other features typically linked to status.

Another important potential problem concerns greenery. An "inside-out city" can have almost as much greenery as U.S. residential urban fabric (where planted areas may comprise up to 60–70 percent of total area, and which been described as "the urban forest" and "Savannah"[55]), but this greenery is not visible at eye level. On the other hand, greenery is also important for producing perceived qualities such as low density, high status, and current notions of high environmental quality **(FIG.14)**.[56] This is clear from cases where "courtyard housing" (with communal courts) has been changed to layouts the emphasize openness and greenery.[57]

The ability of prototypical courtyard houses to form dense urban fabric (one of its supposed advantages) thus not only depends on very specific social arrangements, but it may communicate the wrong image in terms of perceived density and lack of trees and other visible vegetation. Often, the narrow and irregular streets of courtyard housing areas may also create problems of car-parking and access.[58] All these attributes communicate low environmental quality, in addition to making it difficult to communicate house meanings. Also, while the narrow, irregular streets found in cities made up of courtyard houses (especially in the Middle East, India, etc.) may be good climatically, and for pedestrians (although the blank walls lack the required visual complexity[59]), they raise concerns about safety. These may derive both from their form (which provides many hiding places) and their blank walls which lack "eyes in the street."

The example of the form equivalence in terms of the privacy criterion of a prototypical courtyard house and a free-standing house within a walled garden or compound mentioned earlier can be seen as a figure/ground reversal. It is found not only in certain traditional situations (in parts of Iran, Africa, etc.), but is also a new hybrid form found in Mexico, India, Africa and elsewhere, although there occasionally also seems to be a tendency for the wall to become lower, i.e., to become a fence. In addition, in Mexico City, for example, one finds houses which provide courtyard house-like privacy by being blank to the outside, provide parking, but either have no court or only a vestigial or symbolic one. At the same time they provide a larger palette of means to communicate meanings **(FIG.15)**.

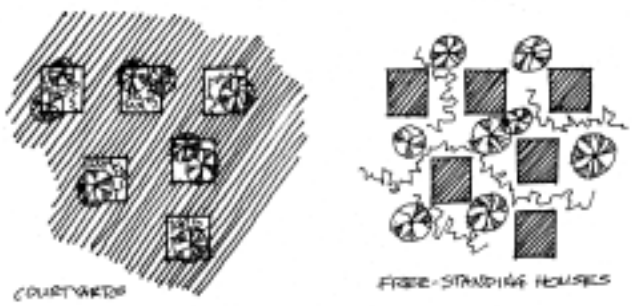


FIGURE 14. *Urban fabric and greenery.*

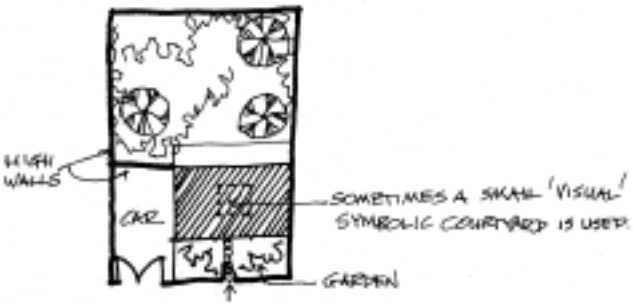


FIGURE 15. *New type of contemporary house (Mexico City), based on personal observation.*

As a result of the difficulties described above, traditional courtyard houses are being given up in China, Korea and elsewhere. In Korea, for example, I found almost a "hatred" of them — apartments having higher status than even modern single houses **(FIG.16)**.[60] In terms of the accessibility criterion, the living room (rather than the outdoor balcony) re-creates the courtyard (a situation comparable to that documented in Kwakiutl and Ibadan houses[61]). This is also the case with Puerto Rican dwellings in Boston, in which living rooms become equivalent to courts both in terms of access and the meanings communicated by semi-fixed elements.[62] This reinforces my argument that the nature of courtyards is more complex than usually thought, and that the use of multiple criteria is useful.

RECENT ATTEMPTS AT CHANGE

I conclude with "recent" attempts to introduce courtyard houses in areas where the tradition of free-standing houses has prevailed. Proposals for courtyard houses have been made a number of times (some as early as 1917) in Los Angeles, and in Southern California generally. These have been based on "Mexican" prototypes, as in the house by William T. Johnson in Coronado, CA.[63] However, although a court was present, the design was essentially for a large, outward-looking U.S. house. Moreover, the type never caught on, and few were built.

Some of the founders of the Modern Movement also proposed courtyard houses **(FIG.17)**. For instance, Philip Johnson designed such a house in Cambridge, MA, in 1942.[64] However, the "court" was really a walled front yard, and the

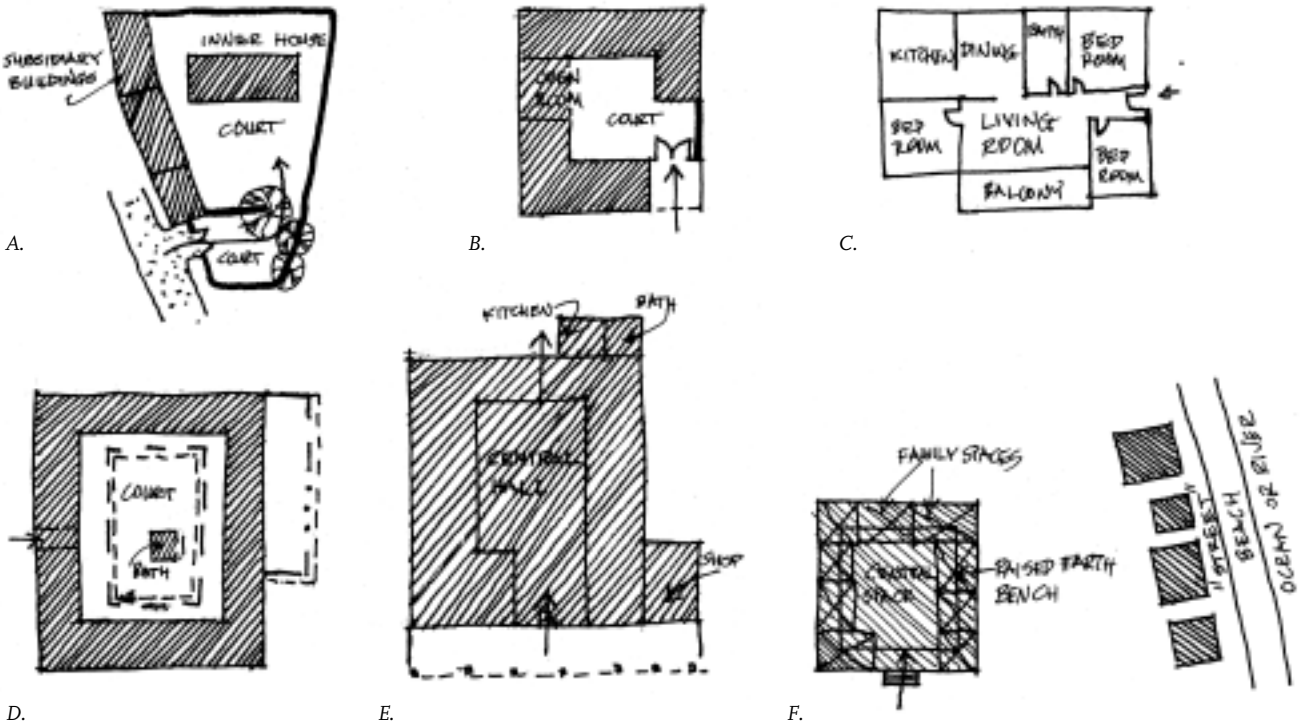


FIGURE 16. *Transitions to interior roofed spaces replacing courtyards (not to scale). A) Traditional rural dwelling in Dorae, Korea (almost every dwelling has a different configuration but the same form), based on P.-W. Han, "The Spatial Structures of Traditional Settlements: A Study of the Clan Villages in Korean Rural Areas," Ph.D. diss., National University, Seoul, 1991. B) traditional urban dwelling of Seoul, Korea, based on personal observation. C) Modern apartment in Seoul, Korea (living room is equivalent to courtyard in terms of some attributes), based on personal observation. D) Traditional compound in Ibadan, Nigeria, based on Schwerdtfeger,* Traditional Housing in African Cities, *Plan 10.2, p.126. E) New multifamily dwelling in Ibadan, Nigeria (note central hall, replacing court and acting in terms of some attributes) (compare to Kwakiutl house), based on ibid., Plan 10.3, p.127. F) Kwakiutl house in U.S. (note that central space acts as a courtyard according to some attributes), based on Rapoport,* House Form and Culture, *Fig.2.18, p.39.*

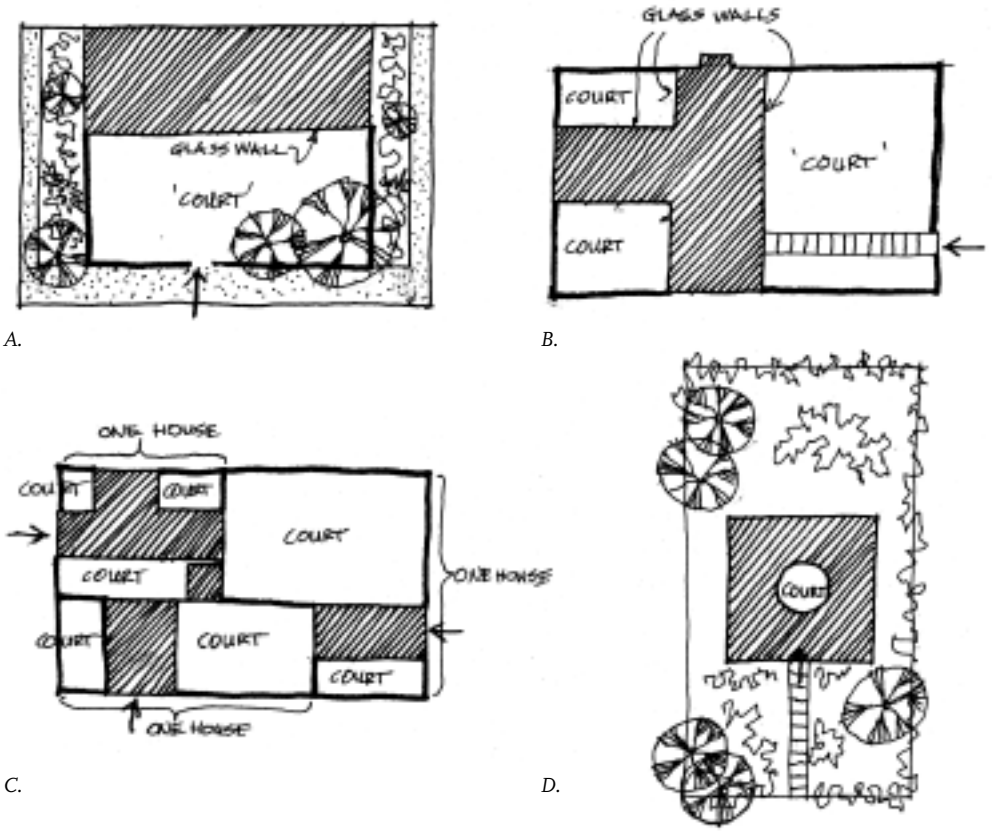


FIGURE 17. *Some modern courtyard houses (not to scale). A) Courtyard house by Philip Johnson in Cambridge, MA, 1942, based on Brower,* Good Neighborhoods. *B) House with three courtyards by Mies Van der Rohe, based on Johnson,* Mies Van der Rohe. *C) Group of three courtyard houses by Mies Van Der Rohe in the 1920s–30s, based on ibid. D) House by Roy Grounds in Melbourne, Australia, in the 1960s, based on personal observation.*

house/wall complex was free standing and surrounded by lawns, trees and shrubs. Were the wall to be lowered to fence height, the privacy attribute would disappear and the result would be a fenced suburban house — even more open than usual.

Mies Van der Rohe also designed a series of courtyard house complexes (i.e., urban fabric), with a single rectangle of walls containing both house and open space. The houses were L-, T- or I-shaped, and their walls (other than their exterior walls) were glass.[65] Five adaptations of this model were designed for specific clients, but only one small L-shaped house on a narrow lot was ever built (although, according to the plans — which are very difficult to read — it does not seem to have really been a courtyard house).[66]

Interest continued into the 1960s with books and articles.[67] Also in the 1960s, a well-known Australian architect, Roy Grounds, built a courtyard house for himself. However, the court was visual, the room access and nature of the house belonging to the other tradition.

None of these attempts proved successful in locales where courtyard houses had not been used, unlike in areas where such houses are traditional, as in the case of the Mexican houses discussed earlier. However, even there, as culture change continues, houses have tended to become more open, coming increasingly to resemble U.S. suburban houses. In some places even the urban layouts have changed, with the free-standing houses facing curved streets with thick vegetation. These are patterns that in the past communicated negative meanings, such as "Indianess" and low status.[68]

It should also be noted that the Modern Movement houses discussed above differ in many respects from courtyard houses as defined by the criteria developed in this article. Transitions among domains are permeable; most settings are located inside the houses; and access to rooms is more typical of the free-standing house. Rather, these houses have walled front yards or gardens and, occasionally, walled backyards. Moreover, the latter are usually fenced or walled in most houses. In fact, when high walls are used, they only preserve the privacy criterion.

A mental experiment may be useful. Start with a completely open front yard (U.S.), and then imagine a fenced front yard (U.K./Australia), and finally a high wall **(FIG.18)**. This latter transformation has, in fact, taken place and been studied in Melbourne, Australia, and Washington, D.C. **(FIG.19)**.[69]

In this article I have tried to determine the nature and meaning of the term "courtyard house" by asking a series of questions and beginning to develop multiple criteria that define it. The form that immediately comes to mind is what is commonly understood by the term.[70] It is the "exemplar," or clearest and most typical instance by which all others are judged. For these exemplars multiple criteria are hardly necessary.[71] Yet, clearly, a variety of other forms can be regarded as equivalent depending on a number of specific, explicit criteria.

This brief analysis is only a start, and much more work needs to be done to understand the nature of the courtyard house in all its possible manifestations and its potential relevance now and in the future.

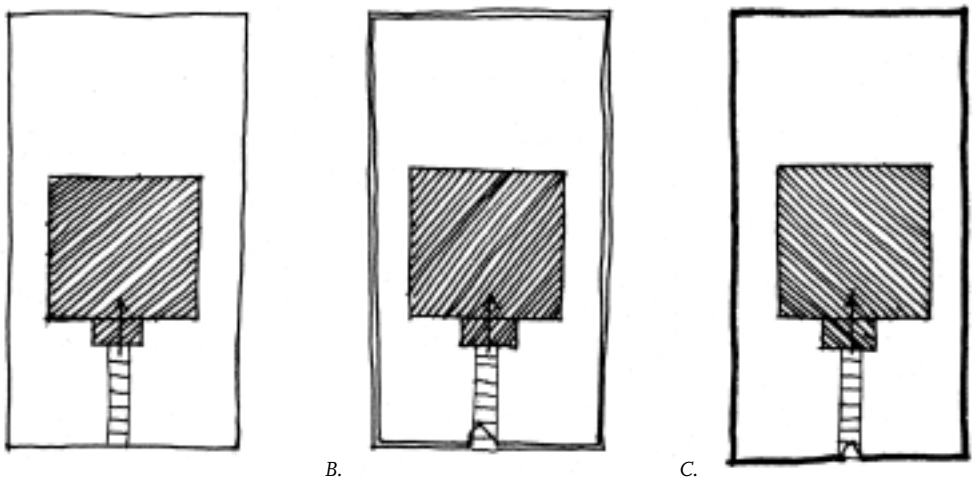


FIGURE 18. *A) House on an open lot, e.g., in the U.S. B) House on a fenced lot, e.g., in the U.K. or Australia. C) House on a lot with a high wall, e.g., in Mexico or Saudi Arabia.*

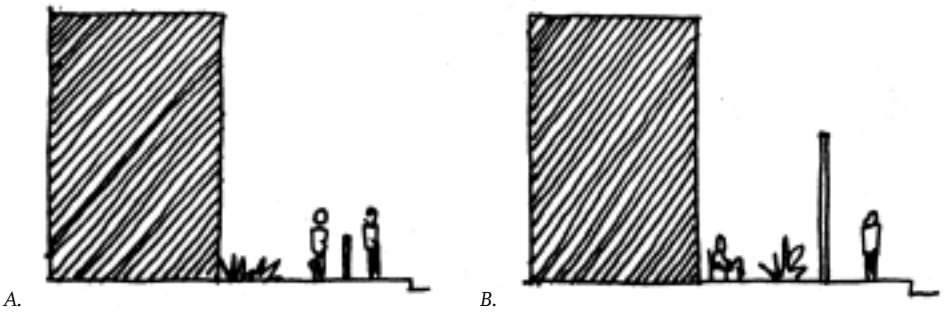


FIGURE 19. *(A) Two-story row house with a fenced front yard. B) Two-story row house with a walled front yard, based on Gehl et al.,* The Interface Between Public and Private Territories in Residential Areas, *cf. Borchert, "Alley Landscapes of Washington." Not to scale.*

REFERENCE NOTES

1. An earlier version of this article was presented at the Aga Khan Conference on the Courtyard House, MIT Department of Architecture, Cambridge, MA, April 1997. The courtyard house is, of course, only one of well more than a thousand vernacular house types. See A. Rapoport, "Vernacular Design as a Model System," in L. Asquith and M. Vellinga, eds., *Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century: Theory, Education and Practice* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2006), pp.179–80. That variety raises a puzzling but important question: Why are there so many different types of dwelling (and even settlements) when the human activities that occur in them are so much less varied? My answer is that this variety is due to the importance of latent aspects of activities. While this is relevant for understanding the courtyard house type (or any other), I do not explicitly deal with this topic here. See A. Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in S. Kent, ed., *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.11–12; and *The Meaning of the Built Environment* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990).

2. A. Rapoport, "Towards a Cross-Culturally Valid Definition of Housing," in R.R. Stough and A. Wandersman, eds., *Optimizing Environments: Research, Practice and Policy (EDRA 11)* (Washington, D.C.: EDRA, 1980), pp.310–16; "Spatial Organization and the Built Environment," in T. Ingold, ed., *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology: Humanity, Culture and Social Life* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.464; and *Culture, Architecture and Design* (Chicago: Locke Scientific, 2005) pp.19–24.

3. A. Rapoport, "Science and the Failure of Architecture," in I. Altman and K. Christensen, eds., *Environment and Behavior Studies: Emergence of Intellectual Traditions* (Vol.11 of Human Behavior and Environment) (New York: Plenum, 1990), pp.79–109.

4. For example, see G. Mekibes, "Drivkraft Till Förbättring," Ph.D. diss. in Building Function Analysis, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, 1988. This deals with Algerian spontaneous settlements (English abstract).

5. A. Rapoport, "The Pueblo and the Hogan," in P. Oliver, ed., *Shelter and Society* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1969), pp.66–79.

6. A. Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1977), pp.9–11; and *Cross-Cultural Studies and Urban Form: The 1992 LeFrak Lectures* (College Park, MD: University of Maryland, Urban Studies and Planning Program, 1993).

7. A. Rapoport, "On the Cultural Origins of Settlements," in A.J. Catanese and J.C. Snyder, eds., *Introduction to Urban Planning* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), p.54.

8. A. Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), Fig.3.12, p.68; and *Human Aspects of Urban Form*, pp.289–98, 336–40.
9. L.J. Kamau, "Semi-Public, Private and Hidden Rooms: Symbolic Aspects of Domestic Space in Urban Kenya," *African Urban Studies*, Vol.3 (Winter 1978/79), pp.105–15.
10. R.J. Lawrence, *Le Seuil Franchi . . .* (Geneva: Georg Editeur, 1986).
11. B. Shabahang and J. Phillips, "A Proposal for a New Neighborhood in Isfahan, Iran," term paper in Architecture 755, Department of Architecture, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Spring, 1980.
12. Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form*, Fig.4.3, p.200.
13. A. Rapoport, "On the Attributes of Tradition," in J.-P. Bourdier and N. AlSayyad, eds., *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), pp.77–105; "Defining Vernacular Design," in M. Turan, ed., *Vernacular Architecture* (Aldershot, U.K.: Avebury, 1990), pp.67–101; "Levels of Meaning and Types of Environments," in Y. Yoshitake et al., eds., *Current Issues in Environment-Behavior Research* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1990), pp.135–47; and "On Regions and Regionalism," in N.C. Markovich et al., eds., *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992), pp.276–80.
14. Rapoport, "Towards a Cross-Culturally Valid Definition of Housing"; "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings"; *Cross-Cultural Studies and Urban Form*; "Spatial Organization and the Built Environment"; and *Culture, Architecture and Design*.
15. J. Abu Lughod, "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case," in G. Breese, ed., *The City in Newly Developing Countries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp.376–88. Also see A. Rapoport, "The Use and Design of Open Spaces in Urban Neighborhoods," in D. Frick, ed., *The Quality of Urban Life: Social, Psychological and Physical Conditions* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), pp.159–75; *Human Aspects of Urban Form*; and "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings."
16. The Nigerian example appears in F.W. Schwerdtfeger, *Traditional Housing in African Cities* (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley, 1982).
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All drawings are by the author.

Visual Essay

Urban Funk: Globalization at the Margin

MARY G. PADUA

The promise — and the specter — of globalization has dominated efforts to understand human social environments for more than a half-century. Concepts such as modernization, the logic of industrialization, and socioeconomic development have shaped hopes for a just future and fears of cultural hegemony and neocolonialism.[1] The recognition that "underdevelopment" is a process in itself — and the attendant image of a world divided between center and periphery — sounded a wakeup call about the dark side of global capitalism more than thirty years ago.[2] In retrospect, many of those ideas seem prescient. The metropolis-periphery distinction was largely metaphor when articulated in the 1960s.[3] It has become part of everyday existence in the twenty-first century.

These questions about the nature of globalization have taken on new immediacy in recent decades. Governments have moved quickly to build a political infrastructure to support global corporations, global media, and the seamless movement of goods and money to any part of the world. In the process, the gap between the highly mobile members of a world managerial and ownership class and the remainder of the world population has grown into a chasm.

However, the nature of globalization remains elusive in many ways, and certain key questions have taken on even greater urgency.[4] Is the world splitting into a globalized sector surrounded by pockets of tradition — places where people have been excluded from the process of globalization? Or is globalization like "underdevelopment" — a process that inexorably links the marginalized with people at the industrial center and shapes the lives of both? These questions go to the heart of very basic concepts such as tradition and locality, and lie at the center of efforts to understand how people live in their physical environments.[5]

This collection of images argues for the idea that globalization is a process that involves people at the margins as deeply as the owners and managers of world capital. Globalization produces a relationship between people and social institutions that has a similar structure throughout the world. This structural similarity does not imply homogenization of culture or destruction of tradition. The production of distinctions between traditional and modern or local and global involves a similar process everywhere, but specific cultural products have distinctive local features. The commonality among local or traditional segments of society lies in the system of social relations that produces distinctions between

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IMAGE 1 Tacos Chabelita, *Los Angeles, 1997.*
Eating on the street is a basic part of everyday life for people around the globe. The highly mobile, dispersed structure of Los Angeles has produced taco stands on wheels — a modernized version of the traditional market cart, seen here on the streets of East Los Angeles.

IMAGE 2 *Hawker center, Singapore, 2000.*
In Singapore, central planning has moved vendors into organized "hawker centers" where Malay, Chinese and Indian food stands reflect the ethnic makeup of the city. This scene in a typical Singapore hawker center shows food stalls serving Malay and local "South Indian" food, a fusion of Indian and Malay Islamic cuisine distinctive to the region, that also reflects Singapore's cultural diversity.

global and local. It is a feature of the structural relationship of the marginalized to each other and to the global social and political system that has defined their place at the margins.

This emerges particularly vividly in the way people live within the built environment. Elements of local design and style may vary, but the effects of the built environment on social life — and the ways people shape the built environment through their social activities — display a common underlying structure. The purpose of this collection of photographs is to highlight that common structure. The images

IMAGE 3 ***La Mirada, Mexico City, 1995.*** *Small retail operations offer a vital opportunity for people who live outside the world of large companies and organizations. This image shows a hat seller in the old central part of Mexico City near the Zocalo (Mexico City's major public square).*

IMAGE 4 ***Horns, Hanoi, 1996.*** *The horn merchant, an informal street vendor in Hanoi, makes a modest independent living alongside the rapidly expanding industrialized economy of Vietnam.*

capture the physical and social settings where people carry out their everyday existence in cities across the globe. These images are not conventional photojournalism; the objective of the collection is analytical rather than documentary. The physical environment carries as much weight as the people within the photographs, and the two are inseparable. The images do not attempt to describe the ways that people live, rather to challenge the viewer to understand the built environment as a socio-cultural byproduct that also acts to shape social life. In the twenty-first century, this also is an understanding of globalization in its most basic form.

IMAGE 5 ***Electrical vendor, Hong Kong, 2001.***
Street stalls continue to survive in the margins of Hong Kong society. They provide a living for people who lack the skills or resources to compete in Hong Kong's modern economy, as indicated by this electrical vendor in the city's central district.

IMAGE 6 ***Quiapo, Manila, 1999.***
A vendor near the Black Nazarene Church in old Manila sells religious objects. Like street vendors in Hanoi, Mexico City, and Hong Kong, she lives by helping ordinary people meet basic material and spiritual needs.

IMAGE 7 ***Food vendor, Guangzhou, Guangdong Province, China, 2004.***
Food sellers in China are more likely to push their mobile kitchens than drive them, like the taco vendor in Los Angeles. A sweet potato vendor is shown in the streets of Guangzhou.

IMAGE 8 ***Impromptu street vendor, Montmartre, Paris, 2002.***
A street stall selling clothing is improvised on the hood of a car in Montmartre, Paris. African migrants in Paris create an informal market on the streets to buy and sell clothing, music, and daily necessities.

IMAGE 9 ***Aberdeen Street, Hong Kong, 2001.***
The Aberdeen market in Hong Kong lacks the ethnic diversity of street markets in London or Paris, but it has become an intersection of generations instead. Street selling clusters around the elderly people who favor the walkable areas of a neighborhood west of the skyscraper district of Central Hong Kong, one of the oldest local communities.

REFERENCE NOTES

The images in this essay were part of the photographic installation, "Urban Funk," held at the Goethe Institute Gallery, Hong Kong, in September 2003. The installation was supported by a grant from the Hong Kong Arts Development Council. Travel to world cities represented in it and in this visual essay was funded by a research grant from the University of Hong Kong.

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Field Report

Tradition and Thermal Performance: An Investigation of New-Vernacular Dwellings in Campinas, Brazil

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This report is based on an investigation of the thermal performance characteristics of new-vernacular houses in the region of Campinas, Brazil. The study included the administration of a questionnaire to a group of self-builders representing a segment of the local low-income population and an analysis of drawings and photographs of the houses of sample families. On the basis of this work and earlier work in the region by the authors, the report presents a discussion of the meaning of tradition in relation to thermal performance, with special consideration given to the verandah as an important design element. The results of the investigation suggest that the meaning of tradition for this population is more related to simple ways of building than to awareness of a particular local vernacular.

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The self-building process has been called the "new vernacular," and in recent decades it has been linked to the concept of tradition. The discussion here, however, questions the continuing relevance of supposedly local traditional elements to today's owner-built houses. In particular, it uses the theme of thermal performance to assess the knowledge of self-builders with regard to traditional ways of construction.

In Brazil, traditional colonial houses, especially rural ones, provide a valuable architectural legacy. In particular, this vernacular architecture incorporates specific details that improve thermal performance in hot, humid climates. Among such elements are the verandah, generous roof overhangs, tall windows, high ceilings, and thick, light-colored

exterior walls. Nowadays, owner-built houses, or the new vernacular, have lost many of these elements, and this report suggests some reasons why.

The report presents data from a case study in the region of the city of Campinas in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. This area has many owner-built houses, and this investigation is part of continuing research by the authors on them.

In broad terms, the study set out to question both the meaning of tradition, as expressed by self-builders, the origin of construction standards established by this group, and possible links between these and colonial building traditions. Construction techniques passed down through time were investigated, as was the presence of traditional building elements in self-built houses. The verandah was singled out for in-depth analysis, since verandahs (representing a broad category of architectural elements) are inexpensive to build, can both contribute to environmental comfort in Brazil's predominantly hot climate, and can add useful space to small new-vernacular dwellings.

THE VALUE OF TRADITIONAL WAYS OF BUILDING

Investigations of the humanization of architecture have linked traditional ways of building to satisfaction.[1] "Tradition" and "traditional" are common words, often found in sociological and architectural literature; however, their meaning is not precise. The literal meaning of tradition is "that which has been handed down." In relation to architecture, it therefore refers to modes of building coming from the past and sanctioned by existing practices. Since tradition mostly evokes qualities perceived as good or desirable, typical, unmodernized landscapes with barns or cottages are considered to have deep aesthetic appeal. On the other hand, "tradition," as an act, is not considered "creative."[2]

Tradition can accommodate small changes, but not radical innovation; therefore, it may have negative connotations in modern societies, which value rapid change. Tradition is also defined as being the result of selected popular wisdom and the intelligence and experience of whole generations of craftsmen and artists. It is said to be the most advanced form of collective intelligence yet devised by humanity.[3] In popular terms, "tradition" is often associated with such psychological aspects as feelings of safety, habits, or behavior related to domestic activity. Privacy, territoriality, and community spirit are other positive aspects popularly associated with tradition.

Vernacular architecture is generally considered to emerge from time-honored tradition. Hassan Fathy emphasized its importance by pointing out that traditional societies possess knowledge of great value, especially in relation to bioclimatic vernacular design.[4] The term "bioclimatic design" first appeared in English-language literature on environmental comfort in 1953 in the works of the brothers Olgyay. They defined it as follows:

> *Bioclimatic design in architecture is to ensure the existence and well-being of biological organisms within the given climatic conditions (primarily of humans, but protecting biodiversity). Bioclimatic architecture relies heavily on architectural science, especially architectural energetics, but goes well beyond that. It rejects energy-wasteful and inhuman environments and fashion-dominated architecture. It returns to basic human needs and values, [and] it encourages regionalism.*[5]

Szokolay further argued that bioclimatic design employs appropriate technologies dictated by the task and given socioeconomic conditions, therefore avoiding the trap of romantic neo-primitivism.[6]

Strategies of bioclimatic design depend on an accurate climatic definition, including monthly measures of maximum and minimum average temperatures, temperature range, solar radiation, wind direction and speed, precipitation, and relative humidity. Specific conditions suggest design strategies in a number of areas: orientation in relation to sun and wind; exterior ground treatment and landscaping; wall thickness, construction materials, and color; shading and roof design; ventilation between ceiling and roof (often termed attic ventilation); location and size of window and door openings; and the presence of cross-ventilation.

In bioclimatic design literature, examples of vernacular architecture have often been used to illustrate climate-appropriate strategies, with specific strategies being related to specific vernacular designs.[7] The value of building the traditional way — i.e., encouraging the repetition of good custom versus innovation — has been repeatedly emphasized. But this has often been done without checking for satisfaction of a full range of design needs (for example, sanitation, lighting, heating, and functional separation), leading to an attitude of romantic neo-primitivism.

Nevertheless, since traditional buildings are often rich in detail, especially as these contribute to thermal performance, it is important to emphasize that this way of building should continue to be valued, and lessons related to it should continue to be incorporated in the design of houses. Today, in particular, attention to climate-conscious traditional design may help ensure an enhanced degree of comfort, especially for low-income self-builder families.

TRADITIONAL WAYS OF BUILDING IN BRAZIL

The traditional Brazilian urban house was based on an imported Portuguese building models. Because of its colonial roots, it cannot be considered a true example of vernacular architecture **(FIG.1)**. However, rural versions exemplify a vernacular sensibility through the presence of a sheltering roof and a generous verandah **(FIGS.2,3)**.[8]

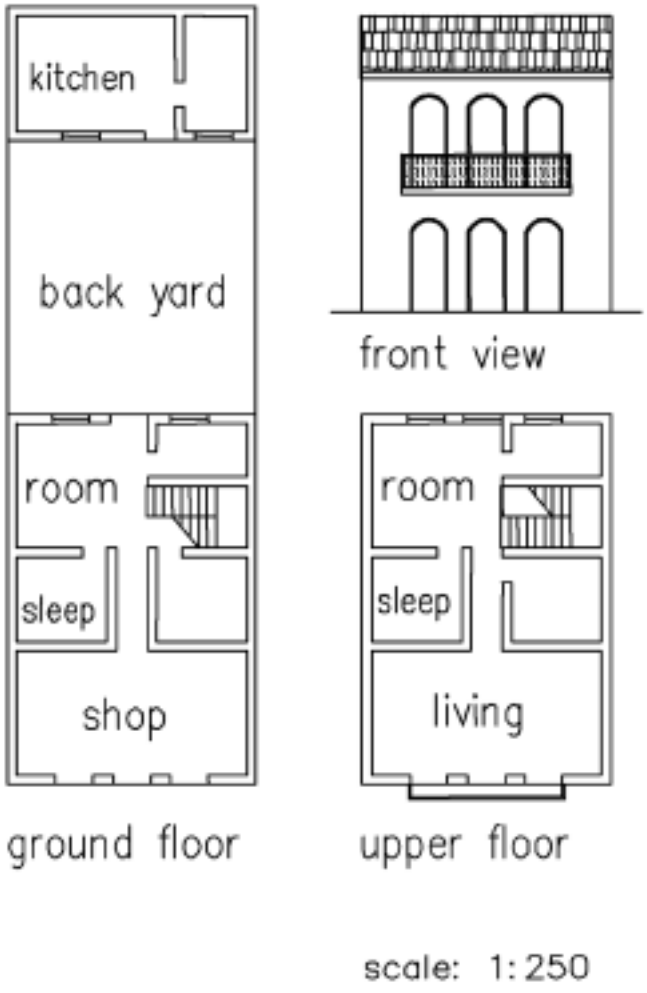

FIGURE 1. *Schematic example of Brazilian urban colonial house with triple-arch front window and windowless sleeping alcoves.*

A.

B.

FIGURE 2A (ABOVE), B (RIGHT). *Example of a Brazilian colonial rural estate house with a front verandah.*

FIGURE 3. (BELOW) *Example of Brazilian rural colonial manor house with elevated social rooms and front verandah.*

Brazilian colonial towns were composed of long, narrow lots, and, as was also customary in sixteenth-century Portugal, houses were built without setbacks, but elevated in relation to the street for privacy. Since the lots were very narrow, only the front and back areas of the house had access to natural light and ventilation. These houses also often had internal sleeping quarters, or alcoves, as shown in Figure 1.

Variations of this house type evolved over time. For example, a later version sited along the side of the lot, permitted a narrow verandah, mainly used for service and social circulation (FIG.4). In some cases this circulation space was not covered, and therefore did not technically constitute a verandah. At the end of the nineteenth century, new setbacks were enforced for sanitary reasons, and a small urban side garden became common.

The Portuguese colonial model spread over the vast Brazilian territory in forms that did not always respect the new, generally mild to hot climate. Buildings were generally built of clay, their walls thick and often whitewashed, reducing internal heat gain. Openings were generous in relation to room area, and permitted hot air to escape from tall windows. However, in relation to orientation, cross-ventilation, and shading (with either brise soleils or vegetation), the colonial vernacular was not specifically climate conscious. Vegetation was also not incorporated as a building or urban design element. On the other hand, the verandah was used to improve environmental comfort, and can be shown to be a fairly constant element in the historical development of the Brazilian house.

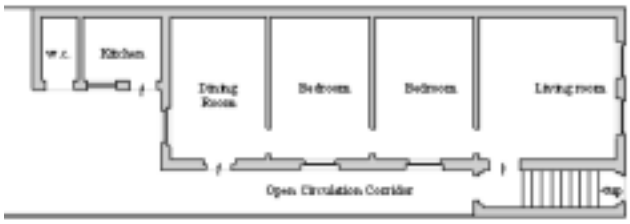

FIGURE 4. *Floor plan of a Brazilian urban nineteenth-century house on a typical long and narrow lot with a side verandah as circulation space.*

VERANDAHS AS IMPORTANT DESIGN ELEMENTS

As a general class of architectural element, verandahs can be described as semi-open, covered spaces attached to buildings. Porches, balconies and terraces can fall into this category. Verandahs provide transition from public to private space, and they can shield a house from sun and rain, improving the thermal performance of a building in a hot, humid climate. They can also provide shaded, useful space for a number of activities.

In functional terms related to residential design, the verandah can be considered an extension of the house to the outdoors. It can provide extra kitchen or living room space, or it can serve as a sleeping porch allowing residents to take advantage of cool night breezes. Verandahs can also integrate a house with its garden, or (when raised) they can facilitate observation of the street without ostensive involvement.

In the history of architecture, verandahs appear in descriptions of indigenous buildings discovered by Columbus, and are part of the vernacular architecture of many parts of the world.[9] One well-known verandah form, the *loggia* of Italian Renaissance palaces, provides indoor-outdoor articulation through an open colonnade.[10] In traditional Japanese houses, the *engawa*, marked by wooden flooring in contrast to the mats of indoor rooms, provided a similar outdoor-indoor transition space.[11] The important relation of the *engawa* to the garden was highlighted by stone steps which led up to it.

In many Asian countries today the extra space provided by the verandah, or balcony, is considered important for families living in small houses or apartments. A balcony is sometimes used to create a minute garden, a feature with great appeal in crowded cities devoid of green areas. The balcony can also serve as a private worship place. In Beijing the custom of sleeping under the stars continues on hot, humid summer nights; during the winter this same space may be used as a place to store coal for heating.[12]

The verandah has also played an important social role in many cultures. For example, it became prominent in the eighteenth century as a domestic addition to houses owned by British military personnel in India and the Caribbean.[13] The residential porch also appeared in nineteenth-century North America, where it expressed openness and provided comfort. Insect screening became a popular feature of porches in the southern United States, especially for evening use and outdoor sleeping. In most other parts of the world, however, the verandah is not screened, and can thus probably only be used in favorable conditions.

In Brazil the verandah appeared early in colonial times as a feature of large rural estate houses **(REFER TO FIGURE 3)**. In such houses the social rooms were often elevated, and many front entrances were preceded by a generous verandah which served as an observation post and extension of the parlor for visitors. Thus, the verandah was part of a privacy gradient, allowing only family and close friends to be admitted to indoor spaces.

The medieval Portuguese urban house did not have generous verandahs, however, and neither did its Brazilian urban counterpart. As shown in Figures 1 and 4, it may have had a narrow front balcony on the second floor to observe the street, featuring wooden privacy screens, a design feature imported from Arab architecture. A utilitarian rear verandah, as an extension to the kitchen, was also common; and in many simple houses the kitchen itself was defined only by a roof extension or porch, since cooking could be a hot, dirty activity.[14]

In the nineteenth century verandahs became more prevalent in urban housing. They served as an extension of indoor spaces for many domestic activities, and were often integrated with the new urban garden. The middle-class house of the 1930s and 40s valued the verandah as a family and leisure space. Houses could even have several verandahs in various forms: balconies, terraces, or front and back porches. Simpler houses often had a front verandah to observe city life and a back porch for service activities, such as washing and drying clothes and cooking over a wood-fueled stove or oven.

Brazilian residential architecture has been continually influenced by European stylistic developments. Thus, in Brazilian modernist houses of the 1920s and afterward, terraces were typically covered not by a lowering of the roofline, but by an extension of the roof slab. This made sun protection less efficient; indeed, the terrace was often added to the design as an aesthetic feature only. However, in the 1950s architects like Lucio Costa revived the functions of the colonial verandah as a shaded outdoor space linked to the social activities of the house. Trellises also appeared to lower the roofline and increase sun control.

However, in the 1960s and 70s family activities around the television reduced the importance of the verandah in the typical Brazilian home.[15] In upper-class houses the arrival of air conditioning contributed to this loss. Urban crime rates have also had an effect, forcing most domestic activities indoors to rooms with barred windows.

In the last twenty years greater importance has been given to natural conditioning of spaces through the concepts of bioclimatic architecture.[16] It has been recognized that a verandah can provide a shaded air cushion for the most exposed facades of a house, reducing indoor heat gain. It can also shade window

glass, avoiding the greenhouse effect; and the long overhang of a verandah can protect windows during rainstorms, allowing them to be kept open to provide a cooling effect.

The verandah has also been noted for the important role it may play in the humanization of architecture. Researchers frequently stress its ability to provide a transition, an extension of the house that integrates indoor and outdoor spaces and creates a place for social contact and contemplation of nature. Alexander et al. included the verandah in design recommendations for integrating indoor and outdoor living spaces; however, they argued that verandahs must be adequately dimensioned for domestic activities, and recommended a minimum two-meter depth.[17]

Such recommendations, however, may not be valid when questions of cost arise, as in the case of Brazilian self-builders. In Brazilian cities, economic problems and urban pressures force families to build on very small lots. Under these conditions the porch is often eliminated from the architectural program of self-built houses, and priority is given instead to indoor functional areas. Moreover, in government housing developments, even though a verandah may be part of the original design, it is frequently turned into additional indoor space by occupants.[18]

THE LOCAL SELF-BUILDING PHENOMENON

Self-building of homes by owner-families is the predominant mode of housing production in many parts of the world, and various authors have hailed it as a positive force for reducing the enormous housing deficit. Several aspects of this phenomenon have been studied, including the evolution of self-built construction over time and its relation to the meaning of home. Some studies have, however, lamented the alienation of self-built houses from tradition and the lack of construction quality in the vast areas of self-built houses on the outskirts of cities worldwide.[19]

In Brazil, around 60 percent of housing production is self-built.[20] There has been no national housing program in Brazil since 1986, leaving low-income families few options other than informal residential production. As a result slums have appeared near city centers, and self-built houses have been constructed on the urban fringes.

Brusky and Fortuna have divided the low-income population of Brazil into three groups in relation to the minimum wage (MW), which in 2005 was approximately US $150 per month.[21] Salaries from 0 to 2 MW typify a very low-income group; from 2 to 3 MW a low-level group; and from 3 to 6 MW a medium-low group. Self-builders correspond to the second and third tiers, but their income is generally insufficient to acquire a home through the regular housing market, which is aimed at middle- and upper-income families.

A distinction should be noted here between self-building and spontaneous construction by squatters.[22] In Brazil, as in many developing countries, spontaneous housing occurs on land without tenure through clandestine occupation or invasion. This type of building, in so-called *favelas*, is synonymous with extreme poverty, and the poor housing quality in these slums has many negative impacts on their inhabitants, as well as on the urban environment as a whole.

In contrast, most owner-built settlements in Brazil occur on land acquired with tenure, as part of sanctioned urban growth. This phenomenon has been widespread in the region of Campinas. The city of Campinas is located about 100 kilometers from São Paulo, and as São Paulo has grown into the most populous city in Brazil, there has been a spillover impact on Campinas. In the last forty years the city region has doubled in population to approximately one million inhabitants.[23] This growth has occurred mainly at the fringes of the city through subdivisions, which may be entirely private, or in some cases may be supported by the municipal government.

Access to urban land by a large low-income population, through the acquisition of lots from small land speculators or local government housing agencies, allows the speedy construction of crude minimum houses. Once occupied, these are then continually modified, and can take twenty years or more to be finished. Because the self-building process lacks proper design and planning stages, the result is frequent transformation during a lengthy construction period.[24]

An extensive study of self-built houses, considering the characteristics of self-construction, house ownership, and income level, was undertaken in the city of Campinas in 1994 by Kowaltowski et al.[25] Five among the 97 self-built settlements and three of 33 public housing developments in the region were randomly selected. A total of 64 self-built houses and 95 single-family units in public developments were then selected for more extensive study. Public housing projects were included in the sample, because owners extensively modify their units after occupation, and so they can to some extent be considered "owner-rebuilt."

As part of the study, owners were asked a series of standard questions about family size, construction detailing, house evolution, satisfaction, preferences, and habits. The houses were then extensively observed, analyzed and classified as to plan type. Important features, such as functional building area, number of rooms, and finishing details, were also recorded. Environmental comfort was specifically assessed through an analysis of window and door orientations, provisions for ventilation and shading, and use of construction materials and exterior wall colors. A shorter questionnaire on preferences of plan type and house facades was further tested in 404 homes to gain information for the development of a technical aid system.[26]

From these results, it was possible to conclude that self-built houses predominantly follow the specific schematic plan shown as Type 1 in the accompanying drawing **(FIG.5)**. This house is based on a program of two bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, and bathroom, with a small outside service or

FIGURE 5. *Schematic site plans and elevations of predominant types of self-built houses in the Campinas region.*

laundry area. The second most common plan, with a one-bedroom program, is shown as Type 2, and is found at the back of the lot. Type 3 is a common variation of Type 2 with two possible orientations along the sides of a lot.

An analysis of facades as part of the 1994 study indicated that many self-builders imitate the stylistic tendencies of houses in the middle-class suburbs in Campinas, which often try to reproduce the local colonial style. This "colonial" style often makes use of a triple-arched window (REFER TO FIG.1). However, such reference to older models, possibly indicating the permanence of tradition, is not carried beyond the front facade, and little consideration is shown for other important attributes of tradition. The claim that the self-building process gives rise to what are often characterized as new traditional environments must therefore be carefully qualified.

Rapoport has devised an important approach to analyzing a specific form of building as vernacular or traditional.[27] This collection of attributes of traditionality and additional product and process characteristics of the vernacular were useful for the analysis of owner-built settlements in Campinas.

The first set of Rapoport's attributes is primarily concerned with the definition of traditionality, and many statements were found to not be applicable to owner-built houses in Campinas. In particular, the local case employed a Western development model and did not involve ritualistic elements and strong symbolisms. What could be singled out for valid discussion in relation to both the traditional Brazilian house and new self-building were the following attributes: small scale; reliance on social conventions; informal controls; little individual selection or expression; acceptance of things (especially well-being, status and technology); schemata and models; working by example; non-reflectiveness; a self-evident or natural way of doing things; accepting the past; rejecting or ignoring modernism; conservatism; repetition; slow change; low novelty; little variability; limited material resources; not wholly economically rational; not essentially technological; with diffuse knowledge and skills; and with low work or activity specialization.

Attributes which do not apply to the Brazilian vernacular in its traditional form and the new urban evolution were as follows: grass-roots; high level of local authority; strong constraints (other than economic and physical lot conditions); group oriented; low conflict; not market oriented; and land seen in terms of social relations.[28]

Due mainly to low-quality design solutions, local new-vernacular dwellings were found in many cases to present low environmental comfort levels, especially in terms of thermal qualities.[29] The local new-vernacular was found therefore to lack most of the positive characteristics of traditional Brazilian architecture — which has been singled out for special praise for its intelligent solutions to climatic problems.

The Campinas region has a mixed climate. Summers are hot and humid. Winters are mild, dry, characterized by strong solar radiation during the day and cool nights with clear skies. The research showed that most self-builder families are unaware of important design issues related to such climate conditions.[30] In particular, awareness of the orientation of openings, cross-ventilation, and the positive effect of verandahs was not deliberately and adequately incorporated in the design of houses. To improve this situation and increase the quality of houses, a better understanding of the

self-building phenomenon is needed, including investigation of the design references used by this population. This understanding may then be incorporated into design assistance programs for low-income families in Brazil.

THERMAL PERFORMANCE AND TRADITION IN THE LOCAL NEW VERNACULAR

To expand knowledge on the new vernacular, a further investigation of owner-built houses was undertaken in the region of Campinas in 2002. As a continuation of the 1994 work, new questionnaires were administered to a sample of self-builder families, and sample houses were studied through drawings and photographs.

The study specifically set out to investigate the meaning of tradition in relation to house design and construction. As such, it took into account background data on interviewees such as their age, sex, place of birth, and employment. Studies on the humanization of architecture and the historical development of the Brazilian house were used to formulate the questionnaire. The results of this inquiry are presented here in table form **(TABLES 1,2)**.

A special effort was made in the design of the questionnaire to employ iconography that could be easily understood by self-builders. This iconography is represented in Table 2, along with the evaluations and observations made by the sample population. Other observations were made on traditional elements found in sample houses, and builders were asked to evaluate the importance of these elements in relation to thermal peformance. Knowledge of concepts of bioclimatic architecture were also tested, and the results were analyzed through simple percentage representations.

Due to difficulties in obtaining precise data on the number of owner-built houses in the region of Campinas, the study sample was based on known self-built neighborhoods. Data from the local housing agency (Cohab-Campinas) was also used to define the sample. In the end, five neighborhoods, with a minimum urban infrastructure, and where families had bought their residential lots, were selected. The sample was divided proportionately according to the size of the five neighborhoods and comprised a total of 151 lots, representing approximately 10 percent of the total number of lots (1,654) in these areas. The selection of the individual houses was based on an effort to cover the total area of each neighborhood. The final sample of questionnaires was divided as follows: Jardim São José, 69; Jardim São Luís, 64; Jardim Aruanã, 8; Jardim Conceição, 6; and Jardim Anchieta, 6.

The fieldwork was undertaken in November 2002, under summer conditions, and questionnaires were always applied during the day so that opinions on thermal performance related directly to hot conditions. All residents were asked for permission to have the researchers draw the plan of their houses and photograph their front facades.

The accompanying images exemplify some of the houses of the study **(FIGS.6,7)**. As can be seen, a wide range of house designs is present in the owner-built suburbs of Campinas. The house plans follow the schematics presented in Figure 5, but larger houses and even two-story examples exist. However, most examples were very small houses with no external finishing.

When comparing traditional vernacular architecture with these new urban dwellings, one notices the loss of several important elements. For example, the self-built dwellings lack efficient use of resources and a good relation to natural elements such as vegetation.[31] This means that an effective response to climate can only be sustained through the use of adequate building materials.

One important finding of the study was that when asked to define the "traditional house," most people described a simple house with few rooms. This was also considered the most common house, equal to the ones built by government housing agencies. When asked to rate the "concept of tradition" in relation to housing, the majority of people considered it positive, although they associated it with simplicity, and even poverty.

The answers in relation to images of house facades reinforce the idea that, among low-income populations, what is common is considered traditional **(REFER TO TABLE 2)**. These results also reinforce the idea that the population associates their own desired house with the concept of traditional architecture, and that this concept is not linked to historical examples of Brazilian colonial architecture. Some results did attribute tradition to old buildings; but in this case the reference was to a more classic meaning of tradition.

The architectural program of the traditional house, as described by owner-built families, also had little to do with the colonial house and its historical functions. For example, the windowless sleeping nooks seen in Figure 1 have been forgotten. Instead, most sample respondents described their desired house program as generally similar to that of middle-class houses in the Campinas region. This includes three bedrooms, a living room, dining area, kitchen, two bathrooms, closed-in laundry, and covered parking attached to the house for two cars.

Sample respondents did not specifically understand the concept of thermal performance. In answer to questions, they described the attributes of a desired comfortable house, not building construction elements that might provide adequate and healthy conditions. When asked to relate specific traditional building elements to thermal comfort, the majority of respondents considered high ceilings most important. New-vernacular houses must comply with local code requirements stipulating a minimum ceiling height of 2.70m for habitable rooms. By contrast, urban Brazilian colonial houses often had ceilings as high as 3.50m or more. A ceiling slab was also considered important by most people, although colonial houses did not have this feature. Morning sun in the bedrooms was mentioned as a positive design aspect, but the analysis of sample houses did not confirm an easterly location for sleeping quarters.

Table 1. Case study results: opinions of the population of self-builders and observations of houses.

No.	Item of inquiry	Response (majority or percent)
1	Origin of self-builder families	Campinas region
2	Urban or rural background	Urban
3	Sex of respondent	Women
4	Profession of respondent	Housewife or domestic help
5	Family income	Between US $50 and $250
6	Family size	From 3 to 5 members
7	Size of building site	~150m²
8	Number of houses on the site	1
9	Indoor (functional) area	From 25 to 128m², majority ~40m²
10	Definition of a traditional house	Simple, common house (few rooms)
11	Rating of the concept of tradition:	In general = positive
12	Rating tradition and house construction	Considered to represent simplicity and poverty
13	Architectural program of a traditional house	• 2 bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bathroom • The desired house program included a dining nook, third bedroom, garage and laundry • Common present day program • Colonial house program not known
14	Construction details that relate to thermal comfort, in order of importance	1. Type of roof tile 2. Verandah 3. Vegetation around the house 4. Room size 5. Size of openings 6. Ceiling slab 7. Orientation of openings 8. Morning sun 9. Long roof overhang 10. Type of window 11. External wall thickness 12. Type of construction material of external walls 13. External wall color not considered 14. Roof design (shape) to prevent rain infiltration
15	Construction details not incorporated in house design that might improve thermal comfort	• Verandah • Vegetation • Orientation of openings • Size of openings • Thick external walls • Light external colors
16	Construction details that have a negative effect on thermal comfort	• Small openings • High lot walls • Orientation of openings unrelated to predominant wind direction • Site paved with concrete around structures
17	Verandahs	• Present in 40 percent of previous house • Present in 30 percent of present house • Predominant use for laundry • 24 percent with simple benches (sitting and chatting) • Simple roof extension • Narrow covered area • Incorporation into the indoor space not intended • Important place to gather the family and relax (25 percent) • Used to observe street-life (15 percent) • Importance as an indoor temperature control element recognized by 80 percent • Valued it as a shading device • Reduction in indoor air speed recognized by 10 percent • Protection element against rain recognized by 87 percent

Table 2. Case study results: rating by the population of self-builders of examples of house facades.

Examples of houses, ratings, and opinions
Rating house design references

A

1. 17 percent considered this urban colonial house traditional
2. Design elements associated to tradition:
   - Simple facade
   - Arched windows
   - Old
   - Belonging to history
3. Traditional design elements related to thermal comfort:
   - High ceilings (66 percent)
   - Hidden roof (12 percent)
   - Tall windows (6 percent)

B

1. Considered traditional by 47 percent of respondents
2. Design elements associated to tradition:
   - Most common type of house in the region
   - Presence of a garage
   - Simple roof line
3. Considered most comfortable by 30 percent of respondents

C

1. Considered traditional by 6 percent of respondents
2. Design elements associated to tradition:
   - Simple facade

D

1. Considered traditional by 24 percent of respondents
2. Design elements associated to tradition:
   - Rural (garden) setting
   - Presence of verandah
3. Considered most comfortable by the majority of respondents

External wall thickness was considered an important construction detail, but external wall colors were not recognized as having an influence on heat gain. Vegetation around the house was seen as an important factor in thermal performance, but in reality few trees have been planted, and bare earth surrounded most houses. Concrete paving was also common around dwellings, and in general, ease of cleaning and maintenance were major factors cited in the choice of exterior materials. Because of concerns for security, a two-meter-high wall was seen as essential around the perimeter of a lot. Sample

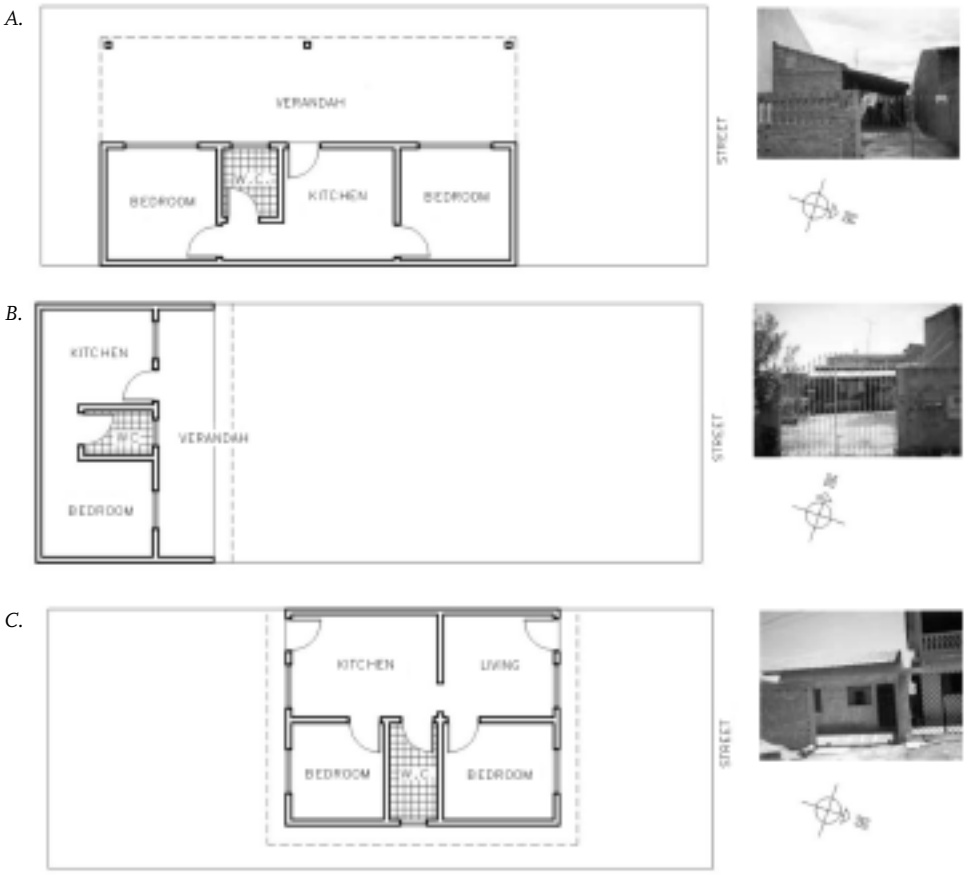

FIGURE 6A–C (RIGHT). *Examples of one-story self-built houses from the 2002 survey in the region of Campinas.*
FIGURE 7 (BELOW). *Example of a two-story self-built house from the 2002 survey in the Campinas region.*

respondents did not recognize these walls as wind barriers with a negative effect on thermal comfort within the house.

Attitudes toward verandahs were investigated in depth. Only one-third of the sample houses had verandahs, most being simple extensions of the eaves. Few porches were large enough for domestic activities, although the back porch was considered important as a service or laundry area. The accompanying photos show some examples of houses with porches as simple roof extensions **(FIG.8)**.

In general, the population did recognize the verandah's importance as an indoor temperature control element and shading and rain protection device. However, the orientation

A. *B.*

FIGURE 8A,B. *Examples of self-built houses from the 2002 survey in the Campinas region, with simple roof-extension porches.*

of actual verandahs did not follow specific sun-shading recommendations. Rather, the position primarily reflected the siting of houses in relation to the street.

QUALITY OF THE LOCAL NEW VERNACULAR

Some conclusions can be made from the results of these investigations. Most significantly, the self-builder population of the Campinas region does not have a clear understanding of traditional building as a historical concept. Although most consider "tradition" positive, they primarily associate the traditional house with a simple dwelling.

The verandah is considered an essential element of the traditional house; however, it is not recognized as essential in its identification. Arched windows and doors are given more importance; yet while these are often part of the Brazilian traditional house facade, they also belong to the present-day aesthetic desires of the sample population. The verandah is rated highly as a building element that improved thermal performance. However, the population does not seem to have a strong attachment to it, since only service porches (laundry areas) are built today.

At the same time, some myths exist in relation to thermal performance among self-builders. In particular, although high ceilings are not present in self-built houses, the population attributes internal thermal comfort essentially to this feature. According to bioclimatic architectural recommendations, proper roof detailing and insulation can substitute for the positive effect of high ceilings. Thus, in practice, an adequate ceiling slab or insulated wooden ceiling, a ventilated attic, and moisture-absorbing roofing materials (such as ceramic tiles) can compensate for the lack of a high ceiling. This indicates that the local self-builder population has only a superficial understanding of the role of building components in improving thermal performance.

To better correspond to the definition of the vernacular, self-built houses clearly need adjustments to their design, especially concerning environmental performance as related to light, air, sunshine and indoor temperature. To improve thermal comfort, there should be greater concern for ventilation, insulation, and the thermal resistance of materials. Through the principles of bioclimatic design it should be possible to add climate-responsive attributes to the small suburban houses in Campinas in ways that take account of socioeconomic factors.

Analyzing the program of traditional and local self-built houses, one also notes the disappearance of the sleeping alcoves of the colonial house. These dark, unventilated spaces existed for reasons of privacy and security. Self-builders today prefer the healthier bedroom with windows, which offers the chance for proper ventilation and lighting. However, the size of window openings is not necessarily related to bedroom area, indicating that self-builders are unaware of the importance of this relationship. Instead, cost is the main factor in choosing windows, meaning these are often inadequately sized.

With regard to window position, self-builders state that there is a relationship between solar orientation and comfort. However, a self-builder determines the location of the house first, and consequently the orientation of the openings — in relation to the street, not the sun. This practice is attributed to the difficulty of siting the minimum program on a small, narrow lot.

The fact that the population considered house "d" in Table 2 the most comfortable house is one indication that most people are aware of the importance of vegetation for thermal comfort. The role of greenery as a humanizing design element has been confirmed by Kowaltowski.[32] But again, reality does not reflect opinion, since most self-built houses have few trees, and streets are largely devoid of vegetation. Most data on tradition and the vernacular stress the importance of this relation, and point out that architectural form grows out of deep understanding of climate and

nature.[33] A profound relation with nature seems to have been lost. This understanding needs to be recovered if self-built suburbs are to become better places through the provision of favorable microclimates and a conscious collaboration of the population in the preservation of vegetation.[34]

The authors' experience with a design assistance program for low-income families gave further insights into the specific needs of this population in terms of improving the designs of their homes.[35] Principally, self-builders need access to technical arguments behind good practice. For example, they need to be told how the high level of solar exposure in subtropical climates makes shading using roof overhangs, verandahs and trees necessary. A discussion of lot conditions and the position and orientation of the house could also help avoid design features which may negatively affect function, comfort and privacy. Experience has also shown that the dreams of owner-builders are complex and may not always be feasible on small lots. For example, many families expect to be able to solve more than their own housing problems.

A further conclusion is that the local building tradition is still fairly intact, with simple design forms and use of ceramic materials for walls and roofing. However, other traditional elements have been lost, such as thick outer walls, large and high openings, and generous verandahs for leisure and kitchen activities. There is a further tendency to substitute low-cost readymade products, such as standard-sized doors and windows, for products that could improve thermal performance. This tendency shows a lack of deeper understanding about the relation between design and comfort.

Further investigations are needed to improve local housing quality, including technical measurements to accurately establish the conditions of owner-built houses. These should include an assessment of the influence of verandahs on lighting and thermal conditions in typical self-built houses. The verandah, as a transition space and a climate-mitigating element in a region with hot and humid summers, should be part of the local residential design repertoire, and ways should be found to encourage a renewed use of covered, shaded open spaces in housing. Building porches should be recommended, especially on western facades and to provide poor families with an inexpensive comfortable extension of their functional space.

Ventilation conditions also need further investigation, since the proper placement and dimensioning of windows can positively influence thermal performance in hot, humid climates. Furthermore, the presence of vegetation around the house and along streets must be assessed. Self-built environments, with and without vegetation, need to be evaluated to improve awareness of the value of vegetation.

In general, this study of the new vernacular has revealed a less than desirable level of construction quality in large numbers of houses in the Campinas region. This can be attributed to the loss of traditional construction and comfort elements in the design and building of houses. The fundamental basis of self-built houses, namely size and shape of the urban lot, must be investigated, due to its stunting influence. Often the layout of new-vernacular settlements is not ideal for the siting of desirable house designs. Orientation of streets does not take into account sun exposure or prevailing wind direction, and owner-builders possess little understanding of technical concepts of thermal performance to compensate for the flaws in individual house designs.

A TENUOUS LINK

This study has shown that the link to traditional ways of building in Brazil is tenuous. The many discussions in architectural literature calling for a renewed interest in the vernacular must therefore be qualified in the Brazilian context.

Globalization's influence on architecture and urban developments has been questioned recently, and the search for local environmental flavor is increasingly discussed in this context. People are seen as being tired of the leveling effects of sameness, seeking a foothold in the past and a sense of tradition. Attempts are being made, especially in housing projects, to reinstate continuity with the past and return to vernacular traditions. As Rowe has stated, "it is the distinctly regional nature of most vernacular traditions that is advantageous in resisting the homogenizing influence of modernity, and hence a source of future possibilities."[36]

When looking at the local new vernacular, on the other hand, it becomes clear that this building activity is less about resisting the temporal destruction of spatial distinctions than about aspirations. Typical owner-built houses, at least in the Brazilian urban context, invariably imitate a perceived middle-class style of building, which is removed from local colonial vernacular traditions. Rowe has discussed such imitations as an attempt to legitimize otherwise less than adequate conditions and provide a sense of social stability for self-builder families.[37]

While in some countries architectural tendencies have found positive inspiration in the traditional ways of building, in Brazil, the new vernacular has lost its historical link, and efforts are necessary to improve housing production among owner-builders through innovative and responsible assistance programs and educational efforts.[38]

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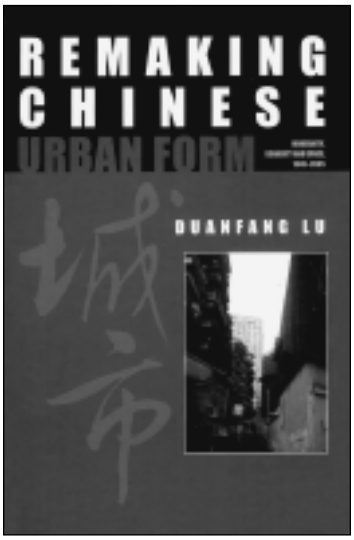
All drawings and photographs are by the authors.

Book Reviews



Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949–2005. Duanfang Lu. London: Routledge, 2006. 204 pp.

Remaking Chinese Urban Form is a work that anyone interested in the question of China and urban planning must read. Yet, in many ways, it is also much more. Bursting with new ideas, the author takes the reader on a barnstorming tour of issues and problems that have afflicted Chinese architecture and urban planning over the last fifty or so years. Duanfang Lu moves from questions of architecture into those of urban planning, from an approach that resembles human geography into one that is heavily based in ethnography. Her work moves across Chinese classical history with as much ease as it crosses the boundaries of China and through border checks into the Soviet Union. This bold and innovative approach pays dividends, and while I might not agree with every argument, I was left with an impression of both detailed archival scholarship and rare imagination in the field of China studies.

Lu's basic contention is that China has been caught on the horns of two forms of modernism — one socialist, the other Third World. If the former dreamed of abundance, the latter realized the limitations imposed by scarcity. If the former made one dream, the latter woke one up. The result of this split has been that post-1949 urban planning in the PRC has in part taken the form of a tug of war between sometimes competing notions. I will come back to this momentarily. But let me first describe the "lay of the land."

Organized around critical moments and themes in urban design, Lu's work begins somewhat universally with an examination of the concept of the "neighborhood unit." She traces its influence in China both as a Western modernist import to Republican China and as a metamorphosed form brought by Soviet experts in the 1950s in plans for the microdistrict.

From this, she moves seamlessly, and quite obviously, to what she calls the "work unit urbanism" that ended up dominating urban China until the latter days of economic reform. Simply put, if the microdistrict could provide the organization of suburbs, work units could provide the organization of communities. Yet work units were an unusual form of community insofar as they were built around places of work, and came, with varying degrees of success, to provide for all of life's needs (hospitals, schools, housing, employment, entertainment, etc). Often built behind compound walls, they also formed what Lu calls "urban villages," helping make Chinese cities under socialism, "less of an urban place." Ultimately, therefore, what made them distinctive was that they became the very basis of a Chinese notion of community, such that even people's ontological sense of individual being was tied to them.

It was the work unit more than anything that helped transform the Chinese city. As Lu notes, from 1949 onward, a campaign was undertaken to transform existing "cities of consumption" into "cities of production." After more or less successfully completing this task by

the late 1950s, China then embarked on one of its most utopian moments, the building of "people's communes." During the Great Leap Forward, these were heralded as the very sprouts of communism. In them, free public canteens replaced meals from home, allowing pots, pans and woks from individual kitchens to be melted down to increase steel production and the spin doctors of socialism to boast wildly of plans to overtake Britain in industrial production in fifteen years.

However, to reach such a high-flying target, everyone would need to be mobilized. Hence, if the work unit system flagged a "rustified" Chinese city, the communes marked its militarization. The result, as is now well known, was disastrous. Millions would die trying to bring about an impossible dream, and the cutbacks and rethinking that followed would lead not only to the closure of urban planning departments, but to the walling off of radical thinking.

As Lu explains in the chapter that follows, these weren't the only walls that were going up: real walls were being built all across Chinese cities, as work units set about establishing areas of jurisdiction. The paradox she plays on here in the case of Beijing is that as these new walls were going up, the ancient city walls were being raided for bricks, tiles and soil. And this obsession and "morphing" of the walled continues today with the construction of luxury apartments surrounded by security fences.

However, not everyone lives within the walls of luxury-serviced apartments. And Lu's travels with migrant workers help show the stratification of Beijing in the era of reform. In these discussions, she documents the dual vision of modernity and scarcity, all the time playing with Ernst Bloch's notion of the "not-yet" quality of utopian projects.

There are areas I would have liked Lu to focus more on, both in terms of architecture and broader cultural themes. For example, more could have been presented on the symbolism of the city. And she could have led us from the Ten Great Projects of the Great Leap Forward right through to the Olympic sites of today. After all, as Lewis Mumford once remarked, the city was the first utopia, and Chinese cities have represented different utopias in different periods. Hence, more on that utopian element and the abundant and excessive enthusiasm and exuberance it required would have been interesting to present alongside the idea of a state suffering acutely from (material) scarcity. A little more time developing the writing and suturing in the final ethnographic chapter and epilogue would also have been warranted.

Notwithstanding these minor, somewhat critical comments, I found this to be an extremely interesting book that deserves to be widely read and studied. I enjoyed reading it and learned much from it. I suspect other readers will too. ■

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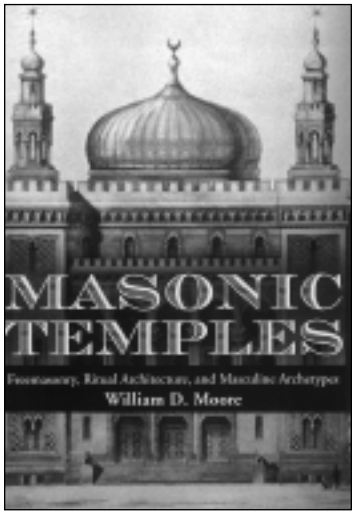
Masonic Temples: Freemasonry, Ritual Architecture, and Masculine Archetypes. William D. Moore. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006. 216 pp., ill.



As a graduate student in Berkeley, California, I attended Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services in the main hall of a local Masonic lodge. Lost on the way to the restrooms, I passed through a storage room piled high with what I assumed were ritual objects — richly brocaded robes and costumes, sheathed swords, heavy gilded ritual manuals, and a fancy lectern, among other treasures. The meaning of this assemblage of Masonic material culture, of the building itself, and of the Masonic symbols purposefully and copiously situated throughout it, remained a mystery to me until I read William D. Moore's *Masonic Temples: Freemasonry, Ritual Architecture, and Masculine Archetypes.*

Masonic Temples is cleanly written, persuasively argued, and generously documented both in terms of archival evidence and images. Building on Moore's dissertation research, it focuses on Masonic culture in the state of New York between 1870 and 1930. Extensive literature on Freemasonry already exists, but this excellent study breaks new ground as the first scholarly analysis of Masonic buildings — which, during this period, became a ubiquitous presence in America. While many of us can construct a mental image of a Masonic hall in our city or town, how many have any idea how the buildings have been used and what goes on inside?

One of the most compelling features of the book for this reader was its evocative structure. Moore has organized its six chapters in parallel to a typical Masonic initiate's journey through Freemasonry's rituals and spaces. The two initial chapters explore the fraternity's first two degrees, the Blue Lodge or Craft degrees, and their associated spaces — lodge rooms. Chapter Three discusses the armories and drill halls in which militaristically inclined practitioners of the York Rite transformed themselves into metaphoric Knights Templar. The fourth chapter is about the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry and the increasingly theatrical nature of its spaces and practices during this period. The spaces of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (popularly known as "the Shriners") and their encouragement of a new masculinity based on personality (and specifically the traits of the fool) are the subjects of the penultimate

chapter. The book concludes with an overview of the meaning of the buildings in which the above ritual spaces were housed. Moore's central argument is that these spaces and rituals informed the construction of four masculine archetypes for Masonic initiates: the heroic artisan, the righteous warrior, the adept (or wise man), and the jester or fool. All of the Masonic initiates were, of course, male.

Moore's decision to discuss Masonic buildings from the perspective of their users, an approach pioneered by scholars of vernacular architecture, gives this study an anthropological quality. It allows the reader to tap into the excitement the initiates must have felt as they underwent the order's rituals. Moore's ethnographic approach to both written and visual source material draws the reader (to the extent possible for a total outsider) to the center of different Masonic ritual experiences. It unites architectural history and anthropology, including re-creating the environments and experiences of nineteenth-century American Masons. One eventually comes to wonder how it would be possible to understand Masonic culture of any period and place *without* knowing how its buildings and objects informed and were informed by ritual processes.

With both ethnography and history in mind, Moore also does a good job balancing the qualities that were exotic, arcane, and "other" within Masonic culture with the equally important strands of practice that were local and broadly typical of ritual or religious practice in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America. Like the most fruitful recent work in architectural history, Moore's is a sensitively contextual study of a particular group of people and objects. For example, he describes how a Masonic building boom was sparked in the 1870s by an important change in American real estate law. The Benevolent Orders Law eased the process of acquiring and developing property for certain groups, including the Masons. Here was one case in which the Masons' building practices were as much a response to contemporary American legal structures as to any mythological connection to the ancient King Solomon.

Moore further embeds the Masons within their local settings when he shows that while some Masonic temples stood out because of exotic exterior styles and details, in many other cases Masons chose to build in established "Colonial" styles, or even rent space in existing houses, churches, theaters, or commercial structures. In another critical example of the way the Masons were typical of their time and place, Moore points out that the pseudo-militaristic practices of the Masonic Knights Templar (ostensibly modeled on those of the medieval Knights Templar), were in fact part of a much larger "martial zeitgeist" that swept through America during the last half of the nineteenth century. Thus, the activities of volunteer militias across the country provided an important context for the construction of Masonic identities through military spaces and rituals.

Moore's book is so rich in written detail I wished it contained bigger, better-quality images. I had difficulty reading some of the building plans presented, and details in the photographs were sometimes lost. Surely, this is less Moore's fault than the publisher's, and it is perhaps symptomatic of larger trends in publishing. At a time when the death knell of the book is being sounded, and when electronic publishing is on the rise, academic publishers may be reluctant to devote scarce funds to lavish images. Still, this work is about material culture and the often dramatic ways that Masons engaged with it. The photographs of Masons in full regalia, images of monumental and eclectic purpose-built Masonic temples, and detailed drawings of ritual choreography, furniture, and costume are fascinating and eloquent historical documents that cry out for enlargement.

Masonic Temples will be a welcome and enjoyable contribution to a number of fields. Scholars of the built environment will be most immediately appreciative of its methods and findings. But Moore's work will also be attractive to scholars in the history of religions, American history, and gender studies. In showing how the Masons were part of the larger scope of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American social, cultural and material history, Moore has enlarged our understanding of who we are and why we do the things we do. ■

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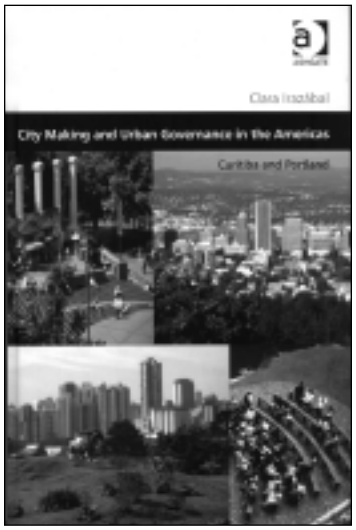
City Making and Urban Governance in the Americas: Curitiba and Portland. Clara Irazábal. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005. xi+335 pp., 61 ills.



This book, a revision of Irazábal's Ph.D. dissertation in architecture, is part of Ashgate's series on Design and the Built Environment. It examines governance in two cities that are generally recognized for their achievements in urban planning: Portland and Curitiba. By governance, the author means the relationship between civil society and the state, the government and the governed. She focuses on public involvement and the relationship between citizens and the leadership in each city, with a view to understanding their architectural, urban design, and planning processes, as well as the actual physical shaping of the cities since about the mid-1960s. Her findings and conclusions are based on extensive field research as well as a variety of documentary sources, including technical reports and popular media.

In taking up a comparative analysis of Portland and Curitiba, Irazábal inevitably becomes enmeshed in the convergence controversy — the question of whether or not First and Third World cities are becoming increasingly similar in the problems they face. She sets the scene for her case studies by arguing that it is more fruitful to focus on the convergence of approaches to solutions than on similarities in the problems themselves. In particular, she stresses the role of public involvement and urban governance in both First and Third World cities.

City Making and Urban Governance in the Americas is organized into three main parts. Following an Introduction which discusses the convergence/divergence debate, Part I takes up the question of urban governance and citizen participation/public involvement — in general, and then in a comparison of Portland and Curitiba. Irazábal's very interesting conclusion is that there is an appropriate level of citizen involvement for effective democratic planning: that too much can entangle and even halt decision-making and implementation; and that too little can delegitimize the planning process and render it ineffective. She finds that Portland is at risk of the former, and Curitiba of the latter.

Part II consists of case studies of the politics of urban development in each city from the mid-1960s to the early 2000s. By discussing the patterns of participation, power, and civic capacity in each city, this section essentially presents detailed empirical evidence for the conclusions reported in Part I.

Part III is the longest and in many ways the most interesting section. It focuses on concrete architectural, urban design, and urban planning interventions in each city. Two of four chapters here deal with housing — one on each city. While not explicitly comparative, they convey the importance of housing typologies for understanding social and spatial equity issues in specific contexts. Irazábal argues — and offers persuasive evidence — that housing typologies both reflect and shape inequalities.

The other two chapters in Part III discuss land uses other than housing. In particular, cultural and recreational sites are used to interrogate ways the built environment is used to create a symbolic and spatial configuration of Curitiba as a multicultural city. Then a comparison of the development of the Nike and addidas (which prefers the lower case a) corporate campuses is used to illustrate a set of tensions in Portland planning – urban vs. suburban, nature vs. community, and top-down vs. bottom-up.

The book concludes with an Epilogue that summarizes the similarities and differences between urban governance and public involvement processes in Portland and Curitiba, suggests lessons that can be learned from them, and points to needed further research.

City Making and Urban Governance in the Americas has many strengths. It is thoroughly researched and offers a large amount of factual, descriptive information about these two fascinating cities, as well as important insights into their respective political and planning processes. The numerous illustrations, figures and diagrams nicely complement the text. However, it also displays some common weaknesses of books that stick too closely to the dissertations from which they are drawn. Specifically, it is sometimes opaque, overtheorized, and laden with jargon, rendering its valuable descriptions and analyses less accessible than they could be, even to a scholarly audience. This is unfortunate. *City Making and Urban Governance in the Americas* is a good book that would have been even better with additional rewriting.

The book is also open to criticism for reasons that are beyond the control of the author. It suffers badly from a lack of editing, which is the responsibility of the publisher. When a publisher is charging $100 for a book, it is reasonable for an author and her readers to expect a product without typographic errors and with obvious inadvertent misstatements corrected. (For example, Irazábal surely doesn't think the seasons occur "in opposite order" on either side of the equator. She obviously meant that they occur at opposite times of the year.) ■

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The End of the Street: Sustainable Growth within Natural Limits. David Dobereiner. Montreal and New York: Black Rose Books, 2006. 240 pp., 88 b&w ills.

I was delighted when I saw the cover of David Dobereiner's *The End of the Street* because the thoughts expressed there so closely parallel my own. Reading the book, I became further excited. After more than sixty years of interest in habitat from a natural-science point of view, and after studies, work and travel in scores of countries, I found much I could still learn from it.

Twentieth-century habitat design was mainly influenced by the work of Le Corbusier, Gropius, Frank Lloyd Wright, Clarence Stein, and Buckminster Fuller. These visionaries not only provided ideas and philosophies, but they built examples that illustrated them. Many of us, including Gordon Stephenson, Bakema, Lucien Kroll, and Tony Gwilliam, have tried to show how this pioneering work lent itself to development and variation — despite its continued belittling by conservatives, and despite the limitations imposed by outdated laws on zoning, density, building height, climatic change, and parking.

Central to the planning of habitat in the twentieth century was the motor car, and this poisonous intrusion now threatens the twenty-first. *The End of the Street* is a timely reminder of how it must be opposed. Jane Jacobs was one of many people — not all planners (but also, for example, journalists) — who ignored this, and continued to emphasize the importance of the "street." In the process, they have shown little appreciation for the needs of the most vulnerable in our society (mothers with young children, the old, the debilitated), or the physical and social health of the community in general. These views are met head-on by the title of this book. In it, using examples (many by himself), Dobereiner demonstrates the depth of his wisdom and the possibility of evolving the design of habitat to a new level of health.

In *The End of the Street* Dobereiner produces an inclusive science and philosophy appropriate to the twenty-first century. Like all comprehensive ideas, he also provides a means for the evolution of his ideas, as human impacts on the globe, both negative and positive, proceed. His book is important evidence that it is rational to be optimistic because the human intellect is capable of life-positive evolution toward a healthier, more effective collection of futures. In human societies these will take over from immature political organizations, of whatever variety.

Dobereiner's work addresses not only the qualitative effect of the human future but also population control on Earth, in terms of universal capacity rather than narrow concern for national economic sustainability. Like the "greats" of the last century, he then tests and demonstrates, for the twenty-first century, the feasibility of his theories and hypotheses. His examples demonstrate the practicability of his ideas in diverse situations. These include ways humanity can manage natural disasters in an organized way to minimalize damage and maximize the restoration of healthy living conditions. As a philanthropic contribution to the betterment of human kind and its habitats, there are even lessons for populating outer space and other planets. However, I found the detailed description of Dobereiner's work in Nepal particularly fascinating and demonstrative of his approach to creative, life-affirmative problem solving.

The impressive bibliography is right up to date, though some with special interests may find a crucial, relevant work or two missing. Dobereiner's views are the best answer I know to those who would label idealism, romanticism and science a necessarily destructive force. I am further grateful for the timeliness of his work, since it provides magnificent evidence for my own forthcoming *Science of Relating.* ■

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Educreation Association, Perth, Western Australia

Conferences and Events

UPCOMING CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

2007 Southwest Summer Institute for Preservation and Regionalism, Albuquerque, New Mexico: May–June 2007. The institute prepares participants from a variety of disciplines to contribute to the conservation of regional architectural and cultural heritage while helping foster design, planning, and economic development. Held in conjunction with the University of New Mexico School of Architecture & Planning Graduate Certificate Program in Historic Preservation & Regionalism. For more information, visit http://www.unm.edu/~hprinst.

"True Urbanism: Designing for Social and Physical Health," Portland, Oregon: June 10–14, 2007. The 45th Annual International Making Cities Livable Conference focuses on the city as an organism with interdependent social and physical elements. It aims to improve understanding of the relationship between the built environment, patterns of urban social life, and the experience of well-being. For more information, visit http://www.livablecities.org/Conferences.htm.

"Architecture in the Space of Flows: Buildings — Spaces — Cultures," Newcastle, U.K.: June 21–24, 2007. Flows of energy, libido, capital, water and information make our lives possible. The buildings and spaces that support our activities inflect the flows; we tap into them, surf them, block them at our peril, or we may be excluded from them. This transdisciplinary conference sponsored by the University of Newcastle brings together people who are developing ways of thinking about places and responses to them, making use of ideas of flux.

"Changing Political Economies: Macro Trends and Micro Experiments," Copenhagen, Denmark: June 28–30, 2007. The 19th Annual Meeting on Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics will focus on the social and economic transformations occurring at various levels, with particular attention to the interplay between these levels and the distinct processes of change that may derive from them. For more information, visit http://www.sase.org.

"Whatever Happened to the Leisure Society?" Eastbourne, England: July 3–5, 2007. The 2007 Conference of the multidisciplinary Leisure Studies Association examines shifts in practices, industries, cultures and economies over the past thirty years, and evaluates developments in the theorizing of leisure. For more information, visit http://www.leisure-studies-association.info/LSAWEB/2007/Main.html.

"Quality Conference," Cardiff, Wales, U.K.: July 4–6, 2007. The conference examines conceptual shifts in the notion of "quality" from an ethical value to its current association with technical processes and seemingly objective systems of valuation. Practitioners in a number of fields are under pressure to quantify quality. But is it possible, or even desirable, to do so? The conference considers how — in cultural practices, in making and designing, in emerging technologies, and in education — quality is defined and appreciated, managed and produced. For more information, visit http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/archi/quality.

"Planning for the Risk Society: Dealing with Uncertainty, Challenging the Future," Naples, Italy: July 11–14, 2007. The annual meeting of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) examines the issue of risk among planning theorists and practitioners. Whether risk is understood in the classic sense of uncertainty or as a new theoretical framework where the relation between planning and ethics is critical, planning for a risk society raises concerns about contemporary metropolitan governance and issues of social instability, marginality and fragmentation. For more information, visit http://www.aesop-planning.com.

"In Search of Reconciliation and Peace in Indonesia and East Timor," Singapore: July 18–20, 2007. Southeast Asian countries have been shaken in recent decades by religious, ethnic, social, political and economic conflicts. By promoting an interdisciplinary examination of Indonesia, this workshop goes beyond a political approach to offer new understandings of cultural processes and factors which both facilitate and inhibit reconciliation. For more information, visit http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/events_categorydetails.asp?categoryid=6&eventid=551.

"Things that Move: The Material World of Tourism and Travel," Leeds, United Kingdom: July 19–23, 2007. The conference explores the multifaceted relationships between tourism and material culture — the built environment, infrastructures, consumer and household goods, arts, souvenirs, ephemera and landscapes — to provoke critical dialogue between disciplinary boundaries and epistemologies. For more information, visit http://www.tourism-culture.com.

2007 Pacific Northwest Preservation Field School, Heyburn State Park, Idaho: August–September 2007. This workshop focuses on one or more of the structures and buildings built in the park by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in the mid-1930s. The work will include log and traditional framing, masonry repair, window repair, roofing, and similar skills. Six repeatable weeklong sessions also include lectures and field trips to nearby historic sites. For more information, visit http://hp.uoregon.edu/fieldschools.

"Public Views of the Private, Private Views of the Public," New York, New York: August 10–12, 2007. The theme of the 2007 Conference of the International Visual Sociology Association is the multifaceted relationship between public and private realms, how they are shaped by human action, and how they condition our lives. The conference visually examines various layers of these relationships. For more information, visit http://www.visualsociology.org/conference.html.

"Ninth Asian Urbanization Conference," Chuncheon City, South Korea: August 18–24, 2007. This Asian Urban Research Association (AURA) conference focuses on theoretical and empirical studies of urban form and process, urban population change and migration, urban systems, quality of life, sustainable development, city marketing and economic development, social justice, urban governance, applications related to GIS, comparative urbanization, and environmental conditions. For more information, visit http://webspace.ship.edu/aura.

"Stories of Empire: Narratological Directions in Postcolonial Theory and Practice," Vienna, Austria: September 13–15, 2007. This conference examines the discursive strategies that disseminated attitudes and mentalities favoring European colonial enterprises. It reassesses the capacity of postcolonial theory to explain the illusions, fantasies and material promises of both factual and fictional descriptions of the encounter between colonial "masters" and subjugated peoples. For more information, visit www.univie.ac.at/stories.

"Studies on Historical Heritage," Antalya, Turkey: September 17–21, 2007. This international, multidisciplinary symposium provides a chance for researchers and practitioners to discuss the past, present and future of historical art and architectural heritage, and exchange analytical, experimental, historical and constructional experiences and studies concerning its preservation. For more information, visit http://www.shh07.yildiz.edu.tr.

"Diversity in Heritage Conservation: Tradition, Innovation, and Participation," New Delhi, India: September 22–26, 2006. The triennial meeting of the International Council for Museums Committee for Conservation (ICOM-CC) is an opportunity to celebrate diversity and difference in approaches to conservation; to recognize how the world is enriched by many cultures (national, professional, social, etc.); and to promote respect for cultural diversity as a means to avoid cultural elitism and integrate reflection into every aspect of conservation. For more information, visit http://icom-cc.icom.museum/TriennialMeetings.

"Exchange and Experience in Space and Place," Brisbane, Australia: September 23–26, 2007. The 13th International Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia examines multimedia and virtual-environment technologies and how they may help advance expression and the interpretation and preservation of the spirit and essence of humanity. As the first major international organization to focus on the application of 3D digital technologies to the protection and valorization of cultural heritage, VSMM pioneered the field of Virtual Heritage over a decade ago. For more information, visit http://www.interactiondesign.com.au.

"Re-Think the City," Guadalajara, Mexico: October 1–3, 2007. The 4th International Congress on Virtual City and Territory emphasizes social equity in urban/territorial development, the preservation of the natural environment, a culture of citizen participation and its democratic consequences, and better ways to trace a qualitative horizon for urban development. For more information, visit http://www.ctv2007.udg.mx/index.php.

"Journeys of Expressions VI: Diaspora Community Festivals, Cultural Events and Tourism," York, U.K.: October 4–6, 2007. This interdisciplinary conference examines relationships between diaspora communities, festivity, cultural events, and tourism — particularly tourism's recent focus on "exotic" and "characteristically authentic" displays of community life. In the tradition of the Journey of Expressions conference series, it is inflected by the mobilities associated with globalization. For more information, visit http://www.tourism-culture.com.

"Medi-Triology 2: Coastal Settlements, Culture, Conservation," Gazima-Ÿusa, North Cyprus: October 8–10, 2007. The Fifth International Gazima-Ÿusa Symposium — organized by the Faculty of Architecture of Eastern Mediterranean University in collaboration with the Municipality of Gazima-Ÿusa — examines the importance of balancing conservation and development in coastal settlements within the Mediterranean basin, whose problems include rapid urbanization and population growth, climate change, and mass tourism.

"Housing and Environmental Conditions in Post-Communist Countries," Gliwice, Poland: October 11–12, 2007. Hosted by the International Scientific Committee, this conference focuses on post-1989 housing and environmental and housing conditions, and on prospective solutions to improve and guarantee future living conditions. For more information, visit http://konferencje.polsl.pl/iaps/default.aspx.

"The Politics and Practices of Intangible Cultural Heritage," Quebec, Canada: October 17–21, 2007. The 2007 meeting of the American Folklore Society is co-hosted by the Folklore Studies Association of Canada. It explores the politics and the practices of intangible cultural heritage as a powerful means of developing a sense of belonging and revitalizing communities. For more information, visit http://afsnet.org/annualmeet/index.cfm.

"Early Indian Influences in Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Movements," Singapore: November 21–23, 2007. This conference is jointly hosted by the Asia Research Institute, the Institute of South Asian Studies, and the Institute of Southeast Asia Studies. Papers will cover the characteristics of cultural interactions during the classical period of state formation in Southeast Asia. For more information, visit http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/events_categorydetails.asp?categoryid=6&eventid=632.

"Architecture, Technology and the Historical Subject," Paris, France: November 12–13, 2007. The Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture Paris-La Villette and the College of Architecture of the Georgia Institute of Technology are co-sponsoring this conference to advance critical thinking on architecture and technology. The conference moves from historical examination of nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture to issues of contemporary design theory and practice, with a special focus on how new techniques affect perception. For more information, visit http://www.cqgrd.gatech.edu/event.php?id=1585.

"Regional Architecture and Identity in the Age of Globalization," Tunis, Tunisia: November 13–15, 2007. Organized by the Center for the Study of Architecture in the Arab Region, this conference focuses on the increasing contradictions between the "modernization" of regions and local cultural identity by addressing regional architecture and identity in the context of globalization. For more information, visit http:// www.csaar-center.org.

CALL FOR ARTICLES/PAPERS FOR PUBLICATION

17th New Zealand Asian Studies Society International Conference 2007, Otago, New Zealand: November 22–25, 2007. Participants are invited to submit panel or paper proposals to this open, multidisciplinary conference which may include original research on any Asian-related topic. Papers can also be submitted for consideration to the *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*. For more information, visit http://www.nzasia.org.nz/conference/index.html. Submission deadline: June 1, 2007.

"Home, Migration, and the City: Spatial Forms and Practices in a Globalising World," Special Issue of Open House International. *Open House International* is a refereed scholarly journal concerned with housing, design and development. The journal welcomes papers for this special issue examining new ways to construct the meaning of "home," migration, and the city in a globalizing world. The guest editor is Dr. Ayona Datta, Lecturer, London School of Economics, U.K. Please submit a 1000-word abstract and a 150-word author bio by email to a.datta2@lse.ac.uk. Submission deadline: July 31, 2007.

"Ecology and Health: People and Places in a Changing World," Melbourne, Australia: November 30–December 3, 2007. The 2007 Asia-Pacific EcoHealth Conference will build on and further explore key issues surrounding the interdependent relationship between humans and their environments, including the repercussions of unsustainable living patterns and climate change. Prospective authors may find guidelines for submission at http://www.deakin.edu.au/events/ecohealth2007/abstracts.php. Submission deadline: September 14, 2007.

Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change (JTCC) is a peer-reviewed, transdisciplinary and transnational journal that examines the relationships, tensions, representations, conflicts and possibilities between tourism/travel and culture/cultures in an increasingly complex global context. For more information, visit http://www.multilingual-Matters.com/multi/journals/journals_jtcc.asp?TAG=&CID=. Deadline for submission on all aspects of tourism is rolling.

RECENT CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

"Savannah and the Lowcountry," Savannah, Georgia: March 28–31, 2007. The 2007 Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum used the location of Savannah to explore aspects of the cultural landscape of the city, low-country rice and cotton plantations, German settlement patterns, post-bellum African-American communities, and coastal livelihood and recreation. For more information, visit http://www.scad.edu/academic/majors/arlh/vaf.

"Balancing Culture, Conservation, and Economic Development," San Francisco, California: April 18–21, 2007. The 10th US/ICOMOS International Symposium examined heritage tourism in and around the Pacific Rim. For more information, visit http://www.icomos.org/usicomos/Symposium/SYMP07/2007_Symposium_Program_Overview.htm.

"Crossing Jordan," Washington, D.C.: May 23–28, 2007. The 10th International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan provided further cultural studies on the region, from antiquity to the present. For more information, visit http://www.ichaj.org.

Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

1. GENERAL

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

2 LENGTH AND FORMAT

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

3. APPROACH TO READER

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

4. ABSTRACT AND INTRODUCTION

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

5. SUBHEADINGS

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

6. REFERENCES

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

A condensed section of text might read as follows:

> In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.[1]
>
> An eminent architectural historian once wrote, "The roof form in general is the most indicative feature of the housing styles of North Africa."[2] Clearly, however, the matter of how these forms have evolved is a complex subject. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.[3]
>
> In my research I discovered that local people have differing notions about the origins of the roof forms on the dwellings they inhabit.[4]

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

1. E. Regis, *Egyptian Dwellings* (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirs Old Debate," *Smithsonian* 11 (December 1983), pp.24–34.
2. B. Smithson, "Characteristic Roof Forms," in H. Jones, ed., *Architecture of North Africa* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p.123.
3. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see J. Idris, *Roofs and Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).
4. In my interviews I found that the local people understood the full meaning of my question only when I used a more formal Egyptian word for "roof" than that in common usage.

7. DIAGRAMS, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

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

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Please mount all graphic material on separate 8.5" x 11" sheets, and include as a package at the end of the text. Caption text should not exceed 50 words per image and should appear on each image sheet. Please do not set caption text all in capital letters. The first time a point is made in the main body of text that directly relates to a piece of graphic material, please indicate so at the end of the appropriate sentence with a simple reference in the form of "**(FIG.1)**." Use the designation "**(FIG.)**" and a single numeric progression for all graphic material. Clearly indicate the appropriate fig. number on each illustration sheet.

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

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Sample acknowledgement: The initial research for this paper was made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts [NEA]. The author acknowledges NEA support and the support of the sabbatical reasearch program of the University of Waterloo.

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13. COMPUTER DISK

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

14 NOTIFICATION

Contributors are usually notified within 15 weeks whether their manuscripts have been accepted. If changes are required, authors are furnished with comments from the editors and the peer-review board. The editors are responsible for all final decisions on editorial changes. The publisher reserves the right to copy-edit and proof all articles accepted for publication without prior consultation with contributing authors.

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