



TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

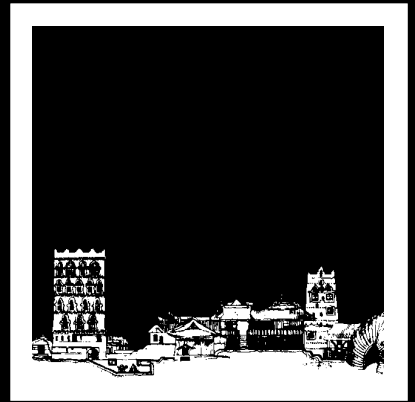
INTERROGATING TRADITION

EPISTEMOLOGIES, FUNDAMENTALISMS, REGENERATION, AND PRACTICES

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE OF THE
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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.

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TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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Editor's Note

This special issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is dedicated to the 2008 IASTE Conference, to be held in Oxford, in the United Kingdom. Its purpose, as with all special TDSR conference issues, is to provide individual and institutional members who are unable to attend with detailed information about the conference's content. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing all abstracts of papers accepted for presentation.

The theme of this eleventh IASTE meeting is "Interrogating Tradition." Participants will explore the role of tradition in modern global practices, where its meanings are inextricably bound with the issues it seeks to explain. As tradition is a keyword, the exercise of interrogation becomes essential to understanding the social and political contexts in which it is mobilized. The paradoxes of this global moment necessitate a recalibration of our operative epistemological frameworks in the study of traditional environments. Examining the intersecting discourses of tradition and the politics of its organization, moreover, become critical in identifying how socio-political identities and differences are pursued.

We use the term "interrogate," then, to refer to the epistemic exercise of framing the rationalities of tradition in relation to their construction and their implications for practice. Such avenues of inquiry provide ways to examine how traditional knowledge is formulated and deployed in the political sphere, including the postconflict reconstruction of society and space, the use of tradition by the "state" as a means of co-optation or governance, or the manner in which fundamentalism is "framed" and used by different interest and social groups. Interrogation also allows for a reengagement with the ways in which tradition is mobilized and deployed in revival and regeneration practices as well as the critical pedagogies on such practices.

This conference, co-sponsored by Oxford Brookes University, brings together more than 140 scholars and practitioners from the fields of architecture, architectural history, art history, anthropology, archaeology, folklore, geography, history, planning, sociology, urban studies, and related disciplines to present papers structured around three broad themes: "Epistemologies of Tradition"; "Fundamentalisms and Traditions"; and "Regeneration and the Practices of Tradition."

We would like to thank our principal sponsors in Oxford, Oxford Brookes University, and particularly our Local Conference Director, Dr. Marcel Vellinga. I hope you will find the ideas explored in this issue intellectually challenging and stimulating.

Nezar AlSayyad

PLENARY SESSION FUNDAMENTALISMS AND TRADITION

EPISTEMOLOGIES OF COUNTERINSURGENCY: TRADITION, TRIBALISM, AND TERROR IN THE CITY

Derek Gregory

University of British Columbia, Canada

RETURN TO TRADITIONS: A RESPONSE TO VIOLENT URBAN CRISES?

Brigitte Piquard

Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

EPISTEMOLOGIES OF COUNTERINSURGENCY: TRADITION, TRIBALISM, AND TERROR IN THE CITY

Derek Gregory

Late-modern war is imaginatively framed by two “new” modes of warfare. One is hypermodern and high technology, pursued by state militaries with smart bombs and surgical strikes, primarily motivated by humanitarian interventions that are supposedly directed toward the protection of civilian populations. The other is premodern and low technology, pursued by warlords and militias using cheap or improvised weapons, primarily motivated by a politics of identity whose paramilitary violence is directed against civilian populations. The first are “our” wars, and their ideology sustains a reenchantment with war in which the body virtually disappears. The second are “their” wars, whose ideology sustains a disenchantment with war in which the body, displayed and mutilated, fills the frame. These distinctions are thoroughly ideological and map out a moral as well as a political space.

Against this imaginary, I show how these two modalities of war in fact bleed into one another in the counterinsurgency operations conducted by the U.S. military in Afghanistan and Iraq. I pay particular attention to the “cultural turn” in military operations, its local and mediatized effects, and its successive reconceptualizations of insurgency. I then show how its tropes of terror, tradition and tribalism have been put to work by the military in Baghdad, from the invasion through to the surge, and how counterinsurgency has produced, in effect, a counter-city.

RETURN TO TRADITIONS: A RESPONSE TO VIOLENT URBAN CRISES?

Brigitte Piquard

Sudden crises in urban spaces are a major global concern. Such crises may be caused by various phenomena: manmade or natural disasters, conflicts arising from social and economic discontent, bad governance, and acts of terror. Whatever the causes and whichever form crises take, populations suffer serious damage — physical, spatial, social, psychological or symbolic. But the same populations have also developed modes of resistance and coping mechanisms to respond to these crises.

With rampant urbanization, new forms of vulnerabilities have appeared. The international community is urged to understand better how urban contexts break with humanitarian and development traditions more familiar with “open spaces” and rural environments. The reactions and coping mechanisms of urban populations also differ from those in other settings, and new paradigms of action are needed.

Among all responses, either as coping mechanisms or as modes of resilience, different forms of traditionalism can be observed. These can take several forms:

- Fundamental traditionalism, which stresses the values and the social sense given to traditions.
- Formal traditionalism, which stresses the expression of those traditions.
- A traditionalism of resistance, which mostly uses traditional symbolism to contest or resist political measures.
- Pseudo-traditionalism in heavily disrupted societies, where newly made expressions of perceived traditions are reinvented to constitute a foundation on which forms of social linkage can be rebuilt.

These uses of tradition have been witnessed regularly in issues related to gender or in educational reforms in postconflict areas. This paper will investigate if and to what degree the same forms of return to tradition as a coping mechanism or mode of resilience have been witnessed in ways people inhabit disrupted spaces and extreme environments, and it will examine how they can give social sense (back) to symbolic constructions and places of memories.

PLENARY SESSION REGENERATION AND TRADITION

POSTINDUSTRIAL CRAFTSMANSHIP: A SPECULATION ON THE REGENERATION OF VERNACULAR PROCESSES

Howard Davis

University of Oregon, U.S.A.

TRADITION AND CHANGE: A METHOD FOR ADDRESSING REGIONAL DISTINCTIVENESS

Kingston Heath

University of Oregon, U.S.A.

POSTINDUSTRIAL CRAFTSMANSHIP: A SPECULATION ON THE REGENERATION OF VERNACULAR PROCESSES

Howard Davis

The concept of tradition is characterized not by a set of static forms, but by a distinct process of cultural production and transmission. This formulation, put forward by Abu-Lughod, Oliver, and others, allows us to see vernacular architecture in a way that is not linked to the past in historicist ways, or based on neo-Orientalism. Instead, it may be seen as linked to contemporary social movements that recognize the need for local social autonomy as loci of resistance within a global economy.

Craftsmanship is defined as a mode of production with two attributes: first, an immediate connection between the conception and realization of an artifact — an object, a building, or a city; and second, the artifact itself, rather than its representation, providing feedback for decision-making. Within this definition, the revival of vernacular architecture, in which craftsmanship historically was essential in order to allow buildings to be individually shaped within shared cultural understandings, may be seen as a contemporary possibility. Such a reinterpretation does not depend on archaic processes, nor result in buildings that are archaic in style or materials.

This paper describes three kinds of initiatives, at different scales and modes of professional involvement. Although they are at first sight theoretically independent, they are manifestations of a single formulation of craftsmanship and of the potential for contemporary production that shares deep characteristics of process with traditional vernacular building. Significantly, they are in different realms: social process, digital technology, and architectural/urban practice.

- Settlement planning at the grassroots. This will concentrate on poor communities in Thailand and Indonesia, some of which were affected by the December 2004 tsunami. Rejecting top-down planning and design, these communities have shown how local expertise and political organization

allow development in incremental yet ordered ways, responsive to local conditions, specific cultural needs, and local political structures.

- Parametric design, digital fabrication, and visualization. Digital techniques, applied at building and urban scales, can bridge the gap between the unique shaping of artifacts and their efficient production, and can support community-based processes that require complex views of different kinds of information, often geographically-based.
- New professional relationships between clients, architects, and builders. The industrial paradigm that involves the general contractor, general contract and bid as a mechanism of control, is being challenged by new contractual forms allowing for more direct connections between design, building and fabrication — forms that suggest the connection between the “hand” of the craftsman and the object s/he was shaping.

These disparate initiatives, to be illustrated by specific examples, have a common theoretical basis and have the capability of leading to a twenty-first century, postindustrial vernacular based on a new conception of craftsmanship. One of the key attributes of craftsmanship, and of the traditional vernacular, is direct and local control. Looked at in this way, the regeneration of vernacular traditions is not necessarily a throwback to the past, nor is it a pastiche; instead, it is consistent with contemporary social movements that are seeking autonomy and identity.

TRADITION AND CHANGE: A METHOD FOR ADDRESSING REGIONAL DISTINCTIVENESS

Kingston Heath

The recognition that regional settings are linked inextricably to cultural process strikes at the heart of much of vernacular architecture studies today, just as the desire to preserve distinctive ways of life — past and present, tangible and intangible — is part of the emerging cultural conservation movement. Programs in heritage conservation recognize that both historic settings and reconstituted cultural traditions need to be addressed, and that consideration should be given to seeing a landscape as the product of ever-evolving human and environmental factors.

A structural model (developed by the author) is used to illustrate the dynamic nature of vernacular forms as evidenced by the degree to which they respond to an area’s “regional filter” — comprised of such factors as economics, climate, cultural and religious values, demographic shifts, etc. How, why, to what extent, and by what means building forms and settings are shaped is determined by a particularized set of local as well as external influences. Over time, these elements become part of the predictable pattern of use and expression within a region or subregion, and are carried out on both a conscious and subliminal level. Often, such distinctive regional patterns are embraced across broad socioeconomic barriers that account for elite, popular and traditional manifestations of a localized building culture.

This blending of preexisting and imported elements that are assembled into distinctive localized expressions I characterize as “cultural weathering.” People alter objects, buildings, spaces and settings in accordance with prevailing opportunities, constraints and sensibilities. These strategies of accommodation in response to a broad range of external and local factors serve to define, collectively, the particularities of places. Such a perspective of regional adaptation allows for an even-handed assessment of all aspects of cultural and artistic expression.

To that end, this study addresses the issue of regional identity through an inquiry into the dynamic nature of vernacular forms. It puts forth a threshold proposition that focuses attention on various states or conditions of evolving places and spaces with regard to regionally determining forces, instead of applying the term “vernacular” to certain building types, periods of construction, or types of settings.

A.1 SPATIALIZING TRADITION

THE CONTEMPORARY SLUM: MODERN GLOBAL PRACTICE OR A TRIED-AND-TESTED TRADITION?

Anna Rubbo

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CREATING NEW TRADITIONS? MARKETING, HOUSING, AND URBAN (DIS)INTEGRATION IN SANTA FE, MEXICO CITY

Maria Moreno-Carranco

Autonomous Metropolitan University, Mexico

SPATIALIZATION OF IMMIGRATION IN NICOSIA: TRADITION INTERROGATED

Ipek Akpınar and Ozgur Dincyurek

Istanbul Technical University, Turkey, and Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus

TRADITIONS OF PLACEMAKING AND FUNDAMENTALISMS OF PRACTICE: THE NEW URBANISM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

Hector Fernando Burga

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INCLUSION/EXCLUSION? THE CHANGING TRADITION OF PUBLIC SPACES IN BANGKOK

Supapim Harinasuta

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THE CONTEMPORARY SLUM: MODERN GLOBAL PRACTICE OR A TRIED-AND-TESTED TRADITION?

Anna Rubbo

In popular usage, the idea of traditional environments is often seen through rose-colored glasses, a condition which can provide fertile ground in the cultural imaginary of the tourist industry. While “real life” may have been “nasty, brutish and short” in many of the idealized traditional environments tourists now admire, the tendency is to focus on the physical place rather than the social conditions of its making, the fundamentalisms it supported, or the lived reality it offered. This paper links tradition, slums and tourism as a means to interrogate, or suggest shifts in, the relationship between tradition and epistemology.

With tradition of the rose-colored variety, real life can be avoided. Such avoidance is not possible, however, in the “traditional” environment of the slum, the vernacular archetype that is home to around one-third of the world’s population. With the Millennium Development Goals’ focus on improving the lives of slum dwellers and the advent of slum tourism, urban poverty and its traditional environments have become simultaneously more known — and, for some, an object of fascination.

The reaction to this fascination has been mixed. Take, for example, this opening sentence from a Web entry retrieved through a Google search for “slum tourism”: “A number of tour operators have begun leading curious tourists into some of the world’s most famous slums: Soweto township, slums in Kenya, Brazil’s *favelas*, and the ‘home’ of India’s street children. The jury’s still out on whether the tours are perverse invasions of privacy or eye-opening experiences that will prompt action on the poverty agenda.”

Drawing on examples from Africa, India and Latin America, this paper will explore the relationship between tradition and epistemology in the context of the slum. It views the slum as a central (if uncomfortable) twenty-first-century expression of tradition, and asks whether this new tourism, as well as contemporary political agendas to end of poverty, will serve to interrogate and perhaps transform popular meanings of tradition in a useful way.

CREATING NEW TRADITIONS? MARKETING, HOUSING, AND URBAN (DIS)INTEGRATION IN SANTA FE, MEXICO CITY

Maria Moreno-Carranco

The new district of Santa Fe lies on the western fringe of Mexico City. In the early 1990s, in order to acquire land to develop it (an area of 946 hectares), politicians and planners presented an image of the area as one of desolate, deep and arid ravines, sparsely populated by people living in shacks surrounded by mountains of garbage and debris and beset by the smells of rotten fruit, excrement, dead animals, and hospital refuse. Santa Fe was described by the city government as being underutilized, “populated by a small group of people” — and, as such, an ideal place for an urban megaproject. Now, following the displacement of its original inhabitants, the area is home to 7,630 upper-class families living in new residential complexes, and includes 170 corporate offices, 114 restaurants, seven private schools serving more than 13,500 students, two private universities, five five-star hotels, a golf course, a shopping and entertainment center, and a convention center.

The creation of global cities increasingly relies on the integration of economic activity around the production and consumption of goods and services. This includes architecture intended for the most affluent, cosmopolitan clientele. Along with the emergence of entrepreneurial urban governance (where the most important task of city officials is to facilitate the transformation of the city into a hub of flexible production and consumption) such developments are having important consequences.

These new emphases have stressed the role of the nation-state in the politics of restructuring the urban fabric. A new form of spatial reorganization is emerging, in which the making of urban megaprojects is linked to consumption-based strategies — as well as to a search for a specific, global image of the city. In Mexico, the pursuit of this image, combined with the increased liberalization of the country’s economy in the service of international professional services and capital, has led to a new kind of architecture (corporate, commercial, residential) which is transforming the “traditional” city.

This paper will examine how the internationalization of real estate markets and the production of the built environment affect not only urbanism and architecture, but how people conceptualize space and its uses. By looking into marketing discourses, it will examine how the new developments, with all their internalized facilities, promote segregation, and neglect the space of the city. More importantly, what is being reproduced at the level of architecture and planning is separation and intolerance.

The transformation of architecture and urban planning under globalizing forces must be examined not only from design and aesthetic viewpoints, but from the perspective of the new social relations and experiences generated by its new spaces. At the same time, questions must be asked about the role of architects and urban planners in the creation of the contemporary city and its society.

SPATIALIZATION OF IMMIGRATION IN NICOSIA: TRADITION INTERROGATED

Ipek Yada Akpınar and Ozgur Dincyurek

Nicosia, the divided capital of Cyprus, has been an example, in Spiro Kostof’s words, of the “created,” “planned,” or “designed” city. In 1960, following the British colonial period, the Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed, combining the island’s two major communities, Greeks and Turks. However, another radical turning point arrived in 1974 with the Turkish military intervention, which was brought about by conflict between the two communities. Following the subsequent division of the island into Greek and Turkish parts, Nicosia was also divided. A Western policy of isolation was then applied to the Turkish part of the city, and created an introverted and homogenous society, while the Greek part was integrated with international society.

In the last thirty years, seeking a better life, immigrants from Turkey have come to northern Cyprus. They have settled especially in traditional neighborhoods in the walled city of Nicosia. Such migration from Turkey has caused a noticeable change of population and the emergence of an invisible spatial border between the migrants and locals, which has affected daily urban life, as leisure, work and residential spaces have been segregated. This change of social structure has also been directly reflected in the local architecture. In particular, the reuse of former single-family mansions by groups of immigrant families has transformed their spatial organization and traditional identity through ad-hoc subdivisions. In other words, a large number of immigrants have reshaped the architecture as well as urban identity of the traditional built environment.

In 2004, a simultaneous vote took place on a reunification of the divided island under the Annan Plan, a United Nations proposal. While the proposal was approved by a majority of Turks, it was rejected by the Greeks. Despite the rejection, the urban dynamics of the Turkish parts of the island have changed, and Nicosia has become more globalized. In this context, northern Nicosia has accommodated a series of regeneration projects finan-

cially supported by the U.N. These have spatialized emerging tensions between those who can be part of globalization (the locals) and those who cannot be (the immigrants) — divided by invisible borders. What makes the Nicosia case important is its uniqueness in terms of political, social and urban layers, as well as the potential for reunification with the outside world.

In this context, our study will investigate the radical change in traditional houses inhabited by immigrants as well as the larger urban transformation caused by the encounter between immigrants and globalizing locals. We conducted interviews with immigrants and locals in a traditional neighborhood located in an old city where U.N. projects have been constructed. The interviews underlined key differences in terms of lifestyles, expectations, consumption patterns, and stereotypes.

Our study may give a broader understanding of the transformation of traditional architecture within the social and political contexts, and may identify emerging socio-political identities and differences in general.

TRADITIONS OF PLACEMAKING AND FUNDAMENTALISMS OF PRACTICE: THE NEW URBANISM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

Hector Fernando Burga

Placemaking is a formal activity in the professional practices of architecture, planning, urban design, and landscape architecture. Its goal is to produce a physical environment under normative notions of livability, public realm, social and economic equity, diversity, sustainability, and aesthetic quality. Within its scope, urban informality, self-help construction, splintering urbanism, and enclave urbanism — among other types of urban phenomena — are excluded and perceived as defining a city in a state of crisis, urgency and upheaval. Placemaking categorizes place in space, turning it into a measure of difference and power. In the case of the New Urbanism, this normative project is achieved through the ordering, organization and definition of space through mechanisms and toolkits, systems and languages. This process includes the production of knowledge, community, consent, technologies of place, epistemologies of place, and a philosophy of history.

The goal of this paper is to map the New Urbanism in the context of globalization, with its increased connectivity and flows of information, capital, resources, knowledge and people across national boundaries, distance and time. What stands to be demonstrated is how a professional practice has adapted a discourse of “tradition.” In this sense, the New Urbanism has used the value of tradition to generate a physical signature, marketing package, and community discourse. The analytic of tradition is also crucial to understand with regard to placemaking because it involves a transmission embedded in the present, carrying agencies, goals and spaces. Through globalization, the New Urbanism can thus carry unprecedented political and social agencies into new contexts, becoming a technology of development by reconfiguring modern/traditional spaces.

Globalization poses a paradox for the New Urbanism. How do you practice placemaking in an era when local context is rapidly become secondary to the global? What happens to placemaking when the space of place becomes a space of “flows”? Inversely, what kind of place does the global define through practices which adhere to contextual and/or so-called “traditional” contexts?

How do these prescriptions delimit the professional practice of placemaking? This paper will examine emerging definitions of tradition and the epistemic exercises that frame these definitions. What kind of fundamentalism does the New Urbanism propose? What values can be traced behind the ideological apparatus that is hegemonic in intent and substance? Furthermore, the paper will define how the New Urbanism functions as a fundamentalist practice of placemaking through its deliberate attempts to define the past in relation to the present and future.

INCLUSION/EXCLUSION? THE CHANGING TRADITION OF PUBLIC SPACES IN BANGKOK

Supapim Harinasuta

Shifts in consumption patterns have very visible consequences on the urban form of postmodern cities. Examples include the emergence of tourist districts, the proliferation of places of consumption such as shopping malls and entertainment centers, and the rapid spread of the gentrification through city neighborhoods. These changes have profound impacts on the quality of public spaces, which are often perceived as a landscape of exclusion.

The paper uses the Thonglor area in Bangkok, Thailand, as a case study. In the last twenty years the area has been transformed dramatically from a quiet, socially mixed neighborhood into one of the most vibrant and convivial places in Bangkok through a proliferation of outdoor cafes, shops, galleries, and so on. However, its image has become strictly exclusive, promoting only enveloped developments that are completely detached from their surroundings — a sharp break with the Thai tradition, in which the public realm is considered egalitarian and welcoming for all.

The paper maps the spatial and social transformation of the area from the late 1930s to the present, and investigates changing typologies of public space over time. It raises several questions. How are public spaces constructed and managed? What are the roles of the community and the public sector in shaping the public realm? And in which ways and to what extent do private developments and investments affect the ever-evolving tradition and meaning of public spaces?

The investigation uses historical research and ethnography. Other methodologies include stakeholder interviews, media studies, and the examination of other archival data such as demographic composition, types, numbers of business establishments, and related urban policies. The findings reveal the persistence of thriving vernacular scenes and a high degree of socioeconomic diversity despite the seemingly hegemonic discourse of the newcomers.

B.1 COLONIAL AND IMPERIAL LEGACIES OF THE MODERN GLOBAL CITY

THE DISCOURSE OF COLONIAL IMAGERY: PRESERVATION AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN MORELIA, MICHOACÁN, MÉXICO

Catherine Ettinger

Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolas de Hidalgo, Mexico

CONTESTED CHINESE IDENTITY: MODERNISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM IN CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE DESIGN

Mary Padua

University of Florida, U.S.A.

WANDERING IN A TRADITIONAL CITY OF COLONIAL TAIWAN: THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF TAIPEI, 1895–1945

Ping-Sheng Wu

National Kinmen Institute of Technology, Taiwan

OTHER MODERNITIES: THE RISE OF A JAPANESE COLONIAL CAPITAL CITY, 1932–1937

Yishi Liu

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

PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE: SHAPING TWENTIETH-CENTURY DELHI WITH COMMUNAL AND SECULAR NATIONALISMS

Varun Kapur

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

THE DISCOURSE OF COLONIAL IMAGERY: PRESERVATION AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN MORELIA, MICHOACÁN, MÉXICO

Catherine Ettinger

During the period following the Mexican Revolution, the political agenda in Mexico included the promotion of national identity in a process that had parallels in other Latin American countries. In architecture, the question of identity involved the genesis of neocolonial and neoindigenous styles, followed by the development of a Mexican school of modern architecture. A great deal has been written about this period in the history of Mexican architecture, yet the perspective provided tells only the story of large cities in the center of the country, ignoring other contemporary processes.

The city of Morelia, capital of the state of Michoacán, in western Mexico, took a radically different path to dealing with the introduction of architectural modernity and the preservation of its

historical center. In consideration of its many sixteenth-century Spanish villas, it promoted a colonial discourse and a seemingly fundamentalist approach to preservation which denied the possibility of modern architecture within its historic fabric. This approach produced a homogenous and harmonious character that gained the city a place on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

A closer look at the historical center, however, reveals greater complexity than one would suspect. First, more than half the buildings there were built in the last seventy years, and are therefore not colonial, in spite of their appearance. It also reveals two important moments. Of particular interest was legislation from the 1950s that set specifics for design in the historical district, following simple formulas for determining height and proportions. In the following decade, with the slogan "Morelia, city of the pink quarry stone," preservationists promoted the removal of stucco from its buildings, leaving porous stone facades bare and subject to deterioration. Fifty years later, however, when experts agreed that the stucco should be replaced (and the federal government promoted this as a preservation activity), institutions were hard pressed to convince the local population of its authenticity.

Examination of this case raises several questions. First, it highlights the power of discourse to have created and maintained an image of the city as colonial. This image was then recognized and promoted by the local population, which remained indifferent to international criteria regarding authenticity and falsification. This discussion has come to the forefront in the last two decades with the insertion of new architecture within the historic center of the city.

A closer look at the supposedly fundamentalist approach to preservation also reveals the hybrid character of the city's preservation legislation; for example, it contains numerous references to modern values (honesty, simplicity, lack of decoration) that were amalgamated with the colonial image. It provides a distinct manifestation of modernity, distant from the European vanguard, closely linked to a discourse of Spanish origin and colonial identity.

CONTESTED CHINESE IDENTITY: MODERNISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM IN CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE DESIGN

Mary Padua

Open space design in China has become deeply contested. Landscape designers there are divided at many different levels: in design aesthetics, in the organization of the profession, and in the ideological positioning of different approaches to design. A synthetic version of Chinese tradition based on symbols associated with the imperial past is pitted against approaches that use concepts from Europe, North America, and other parts of Asia to examine modern society. This parallels a split between designers from the "garden-design" school and designers trained in modern schools of landscape architecture in China and abroad. This split has produced competition for control of professional organizations, competing academic establishments, and competing claims to legitimacy.

The common feature of the two approaches is their claim to represent Chinese identity through design. The garden designers

base their claim on an ideology of tradition enforced through a narrow symbolic vocabulary. The contemporary landscape architects claim to be involved in the creation of new Chinese designs realized through explicit references to the country's modern history and contemporary social conditions.

At the level of design aesthetics, the garden-designers' claim is expressed in rules that prescribe a stylized version of the aesthetics of Ming dynasty scholar gardens. It is a reactive and restrictive orthodoxy — in many ways a form of context-free fundamentalism rather than traditionalism rooted in history. Meanwhile, China's modern landscape architects embody their claim to national identity in social references and themes. These are represented by symbols that are explicitly contemporary and often have international antecedents. Designs may include references to the Communist Revolution, the Cultural Revolution, or contemporary social and environmental problems. This approach parallels recent movements in art in China and includes references to the recent past and critiques of its society.

The heart of the conflict between these two schools lies in their responses to China's twentieth-century history. The subtext of the garden-design school is the rejection of the twentieth century as an aberration, something that led China away from true Chinese identity. They embrace symbols associated with imperial China. The Chineseness of the modern landscape architects' work is largely defined by symbolic references to China's modern history — including the Republic (1912–1949), the Revolution, the Cultural Revolution, and contemporary society.

This paper examines the two approaches and their competing uses of tradition. It looks at the approaches on three levels: their design aesthetics, their institutional status in China, and their relationship to history. A dialectic of tradition and history unfolds in these two approaches: the garden designers have developed the idea of tradition into a design fundamentalism that denies the modern history of China; the landscape architects have embraced Chinese history and society by representing it in a contemporary, global symbolic language.

WANDERING IN A TRADITIONAL CITY OF COLONIAL TAIWAN: THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF TAIPEI, 1895–1945

Ping-Sheng Wu

In many colonized countries, the transformation of traditional cities into modern ones has involved the complicated effects of modern practices on space. However, in recent years a number of scholars have attempted to reconsider whether notions of tradition, modernity and colonialism are merely from the West. Thus, a term “colonial modernity” has appeared as a speculative frame to explain the complex field of relationships between tradition, modernity and colonialism.

This essay focuses on the spatial transformation of Taipei in colonial Taiwan. The island of Taiwan experienced colonization by the Dutch, Spanish, Chinese and Japanese. Some scholars of architecture and urban planning have used an extremely simpli-

fied perspective to examine it, and have concluded that the spatial modernization under colonial rule was a palimpsest without subjectivity. Challenging this viewpoint, this study seeks to explore new possibilities for discussing space and place whenever topics related to tradition and modernization are encountered. It aims to answer the following questions: What did the urban images really demonstrate under the interaction by tradition and modernity in Taiwan? What are the exact meanings of the transformation of the urban context under colonial rules?

In responding to these questions, the study first addresses the relation between space and body and text. Second, it turns to the transformation of place, with particular reference to the concepts of modernity and colonialism. The transformation of place will then be discussed with respect to its relation with perception, conception and imagery. Taipei City will be taken as an example of these arguments.

The essay concludes not with a clear-cut answer but with a dynamic frame to explore new meanings of spatial transformation in colonial Taiwan, which may prove to be a catalyst for future discussion. The discussion of spatial transformation related to tradition and modernity is an ongoing exercise for people in once-colonized countries.

OTHER MODERNITIES: THE RISE OF A JAPANESE COLONIAL CAPITAL CITY, 1932–1937

Yishi Liu

Among Chinese cities changed by railroads in the late imperial period, Changchun was unique because it was the nexus of political and economic conflict between Chinese, Russians and Japanese in Manchuria (today's northeast China). Like many Chinese port cities at that time, Changchun was divided into sovereign territorial areas by ethnicity, and thus evolved as a collage city. However, in 1932 a new Japanese planning regime integrated all the older elements as the colonial capital for the puppet state of Manchukuo, which they occupied from 1931 to 1945. The Japanese colonizers described the city, renamed Xinjing (New Capital), as an “experiment yard” for their modern theories and constructions, expecting that these would serve as exemplars for the Japan home islands. The planned capital of Japanese-controlled Manchukuo also offered a futuristic model for Japanese-controlled Asia. With only limited colonial economic and political resources, the progressive design was realized in the short period of the first Five-Year Plan (1932–37). Based upon field visits and archives, this paper investigates the modern city planning and architecture in Changchun of this period as both an expression and instrument of Japanese colonialism.

In imaging Xinjing, Japanese planners sought to create a capital that would represent the power and modernity of Manchukuo, and show that Asia could be modern without relying on the West. Xinjing's planning embodied many of the new trends of thought and theory that arrived in a continuous stream during the early twentieth century: functional zoning; broad, automobile-oriented

roads with circular plazas at important intersections; neighborhood-unit housing for state employees; and public gardens. The distinctive style of architecture at Xinjing — referred to as Developing Asia — also displayed striking characteristics such as large, sloping roofs and exquisite decoration.

Questioning the binarism of traditionality and modernity, I will argue that the term “modern” may have historical references that go beyond the narrowly fixed concept of European modernity in the 1930s. There can be different moderns in different places and times, as exemplified in Xinjing. It was not only its East Asian context but also its militarist ambitions that established the peculiarities of the other modernity of Xinjing.

PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE: SHAPING TWENTIETH-CENTURY DELHI WITH COMMUNAL AND SECULAR NATIONALISMS

Varun Kapur

The study of twentieth-century Delhi has mostly concentrated on two phenomena: the construction of colonial New Delhi by the British in the first half of the twentieth century, and the concurrent demise of Old Delhi as a center of political and symbolic power. Delhi at the end of the colonial period was the new capital of imperial India, and has been thoroughly studied as a spatial and architectural manifestation of colonial power and pomp. It also was witness to the twilight of an earlier courtly urban lifestyle that continued long after the power of empires such as that of the Mughals had faded.

There is a need now to focus on Delhi during and after the time of independence from the British in 1947 — when a set of nationalistic trends that had been in ferment since the nineteenth century began to manifest themselves in the architecture and planning of the city.

In this paper I will focus on two particular threads of nationalism that had a profound effect on the fabric of Delhi in the second half of the twentieth century. The first nationalism was communal and religious in nature; it led to partition between Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan and a resulting migration and upheaval that greatly affected Delhi. The second was a more “secular” nationalism associated with progress, modernization, and the advancement of a unified nation.

With reference to two sites within Delhi — the Lodhi Estate area and Karol Bagh — the paper analyzes how the two nationalisms mentioned above combined with social, political and economic factors to produce very different social and physical spaces from the 1940s to the 1960s. Refugees coming from newly created West Pakistan settled around the existing neighborhood of Karol Bagh, which grew into a dense combination of middle-class residential and commercial areas. The Lodhi Estate area, then barren land at the edge of British imperial New Delhi that was already slated and planned for growth, was where wealthier migrants and refugees to the city settled, and where some of the new institutional centers of the city and the nation arose.

Using these two neighborhoods as case studies, the paper will show how the two nationalisms — communal and secular — worked directly and indirectly to shape the city in very particular ways. The histories of the upheavals in the lives of most of the new inhabitants, of how they were accommodated in the two neighborhoods, and of the differences in the planning and execution of the two neighborhoods, gives a picture of the physical and spatial repercussions of communal nationalism, and the hopes and glaring limitations of secular nationalism during the time.

This history of growth and change in Delhi — as capital of a newly independent India — is vital for understanding the regeneration practices that constituted the social and political life of the nation at the time.

C.1 CHANGING TRADITIONS

SUMMER MILKHOUSES

L. Keith Loftin and Jacqueline Victor

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

THE *GALAE* AND THE *SOI*: TWO TRADITIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY IN THAILAND

Thomas Merrigan

Chiang Mai University, Thailand

BUSHINENGUÉ ART: TRADITIONAL/MODERN

Anne Hublin

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France

INTERROGATING THE *HAKURA* TRADITION: LEBANESE VILLAGE GARDENS AS PRODUCT AND PRODUCTION

Jala Makhzoumi

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

CHANGING TRADITIONS OF GREEN IN GULF URBANISM

Gareth Doherty

Harvard University, U.S.A.

SUMMER MILKHOUSES

L. Keith Loftin and Jacqueline Victor

France is well known for its cheese — hundreds of different varieties. Where does it all come from and where do those animals and their herders live? This simple question has a complex answer that goes to the heart of traditions that are gradually and irrevocably changing.

Historically, there has been an estival migration of animals, called the transhumance, to higher pastures. Before man's intervention, herds of hooved animals migrated upward during the summer months, anxious to eat the sweeter, more succulent grass they found there. With the domestication of sheep, goats and cows, man has followed along. Any creamery will tell you that grass at high altitudes is richer than grass grown in the valleys. And at the market, the butter, milk and cheese from the transhumance are considered to be more desirable than their winter counterparts.

We have visited alpages all over France, but have chosen to discuss the two largest areas which historically have practiced this form of seasonal pasture usage, Savoie/Haute Savoie and Auvergne. Both these areas are known for their high pasture economies, yet they developed separately, and have very different traditions.

Time has altered the human reality all around these places, and yet the transhumance continues. Traditions of building and making cheese have evolved, reflecting changing lifestyles and methods of production. Some regions have held on to the old

ways, whereas others have abandoned them completely. What has changed and what is immutable?

In this paper we will discuss the built habitat resulting from this ages-old patter of migration and production. We are interested in how these buildings and processes differ from alpine region to alpine region, and how they have been maintained or altered through generations of use. In closing, we will discuss what the future holds for these traditions.

THE *GALAE* AND THE *SOI*: TWO TRADITIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY IN THAILAND

Thomas Merrigan

The notion of tradition as a dynamic process rather than a fixed artifact raises questions as to how that process is deployed, how it was authored, what the possible intentions of its deployment are, and, ultimately, what the definition and origin of a tradition is. Defining a tradition might suggest understanding it as a knowable process that can be applied by those other than its authors, and in contexts other than the original. However, this may load the tradition with new values and intentions which render it a separate process, and therefore a new tradition. According to this argument, traditions are not independent of their deployment, authorship or intent; rather, these define the tradition's epistemology.

As the forces of globalism are purportedly threatening to erase or alter the identity of traditional spaces, threatened cultures are fighting back by consciously choosing to deploy traditions and traditional iconography to save the identity of their places. However, this deployment is usually authored by an increasingly institutionalized power structure which claims authority and ownership. The conscious utilization of traditions by larger and more complex institutions for the purpose of preserving the identity of place brings significant changes in the process of those traditions — and, arguably, creates new traditions altogether. Meanwhile, these new traditions produce similar physical results and are often regarded by the institutions which deploy them as being no different than the original. Thus, despite the additional burden of reinforcing cultural identity and the institutionalization of authorship, the change from one tradition to another is invisible. This raises the question of whether traditions can knowingly be redeployed or employed for political purposes such as the maintenance of identity.

One setting for the use of tradition and traditional iconography for the supposed purpose of maintaining a unique regional identity is Chiang Mai, Thailand, where recent growth in the built environment in the form of large-scale, modern buildings has been perceived as a threat by those interested in maintaining the city's distinct character. Here, two traditions contribute in the struggle to maintain the city's identity: the *galae* and the *soi*. The *galae* is widely acknowledged as a distinctive decorative feature of northern Thai houses, and has been intentionally used by local authorities to maintain Chiang Mai's identity. The *soi* is a small, walled street or lane, the construction and maintenance of which has been continuously repeated without obvious regard to its

value. Both traditions contribute greatly to the city's unique identity, but the process of their deployment differs greatly.

This paper will examine these two traditions within the framework of their deployment, authorship, intent and origin. As these traditions occupy opposite ends of the spectrum, they provide benchmarks to discuss tradition's role in the maintenance of identity. The city's idealized identity will provide the context for a comparison of these traditions and their contributions toward the maintenance of that identity.

BUSHINGUÉ ART: TRADITIONAL/MODERN

Anne Hublin

The Maroons — now called “Bushinengué” — are the descendants of African slaves who fled Dutch plantations at the end of the seventeenth century and found refuge in the Guyanese rainforest. Some anthropologists have sought to depict the Maroons as carriers of an authentic African tradition, transplanted to America, where it was preserved intact. Quite the contrary, Maroon communities have literally created their own traditions. As former slaves from diverse African ethnic groups, they originally spoke many different languages and had many different customs. Thus, small Maroon groups isolated in the rainforest were forced to create original social systems, based on various African cultural traits, but also on elements borrowed from Amerindians and from practices learned as slaves on the plantations.

Maroon cultures differ slightly from one ethnic group to another (Saramaka, Ndjuka, Aluku . . .), and have constantly evolved, demonstrating a remarkable inventiveness. These independent communities persisted until the middle of the twentieth century. However, in French Guyana today the Maroons — who once incarnated freedom from colonial slave oppression — have lost their territorial, political and economic autonomy and are increasingly being integrated into a multicultural society. Maroon people, leaving their villages, are now widely scattered in Guyanese coastal areas, living mostly in makeshift settlements at the edge of cities, where they are exposed to poverty, violence, drug addiction, and the scourge of HIV.

But these same Maroons are also the originators of a remarkable artistic movement whose value is becoming recognized beyond the Guyanese area. An artistic movement has been born among the Bushinengué that may be called the “School of Tembé” (*tembé* is the Maroon term for traditional carving, extended to painting). It emerged in the second part of the twentieth century, among forest villages, in the form of figures painted on paddles, canoes, and house gables that reproduced images previously carved in wood. Currently, Bushinengué creators are refining this artistic vocabulary in infinitely varied compositions on fabrics, wood panels, furniture, doors, and wooden houses. And recently, a Bushinengué painter introduced in Guyana the technique of colored sand pictures.

Since 1994, an association has been managing workshops of Bushinengué woodcarving, painting, cabinet work, and carpentry,

as well as textile art. Among the initiatives of this association, has been cooperation with architects, which has made possible contemporary furniture using precious Guyanese wood. The artistic production of Bushinengué artists is periodically shown in local exhibitions, but it is prized more widely. Cultural authorities of international notoriety, like the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and UNESCO in Paris, have welcomed presentations of Bushinengué artwork.

The rise of contemporary Bushinengué art illustrates the last Maroon communities, after being subjected to deculturation and impoverishment, are developing a new aesthetics which is integrated into the global culture of the twenty-first century. They already have been driven into the “New Area of the World,” announced by Edouard Glissant, where fertile cultures are emerging.

INTERROGATING THE *HAKURA* TRADITION: LEBANESE VILLAGE GARDENS AS PRODUCT AND PRODUCTION

Jala Makhzoumi

The persistence of the idea of garden reflects the significance of this archetypal landscape both as a place with its own special aesthetic and spiritual qualities and an allegory of the relationship between nature, god, and the world. These relationships are encoded into garden layout and choice of plants, reflected in garden use and management, and implied in the way the garden is valued. Reading these clues becomes a means of interrogating culture and unfolding traditional values and aesthetic preferences. As material product and as socio-cultural production, the *hakura*, the Lebanese house garden, then can be used as a point of reference for understanding social values, rural attachments to land, gender stratification, and intergenerational relationships.

The *hakura* is a hybrid orchard, vegetable patch, and pleasure garden. With its diversity of trees — palms, pomegranates, olives, citrus and figs — and a pergola for vines, it mirrors descriptions of the Garden of Eden, where God planted “every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food.” God also ensured that “a river” would flow out of Eden “to water the garden.” And because water is scarce in the region, the *hakura* cannot be only for pleasure, but must also be productive. In fact, the productivity of the *hakura* is integral to its aesthetic — a source of gratification and pleasure.

Based on a survey in October-November 2007 in the village of Siddiqine in south Lebanon, this study explores the content, function and role of the *hakura*. Its objective is twofold: to explore how traditional village gardens are organized, used and managed; and to determine whether and in which way the traditional garden is changing as it adapts to evolving socioeconomic needs, changing perceptions, and contemporary lifestyles. As part of the study, eleven houses were selected and surveyed, and their planting layouts were documented and plant species noted. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of each household to establish patterns of use and management.

The findings unfold a multilayered picture of the village garden as a medium through which indigenous horticultural knowl-

edge is transmitted, healthy eating habits are promoted, sustainable use of resources is practiced, and gender relations are stratified.

CHANGING TRADITIONS OF GREEN IN GULF URBANISM

Gareth Doherty

This paper will look at the tradition of the color green in urbanism and its changing role in the contemporary city through the example of the extremely arid Arabian/Persian Gulf region, and more particularly the Bahraini archipelago.

Aerial views of the Gulf show that urbanism and the color green are closely linked through the presence of water. Indeed, contemporary architectural projects in the Gulf that together create an urbanism seek legitimization through green lawns or green-tinted glass, often consisting of shades of green sitting apologetically between the dusty olive hues of date palms and the turquoise of the sea that they displace. Green is used in a similar way to historical symbols such as sails to construct certain pasts: verdant memories are important when history is selective.

The Bahraini archipelago, in the heart of the Gulf, has for millennia been a locus of greenery amid the region's deserts. It has variously been known as the legendary site of the Garden of Eden, "Country of a Million Palms," and the "Land of Eternal Youth." However, Bahrain lost much of its natural greenery as a result of the urbanization that followed the discovery of oil in 1932, and today the nature of its greenery is changing.

No longer solely associated with agriculture and gardening, green is an essential component of Gulf urbanism, demonstrating economic as well as political and cultural value. Why else, for instance, would nearby Dubai spend upward of \$1 billion in one year to desalinate water for irrigation? The transformative power of turning the desert green is far more potent than turning it to concrete or gravel. But the presence of the desert cannot easily be forgotten in the region; even in its absence, it is very much present. Ironically, making such green areas is also not very "green" in the ecological sense of the word. To emphasize this, Masdar, the new "green" city outside Abu Dhabi, is being marketed as the world's first zero-carbon-emission city, where cars are restricted and the city powered through solar energy.

The Arabic phrase "water, greenery, and a beautiful face" suggests that the provision of water facilitates a life-giving greenery, which, when combined with beauty, is all that one could want. Indeed, the combination of practical and aesthetic is the distinctive meaning of the word landscape, distinguishing it from geography and planning, which are more concerned with spatial organization than appearance. (The Arabic for "landscape," *mandar tabayee*, literally translates as "beautiful scenery.") Advances in technology have made the provision of green more viable and more intense, changing the tradition, but not the impulse. Bahrain and the Gulf respond with green-tinted glass, Astroturf, and verdant lawns — in the process, creating new traditions of green.

A.2 ARCHITECTURAL EXPERTISE AND TRADITION

FASIL GHEORGIS, ETHIOPIA, AND ARCHITECTURE'S BORDERLAND

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CONTENDING TRADITION: PLANNING WORKING-CLASS EXTENSIONS OF THE CITY IN LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

Tiago Castela

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

TRADITION, REALISM, AND THE VERNACULAR: ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Michelangelo Sabatino

University of Houston, U.S.A.

QUESTIONING TRADITIONS: THE WORK OF GEOFFREY BAWA

Arief Setiawan

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FASIL GHEORGIS, ETHIOPIA, AND ARCHITECTURE'S BORDERLAND

Mark Jarzombek

Fasil Georghis is a 43-year-old Ethiopian architect who teaches at the school of architecture at Addis Ababa. He is part of a small group of young African architects who are attempting to define themselves within the complex cross-currents of modernity and tradition and in the context of a continent traumatized by conflict, poverty, and global exploitation. That Georghis has managed to develop a critical practice is extremely unusual among young architects in Africa. But his efforts must be framed within what might be called an Ethiopian Renaissance, which began with the end of the communist Mengistu regime in 1992, and which has advanced now that Ethiopia has been seen as valuable by both the U.S. and China — as an ally with the U.S. against terrorism, and as a stable trading partner and point of entry for cheap Chinese goods.

In this paper, I will discuss the first two major structures by Georghis: an open-air theater on Churchill Street in Addis Ababa, and a lodge-hotel some 100 kilometers northeast of Addis, sited spectacularly atop a steep conical hill that was until the middle of the nineteenth century the site of the now-vanished capital city of Ankober. The two buildings are very different in style and material, and both were made on an extraordinarily small budget. Nevertheless, they attempt to provoke a learned discussion about the role of architecture in the context of Africa and Ethiopia. Each

has referents to what can be thought of as “history,” but defined as something clearly damaged in the flows of time. The theater references Constructivist projects to suggest a missing component of communist-era utopianism that can now be reclaimed with a sense of irony. The lodge references the missing history of Ethiopia’s early modern political landscape, creating a purposeful misreading of the premodern by elevating a “primitive” thatched hut on wooden *pilotis*.

Georghis can be seen as producing “conceptual” architecture (to revise a term from the 1960s), in the sense that he wants to evoke the problem and issue of modernity without falling into the trap of moving toward either pole in a neomodernist/neotraditionalist duality. He wants to be recognized as a black African architect, but not one who is limited by aspiring only to an architecture of social commitment. He wants, instead, an architecture that links to the discourses of the discipline, whether these exist in Ethiopia or not. In that sense, his works, resolutely indeterminate, will in some sense always fail in their local contexts.

What then is the status of architectural production — and the production of architectural discourse — at the margins of the global economy? That is the broader question that Gheorghis’s work provokes.

CONTENDING TRADITION: PLANNING WORKING-CLASS EXTENSIONS OF THE CITY IN LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

Tiago Castela

This paper addresses ways in which the production of informal working-class extensions of the city in late-twentieth-century Portugal was articulated with shifting professional understandings of tradition. Although a valuable body of literature has engaged with traditions in informal settlements, the ways that concepts of tradition have been employed by architects and planners engaged in managing such informal growth are less well known. The paper explores the history of professional discourses on tradition in late-twentieth-century Portugal, in particular the ways such narratives participated in the production of planning knowledge on the informal extensions of Lisbon. Such settlements — mostly self-built by migrants from inland agricultural areas — housed between 20 and 30 percent of the population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in the late 1970s.

The paper draws on dissertation research conducted since 2006 in the so-called “clandestine” neighborhood of Casal de Cambra, one of the largest informal settlements in the Lisbon area. Casal de Cambra originated in the early 1960s, during the dictatorial “New State” regime. At that time state-sponsored professional representations of a disciplined agricultural working class, including 1940s open-air museums in Lisbon and in Coimbra, had become an important frame of reference for the definition of a traditional and authentic Portuguese architecture. According to contemporary professional discourse, this rural traditionality was purportedly endangered by the suburban settlements

of a new urban wage-laborer population, for whom few places were reserved in the city of Lisbon.

During the dictatorship there was no place for informal settlements in expert definitions of tradition. In the context of a “modern” architectural style for the insulated imperial capital, emerging building traditions in spaces such as Casal de Cambra were characterized as “inauthentic,” inconsistent with the implied duality of modernity and traditionality. After the 1974 revolution, however, planning knowledge seems to have located informality in the realm of unchanging rurality — rearticulating New State imaginations of architectural tradition.

Such post-democratization perspectives purposely disregarded the actual and continuing practices of planning the working-class extensions of Lisbon, and the roles of concepts of tradition in the imagination and organization of the future city. Indeed, municipalities in the Lisbon area did not merely tolerate informal settlement. From the 1960s onward, municipal experts often surveyed growing settlements and organized the creation of limited public infrastructure while legally maintaining informal spaces outside the realm of urbanity.

This paper claims that the use of shifting concepts of tradition was integral to the constitution of such informal practices of planning. In Portugal, in the context of agonistic relations of power between professionals working as functionaries for municipalities and the inhabitants of settlements such as Casal de Cambra, expert discourses entailing an opposition of modernity and tradition enabled the constitution of flexible modes of planning that facilitated the re-creation of inequalities in citizenship after political democratization in 1974.

TRADITION, REALISM, AND THE VERNACULAR: ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Michelangelo Sabatino

After European realist artists and writers turned their attention to the traditions and living conditions of exploited, marginalized peasants in the mid-nineteenth century, architects eventually took notice. Throughout the twentieth century architects ventured down country roads that led them to discover the built environments of hamlets, villages and modest-sized hill towns. The discovery of folk architecture, arts, and crafts enabled architects of different generations and countries — from Josef Hoffmann to Le Corbusier, from Alvar Aalto to Luis Barragán — to redefine tradition as it had been portrayed in the styles of nineteenth-century historicism. The vernacular was deemed both realistic and anti-academic, and it seemed to offer architects a way to overcome the determinism of style while appealing to the rural working-class poor whose voices were just beginning to be heard.

In a century charged with ideology, the vernacular also functioned as a conduit for regional and national identity politics. But its appropriation led to radically different outcomes. In Italy and Germany between the two world wars, governments sought to exploit the vernacular to gain visibility and win the approval of the masses.

Yet, there was a substantial difference between the two countries, insofar as in Italy a number of “left-wing” Fascist architects rejected the imposition of a homogenous “Heimatstil” in favor of a creative, open-ended dialogue with the different regional traditions.

I will focus on the role played by the vernacular in redefining tradition for Italian architects working between the two world wars. Using three examples, I will discuss the nature and development of competing approaches. I will first examine a nostalgia-driven revival of picturesque, rustic, regional models endorsed by Gustavo Giovannoni, as reflected in his Garbatella Garden City for middle-income citizens on the outskirts of Rome (1921). Giovannoni’s filter of “minor architecture” via stylistic cues shared little with the anti-historicist attitude of such adherents of rationalism as Giuseppe Pagano. Together with Werner Daniel, Pagano curated an exhibition of “rural architecture” at the Milan Triennale of 1936 to promote a deeper understanding of tectonic systems and building elements. Along with Pagano, certain Rationalists like Adalberto Libera developed a lyrical approach — the elusive “*mediterraneità*” — that incorporated cues from both classicism and vernacular sources of the Mediterranean region. Recall his Casa Malaparte (1938).

In translating anonymous sources into signature styles, architects ultimately transformed the nature of the vernacular tradition they appropriated — which had until then been propelled forward by and for common people, who were often socially and economically marginalized from the rest of society. For such architects, the cultural and social values underlying the dramatic expressiveness and everyday vitality of rural and hill-town vernaculars called into question a European modernism enthralled with machine-age aesthetics and abstraction. Against the backdrop of Italy’s politically charged landscape, architects set the stage for the modernization of rural life and the ruralization of modern life; this important yet overlooked contribution to European modernity was at once realistic and utopian, anachronistic and subversive.

QUESTIONING TRADITIONS: THE WORK OF GEOFFREY BAWA

Arief Setiawan

This paper will explore questions related to the use of architecture to embody ideas of culture, identity and history, where works of architecture are often seen to provide a tangible medium through which such ideas may be promoted and negotiated. In this vein, contemporary works by many architects have attempted to achieve distinctive forms that relate to aspects of place. The architectural dimensions of this phenomenon may also be closely related to social and cultural factors. One important dimension of this effort has been to represent a collective identity, such as the idea of a nation, through tangible structures. Thus, ambitious national projects, such as parliament buildings or new capitals in Africa, Asia, and South America, have sought to materialize particular forms of architecture that represent these nations as distinct entities and map their position in the contemporary world. Such architectural explorations often point to attempts to frame

and mobilize the notion of tradition within a particular narrative that juxtaposes certain political agendas with tangible expressions.

As an example of these national projects, the Sri Lankan Parliament building, designed by the Sri Lankan master Geoffrey Bawa, reveals another dimension in the narratives of tradition and architecture. In his lifetime, Bawa produced an extensive body of work that often employed formal and spatial features derived from the architectural history of Sri Lanka. Among these were roofs with generous overhangs, spatial arrangements that recalled courtyard houses, and particular choices of local materials and techniques. Because of these characteristics, Bawa’s works are often misunderstood as celebrating a particular tradition of the island and endorsing a formal narrative of national identity — readings that he vehemently denied. In fact, careful and close examination of Bawa’s oeuvre reveals a more complicated picture, in which the architect displayed subtle and playful references to many facets of his personal life and the history of Sri Lanka. These included Sinhalese, colonial Portuguese, and Dutch influences, his own passion for Italian designs, and his modernist education — all of which foreground the difficulty of pinpointing a particular framing of tradition.

This paper sets out to question the negotiations and explorations of tradition in Bawa’s work — which, in their subtleties, refuse to conform to a particular narrative. Instead, his many significant projects embody multilayered, critical approaches to Sri Lanka’s architectural tradition. The paper begins with an analysis of a selection of Bawa’s work, which will incorporate explorations of architectural and cultural agendas relative to their particular place and particular period. In order to discuss these works meaningfully, the paper then inquires into the meanings and implications of certain essential constructs, such as the terms “local,” “tradition,” and “modern” relative to a particular locale. Hence, this study aims to unfold particular understandings of the concepts of “local,” “Sri Lanka,” or “Ceylonese” embedded in Bawa’s works.

B.2 (RE)GENERATING HERITAGE

INDUSTRIAL WORLD HERITAGE: A STRATEGY FOR ECONOMIC REGENERATION OR SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Chris Landorf

University of Newcastle, Australia

THE MUGHAL GARDEN HERITAGE: REGENERATED TRADITIONS AND SPACES

Amita Sinha

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.

TRADITION VERSUS REPRESENTATION

Julia Theodoraki-Patsi, Polymnia-Carolina Theodoraki, and Angelliki-Myrto Theodoraki

National University of Athens and Independent Scholars, Greece.

GIVING RECONSTRUCTION A HISTORY: ARCHITECTURAL RENAISSANCE OF INVENTED TRADITION IN MODERN KOREA

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INDUSTRIAL WORLD HERITAGE: A STRATEGY FOR ECONOMIC REGENERATION OR SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Chris Landorf

The growing expectation that heritage will form a catalyst for economic renewal and social inclusion is suggested by the recent inscription on the World Heritage List of five former industrial sites in the United Kingdom. Heritage-led regeneration through tourism is seen at many levels as a panacea for the emotional and economic distress associated with deindustrialization. While the reality is still largely unproven, academic literature abounds with reflections on the mass “consumption of heritage” by an expanding horde of tourists seeking authentic cultural experience.

Despite many assertions that heritage can make a significant contribution to economic regeneration and social inclusion, evidence for this also remains scarce. This is particularly the case in relation to its social benefits. Without an adequate understanding of this relationship, many of the promises to create sustainable communities and tackle social exclusion by nurturing community identity will remain hollow. A contributing factor is the emphasis placed on establishing criteria for heritage value and then managing heritage to conserve that value. As the tangible manifestations of heritage are far more quantifiable and manageable than the intangible, Western heritage practice has evolved to focus on the conservation of the physical fabric of a place. This presents a challenge to the continuity of local traditions and the sustainability of associative meanings — which are, by definition, organic, evolving and ephemeral.

This paper examines the implied expectations of heritage in economic-regeneration and social-inclusion policy. Considered from within the context of current debate about the sustainable use of World Heritage Sites, the paper investigates the implications of contemporary heritage practice on sustainability, particularly in relation to the sustainability of associative values that connect local communities to the physical reality of place. The paper argues that there is an inherent contradiction between the conservation of “outstanding universal value” and the sustainability of “associative local value.” Using a comparative analysis of five industrial World Heritage Sites in the United Kingdom, the paper concludes that this contradiction limits the capacity for World Heritage Sites to contribute positively to social inclusion through the continuous cultivation of community identity and empowerment. This calls into question the assumed role of heritage-led regeneration in much social-inclusion policy.

THE MUGHAL GARDEN HERITAGE: REGENERATED TRADITIONS AND SPACES

Amita Sinha

Of all the garden traditions that have flourished on the Indian subcontinent, the Mughal gardens are best known and valued. This legacy, although far more difficult to sustain than India’s monumental architectural heritage, is less contested and more widely acknowledged as shared among the nation’s diverse communities. The Mughal garden has been a visible symbol of aesthetic achievement, and was a design paradigm emulated right up to the early twentieth century. The architectural elements of the historic pleasure gardens, unlike the imposing structures of the tomb and palace gardens, were subservient, since they were to be employed primarily to view and enjoy the landscape. Yet their pavilions hosted more than recreational pursuits; they were sites of coronations and *darbars*, thus part of the state’s apparatus of display and commemoration. Their heritage value is partly derived from symbolism associated with their ceremonial functions — a tradition lost as imperial Mughal power waned.

With changing times, garden traditions of planting and water management and patterns of use and meaning have shifted. Conservation of historic Mughal gardens has also proved to be a challenge because of the accretion of new structures during the colonial era, the partial destruction and dilapidation of older structures, the loss of ceremonial and commemorative traditions, and changing environmental contexts and urbanization. When their context is irrevocably changed, not only are the gardens affected in terms of accessibility, but they are also affected internally in terms of the views and water resources they can command for effective functioning. With urbanization, there has also been pressure on them to perform as neighborhood or city parks.

I study three historic gardens — Shalamar Bagh in Delhi, Mahtab Bagh in Agra, and Vilayiti Bagh in Lucknow — as settings of display of imperial power over nature and humanity. Shalamar Bagh and Mahtab Bagh were built as Mughal gardens in the sev-

enteenth century; Vilayiti Bagh was built in the early nineteenth century in a style derivative of Mughal tradition. Shalamar Bagh was a site of coronation (of Emperor Aurangzeb) and a rest stop for the imperial entourage on its journeys from Delhi to Lahore. Mahtab Bagh, or the moonlight garden, was built to view the Taj Mahal from across the river Yamuna. Vilayiti Bagh was built on the banks of the river Gomti by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, Nawab of Avadh, and named after his European wife.

I analyze the three Islamic gardens as sites of specific courtly and aesthetic traditions that legitimized royal privilege and social hierarchy at the same time they were celebratory of the concept of otherworldly paradise. I trace the trajectory of their abandonment and restoration as heritage sites in the twenty-first century, and investigate the consequent changes in their form, use and meaning. I argue that these sites hold the potential for regenerated garden traditions that imply new discursive political and social practices. They legitimize the identity of the nation and its states, and create spaces for local community recreation, regional and global tourism.

TRADITION VERSUS REPRESENTATION

Julia Theodoraki-Patsi, Polymnia-Carolina Theodoraki, and Angelliki-Myrto Theodoraki

In all Mediterranean countries, architectural heritage stems from many historical influences that represent a diversity of Eastern and Western cultures and the dichotomy between Eastern and Western perception.

In Greece the term “post-traditional” in architecture, refers to several phases of architectural production in the last two hundred years. But it refers to a different period for each Greek region, according to the moment when they were linked to the contemporary Greek state. By contrast, “traditional architecture” refers to the particular architecture that each place inherited from before the constitution of the Greek state.

There are four phases recorded for the representation of post-traditional architecture. The presentation will distinguish these based on a differentiation of roof patterns used on islands in the eastern Aegean: 1) traditional — plain roof pattern; 2) search for identity — four-pitched roof pattern; 3) neoclassical — two-pitched roof pattern; and 4) hybridity — eclecticism.

In order to be “authentic,” diverse, and deliverable to future generations, architectural heritage needs to have a concrete beginning, duration and end. In other words, it must include structures of the past with a particular identity that correspond to a historical period created by a dominant cognitive perception, and which can be protected and transmitted to future generations.

Recently, information-technology and communication systems have redefined the cognitive dichotomies between East and West. Greater cognitive diversity has been created by bringing users of these systems together with holders of unique cultural particularities (traditional architecture). In this meeting, the first group is seeking an escape from the isolation of modern technolo-

gy; the second is using domestic architecture for its endogenous potential in tourism development. The consequence of this meeting is the structuring of a neotraditional architecture that uses representations of the past to revive the particularity of the architectural heritage of each place. Will this produce a new era? Or is it a deliberate “mise en scene,” a process of simulacrum?

The above issues are examined in the architectural context of three islands in the eastern Aegean (Tylos, Symi and Chalki). Even though these lie in proximity to one another, they have developed divergent architectural representations.

GIVING RECONSTRUCTION A HISTORY: ARCHITECTURAL RENAISSANCE OF INVENTED TRADITION IN MODERN KOREA

Jong Hyun Lim

This paper will discuss South Korea’s current boom in conjectural reconstructions of historic structures, houses, towns and folk villages as part of a larger emphasis on the “revival of tradition.” Contemporary government-initiated reconstruction projects will be analyzed, with a focus on the concept of tradition as it is currently understood (“ethics of authenticity”) in academic studies and professional fieldwork. In particular, the paper will explore socio-political approaches the South Korean government has used to stimulate public nostalgia for the past, the social reinterpretation of tradition, and the false impressions of the past created by political authorities.

By the late twentieth century, local South Korean authorities were actively engaged in conjectural reconstruction of folk houses, villages, historic towns, and urban districts, reflecting a political response to the accelerating loss of heritage during the last century. The recent era of rapid industrialization (1970s–1990s), in particular, resulted in a near total destruction of traditional and vernacular aspects of the South Korean built environment.

In terms of its meaning and interpretation, “tradition” has been used selectively to distinguish Korean national identity within the larger East Asian cultural sphere and to tap into public sympathy for a cultural authenticity that contrasts with Western cultural influences. However, tradition as a concept and methodology is ambiguous, allowing easy misinterpretation and misuse in describing the “spirit of the times” of contemporary Korea.

This trend has influenced not only the historic built environment, but also modern architectural designs in urban areas, where its intent has been to promote Korean cultural identity through traditionally inspired architecture and urban regeneration. Subjective or conjectural representations of tradition have, however, resulted in unreflective public acceptance of invented tradition. Under this cultural paradox and interpretative dichotomy, the physical aspects of tradition have been typologically simplified, morphologically transformed, and utilized as political strategies designed for locally based and locally driven economic development through heritage tourism.

This paper will carefully analyze the interrelationships between memory, tradition, and modern representation to suggest

how tradition can be utilized in contemporary historic preservation and urban design practice. It argues that a Korean social trend for neotradition, closely associated with economic development and with an exaggerated emphasis on tradition as a resurrection of lost memories, has led to a nationwide increase in government-initiated reconstruction. Finally, the paper offers thoughts on how tradition can exceed simple conjectural reproduction of the tangible past.

C.2 REGENERATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

DEALS, WHEELS, AND KEELS: ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN THE RAPID RESHAPING OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS IN MACAO

Sharif Shams Imon, Lynne D. DiStefano, and Ho Yin Lee
IFT, Macao, and The University of Hong Kong, China

INFLUENCES OF TRADITION ON THE POLITICS AND PRACTICES OF WATERFRONT REGENERATION: A CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISON

Maria Soledad Garcia Ferrari
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TRADITION AND CHANGE IN POST-REGENERATION MANCHESTER

Eamonn Canniffe
Manchester School of Architecture, U.K.

DANZÓN AND SON IN REGENERATION STRATEGIES: THE CASE OF VERACRUZ, MEXICO

Brenda Galvan-Lopez
Newcastle University, U.K.

DEALS, WHEELS, AND KEELS: ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN THE RAPID RESHAPING OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS IN MACAO

Sharif Shams Imon, Lynne D. DiStefano, and Ho Yin Lee

This paper focuses on two particular activities that have come to define Macao: the implanted Grand Prix motor-sports tradition, and the indigenous tradition of dragon boat racing. It examines the factors that have led to their reshaping, especially those connected with Macao's globalized, tourism-based economic development.

The tradition of motor racing is an oddity in Macao. Prior to World War II, motor traffic, let alone motor racing, was not identified with the tiny, far-flung, colonial territory of originally no more than three square kilometers. However, the first Grand Prix in Portugal (in 1951) probably provided the spark for an annual amateur even in Macao. Launched by local motor enthusiasts, it has now evolved into the multimillion-dollar Macao Grand Prix. What began as a foreign (European) idea has also been "localized" into an almost uniquely Macao cultural event. This is now characterized by colorful celebrities from the regional movie industry (such as Jackie Chan, a motor-sports enthusiast) as well local Triad members (such as the Hong Kong "Tiger of Wan Chai," who was gunned down shortly after participating in the 1993 race).

In contrast, dragon boat races are of local derivation, traditionally held on the day that marks mid-summer in the Chinese calen-

dar (based on a combination of the solar and lunar cycles). Popularly referred to as the Dragon Boat Festival (the Chinese name translates as “Mid-Summer Festival”), they were common among fishing communities in southern China. However, after World War II, for socio-political reasons, the races ceased completely in mainland China. Until they were revived in the post-Mao era, there were only three places where the tradition continued: Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. In Macao, under the banner of the Macao Dragon Boat Race, they have taken on a decidedly competitive character and attract highly trained, semi-professional teams of diverse ethnicity and cultural background from all over the world.

In the so-called preglobalization age, it might have taken generations for local traditions to emerge, evolve or change. Today, aided by a highly connected global information and economic network, cultural traditions can be expediently manipulated for financial gain. Using the case studies of the Macao Grand Prix and the Macao Dragon Boat Race, two cultural events with immense tourist potential (one implanted and one indigenous), the paper examines how such traditions have been dramatically altered for economic purposes.

INFLUENCES OF TRADITION ON THE POLITICS AND PRACTICES OF WATERFRONT REGENERATION: A CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISON

Maria Soledad Garcia Ferrari

The creation of places is the result of socio-political interactions which reflect geographical, historical and spatial traditions. Recently, major regeneration efforts have taken place in different parts of the world, focused both on their local economic and urban benefit and on generating places which can compete within international markets. The aim of this paper is to analyze these efforts, particularly the regeneration of waterfront areas, in order to better understand how traditional politics interact with transnational influences and pressures.

Economic changes have created pressure for significant spatial transformation in traditional port areas, where large amounts of land have been left derelict. Local, regional, national and occasionally transnational authorities and organizations have played an important role in the regeneration of this land. Such efforts require vision, negotiation, participation, public and private investment, and the definition of design strategies, among other skills and practices.

The investigation presented in this paper identifies key aspects of these regeneration efforts. It is based on analysis of a number of examples of waterfront restructuring, which inform a structured comparison of how traditional forces might influence the creation of places. The specific aspects of the analytical framework for this study are as follows: strategic objectives at the city and regional levels; vision and consensus around waterfront regeneration; concepts of design quality (harbor heritage, urban densities, and design of public areas); implementation of regeneration programs including participation processes; and special-purpose organizational models.

To gain a better understanding of how tradition influences regeneration practices, the paper focuses on efforts in two different

areas of the world: Latin America and northern Europe. In particular, it aims to compare processes of waterfront regeneration in Buenos Aires and Montevideo in the River Plate area and Edinburgh and Aalborg in the North Sea region. Both areas have economic, cultural, political and social traditions which are identified and compared within the conceptual approach described above.

Initial findings indicate that forces of tradition influence these processes at different levels, from the political background created to the design solutions adopted. However, these forces are usually seen and presented as being reinterpreted and focusing on emerging needs, generally linked to increasing global influences. The analysis here highlights how certain aspects of tradition linked to design decisions could achieve better solutions if interpretations were determined by a holistic approach across different sectors, including culture, social conditions, traffic patterns, etc.

The paper builds on the findings of a three-year-long research project funded by the INTERREG IIIB North Sea Programme, the “Waterfront Communities Project,” which took place from 2004 to 2007. See www.waterfrontcommunitiesproject.org.

TRADITION AND CHANGE IN POST-REGENERATION MANCHESTER

Eamonn Canniffe

The process of change in the city of Manchester has shifted over the last decade between two image-driven poles. Prior to 1996, in reaction to disturbances created in the urban fabric by a largely unpopular mid-twentieth-century modernism, the emphasis in planning decisions was on the traditional image of the nineteenth-century city. Since 1996, however, there has been a *volte face*, according to which those same disruptive elements (Piccadilly Plaza, C.I.S Tower, Piccadilly Station Approach, etc.) are now seen as models for a confident, forward-looking city. As in many bureaucracies, the same city officials have promoted these different policies, with quite different consequences. Prior to 1996, their emphasis was on conservation and control — particularly in terms of building heights, selection of vernacular materials, and respect for historical building footprints. Since 1996, that emphasis has changed to favor economic return through maximization of site coverage and site value. This liberal policy has resulted in the occupation of many long-vacant building plots and the first dramatic changes to the skyline of the city since the 1960s.

Familiarity with the processes by which these changes have occurred makes the energetic spectacle of regeneration less than beguiling. In the mid-1990s economic and political conditions created two competing visions for Manchester. The first was of a regenerated, sustainable postindustrial city, transformed through the repair of the urban environment. The second was of a ruined city, devastated by a 1996 I.R.A. bomb, but which was ready to seize the commercial opportunity offered by political violence to construct a new exclusive retail, leisure and residential environment. While the first vision was the official aspiration of the city council, economic realpolitik eventually ensured that it would be the second vision that was fulfilled.

In many respects this outcome accords with the city's *genius loci*, since Manchester's urban development tradition has been one of short-term economic exploitation with little concern for long-term consequences. There is therefore a certain native inevitability to recent developments. However, there is also a tradition of amelioration of the environment, into which the promotion of sustainability was seen to fit. The city's history of flexible building form, of adaptability and durability, were specifically identified as aids to the creation of such a sustainable urban environment. Yet these ideals would appear to have been abandoned in the reconstruction of the city center today. The huge new Marks & Spencer store, the economic lynchpin of the city's redevelopment, proved to be too large for its struggling owners. Nevertheless, its utilitarian form enabled its subdivision, and partial occupation, by Selfridge & Co. This potential flexibility is harder to perceive in later flagship buildings, however, such as the raking residential slab No. 1 Deansgate, the twisted boomerang of Urbis, and the Beetham Tower — dramatic glazed structures which rise self-confidently above the roofs of the Victorian city.

DANZÓN AND SON IN REGENERATION STRATEGIES: THE CASE OF VERACRUZ, MEXICO

Brenda Galvan-Lopez

This paper outlines research concerning ways the notion of intangible heritage can influence the transformation of public spaces in the context of historic urban centers. It has three principal aims: a) to contribute to a bottom-up understanding of intangible heritage (used as a synonym for traditions or living heritage); b) to explore the influence of social activities considered as intangible heritage in the transformation of public spaces; and c) to investigate how physical transformations affect intangible heritage, public space, or both.

This work proposes a framework with which to analyze the impact of intangible heritage on public space. And it investigates how these activities can be part of the regeneration strategies of planning authorities, who have previously focused mainly on the built environment. Although its emphasis is on activities, it also points out how intangible and tangible heritage are often inseparable. Indeed, the challenge is to avoid separation or emphasis on hierarchies of importance.

The historic center of Veracruz, Mexico, was the research setting. Using a qualitative method, several manifestations of intangible heritage were investigated. This paper then analyzes the dynamics of *danzón* and *son* music in three of those spaces: the Zocalo, Plazuela de la Campana, and Portal de Miranda. Preliminary results indicate that the organizers of *danzón* and *son* events have a strong influence on their dynamics. These local cultural pursuits encourage community participation; however, these groups are not actively involved in decision-making which could threaten these traditions in the longer term. These activities, which rely heavily on symbolic and social interpretation, consolidate social networks; however, the constraints of public space and infrastructure negatively affect their reproduction and appropriation.

A.3 NEOLIBERALISM AND THE CITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NEOLIBERALISM AT WORK IN AMMAN: CIRCULATING GLOBAL CAPITAL, IMAGES, CONSUMPTION PATTERNS, AND PLANNING MODELS

Rami Daher

German-Jordanian University, Jordan

REORIENTING AMMAN: NEOLIBERALISM AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LOCAL

Christopher Parker

Ghent University, Belgium

POLITICIZING TRADITION: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ABU DHABI'S CENTRAL MARKET

Yasser Elsheshtawy

United Arab Emirates University, U.A.E.

CONSUMERISM AND CORPORATIZATION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN BEIRUT'S FASHIONABLE HAMRA STREET

AbdelHalim Jabr and Rami Daher

American University of Beirut, Lebanon, and German-Jordanian University, Jordan

NEITHER PUBLIC NOR PRIVATE: THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN POSTWAR(S) BEIRUT, LEBANON

Hiba Bou Akar

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

NEOLIBERALISM AT WORK IN AMMAN: CIRCULATING GLOBAL CAPITAL, IMAGES, CONSUMPTION PATTERNS, AND PLANNING MODELS

Rami Daher

Cities across the Middle East are currently competing with one another to attract international investments, businesses, and tourism developments. Cities are "obliged" to create the right milieu, competitive business climate, and first-class tourism facilities in order to attract people to come live, invest, and be entertained. Developments in Dubai and the current reconstruction for downtown Beirut (the Solidere project) are becoming the models to follow in such developments. It is important to understand how the global circulation of capital (often surplus oil revenues in search of high-yielding and secure investments), excessive privatization, and flagship projects are transforming urban reality, property values, and the nature of public life in cities in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, throughout the Arab Gulf, and elsewhere in the Arab region.

It is further interesting to understand and contextualize the emergence of new regulating bodies in these cities. As “property” has become the consumer good par excellence the transnational capitalist class has not only encouraged the adoption of new planning models but also the spread of consumer patterns within society at large. Emerging urban islands of excessive consumption for the chosen elite have now combined with an internationalization of commercial real estate companies and construction consultancies capable of providing high-quality services. This has allowed the neoliberal urban restructuring in places such as downtown Beirut, Abdali in Amman, Dreamland in Cairo, the financial district in Manama, and even in the heart of the Holy City of Mecca through the Jabal Omar project. Popular imagery of such developments mimics those in the West, and, as such, represents an “Oriental vision of the Occident.”

The paper attempts to understand this neoliberal urban phenomenon and locate it within both a regional and global perspective. The author will show how these different projects adopt several forms of spatial ordering and engineering, such as high-end and isolated urban development and regeneration (e.g., Solidere in Beirut and Abdali in Amman); special economic zones (e.g., ASEZA in Aqaba); upper-end residential “gated” communities all over Amman (e.g., Green Land, Andalusia); and low-income residential cities (e.g., in Jizza and al Zarqa). These endeavors all reflect dominant political and ideological discourses of power regulated by neoliberal tropes, camouflaged in the legitimacy of the local (through promises of job provision and new promised lifestyles), and manifested through spatially engineered realities.

The author is also concerned with the politics of spatial ordering. In certain cases, new emerging urban bodies (e.g., Mawared in Amman, Solidere in Beirut, and ASEZA in Aqaba) are replacing, manipulating or silencing traditional governing bodies such as municipalities and governorates.

REORIENTING AMMAN: NEOLIBERALISM AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LOCAL

Christopher Parker

The Royal Hashemite Automobile Museum — a monument to speed and circulation — is situated just above a promenade featuring a timeline of Jordanian heritage carved in stone. Glossy photos in USAID promotional materials show the happy beneficiaries of micro-credit schemes dressed in traditional costume. Donor-sponsored tourism projects mobilize Eurocentric tropes of Orientals to provide a local experience that will live up to the expectations of global travelers and investors. Everywhere that neoliberalism travels it clothes itself in the legitimacy of the local. The authenticity on display is used to represent the community as a stable repository for obligations transferred from the state, in the context of aggressive neoliberal reform.

Drawing on evidence from Jordan, the paper will suggest how neoliberalism appropriates the local to remake the political world. It will highlight a paradox: while the supposedly global laws of the market are used to justify the advance of neoliberal

reform, the market is in fact made in very local sites (e.g., pockets of poverty, special economic zones, urban regeneration zones, etc); meanwhile, local authenticity has become a commodity produced at the global level. By flattening the local-global dichotomy — by calling into question the assumptions that make it appear as a natural distinction — some of the political effects it produces can be brought more clearly into view.

POLITICIZING TRADITION: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ABU DHABI'S CENTRAL MARKET

Yasser Elsheshawy

In emerging cities such as Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates, which have no substantive urban history, the notions of identity and tradition become tools through which different, and at times conflicting, political agendas are pursued. With respect to the built environment, this politicization of tradition responds to, and is guided by, the varying interests of different actors: the “messianic” vision of rulers (legitimizing power), and the profit-oriented interests of policy-makers, planners and architects.

The reconstruction of the central market in the Abu Dhabi's downtown is illustrative of this process. Moving through a series of iterations during which notions of identity and tradition have been used to varying degrees, the project has transformed a Foucaultian heterotopia to a globalized city center. The market was built in the 1970s to replace a traditional *souq*, and marked the city's early modernization. However, as the city grew, it came to be surrounded by highrise buildings. Despite its lack of distinctive architectural qualities, it constituted for many users the only “traditional” element in the cityscape, and became a major hangout for the city's low-income expatriate community.

Once the decision was made to replace the market, supervision of the reconstruction was first awarded to Rasem Badran, a Jordanian architect known for his adaptation of “regional” elements. He proposed a neo-Islamic vision for a new marketplace that was in line with the conservative policies of the city at the time. However, following the death of the country's founder and ruler, the city embarked on a massive new effort to transform itself into a global center. As a result, the central market redevelopment was given to Foster Architects, who proposed an ultramodern shopping center. Massive in scale, it would stand in complete contrast to the original market, as well as to its originally proposed “traditional” replacement. Its architects claim, however, that it is a reinterpretation of the traditional marketplace, and that it will become a “new civic heart for Abu Dhabi.”

In spite of these historical musings, what underlies all this, it seems, is a desire to exclude elements which are seen to be “spoiling” the modern metropolitan image of the city. There simply is no room for loitering Pakistani shoppers looking for bargains, or a gathering of Sri Lankan housemaids exchanging news. Here, the “traditional” is evoked to legitimize the controlling power of the state, as well as to make the development more palatable to the general population.

The paper will investigate these developments, relying on field research carried out in 2005 (prior to the market's demoli-

tion), content analysis of media reports, and interviews with officials. The reconstruction of the market will be contextualized and situated within the overall urban development of Abu Dhabi, and also by relying on travelers' accounts and fictional depictions of "oil cities" by Abdul Rahman Munif and Jonathan Raban.

CONSUMERISM AND CORPORATIZATION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN BEIRUT'S FASHIONABLE HAMRA STREET

AbdelHalim Jabr and Rami Daher

This paper investigates the changes and transformations taking place in a vibrant street of Beirut (Hamra) in the context of new forms of neoliberal investment, consumer habits, and market powers. The paper will analyze change through different periods. In the 1960s, Hamra was famous for its active public sphere. With its sidewalk cafes, cinemas, and theaters, it was a place of Lebanese and Arab consciousness. It provided a hub for a society of poets, politicians, educators, novelists, artists, journalists, and many others of the "*muthaqafeen*" strata of society, who debated issues of public concern to society.

Hamra today, fortunately, has not been lucky enough to be "fully" the object of neoliberal urban restructuring (at least not yet). In other sectors of the city, such as downtown, the "reconstruction" process led by Solidere has obliterated not only the sense of ownership but also urban memory. The research here analyzes the details of today's neoliberal transformation in Hamra — in the form of newly introduced Saudi, Kuwaiti, and other big Gulf investments. Among these have been the replacement of the Horseshoe with the Kuwaiti-financed Costa Coffee House and the transformation of Wimpy into yet another chain clothing outlet.

The research will also identify different forms of social and urban resistance and activism emerging in the Hamra district. These are attempting to counteract such transformations that privilege a neoliberal capitalist approach to urban investment and development. They are also providing an alternative public urban space and contributing to the upholding of a conscious and transformed urban public sphere in the city.

NEITHER PUBLIC NOR PRIVATE: THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN POSTWAR(S) BEIRUT, LEBANON

Hiba Bou Akar

The July 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah brought massive destruction to Beirut, Lebanon. This was mostly concentrated in Al-Dahiya, the area of the city's southern suburbs, particularly Haret Hriek, a stronghold of Hezbollah. In July 2007, Hezbollah took sole charge of the reconstruction of the area by establishing Waed, a project managed by Jihad Al-Binaa, its NGO construction arm. This paper compares the reconstruction of Al-Dahiya to the work of Solidere, the controversial private company that has managed the reconstruction of downtown Beirut since

1992. Waed has argued that its reconstructed spaces will be the antithesis of Beirut's exclusive new downtown. They will offer an alternative urban space for the working class, a place where the society of resistance may seek entertainment, and a modern image of Hezbollah for the world to see.

Pastel-colored buildings, color-coded streets, tall glass office buildings, and wide sidewalks lined with trees are some of the characteristics that Waed has so far represented in 3-D images and perspective renderings for the transformation of Al-Dahiya. The imagining of a spatial alternative to Beirut's downtown in the area is not new. For example, before the war, Hezbollah supported the construction of the Al-Saha entertainment complex there. This was a manufactured image of heritage and preservation created by assembling traditional architectural features and village-like public spaces (Harb, 2006; Roy, 2007; Khechen, 2006). Hezbollah argued that Al-Saha provided an affordable, pious alternative to the affluent, exclusive downtown.

I will argue that the reconstruction of Al-Dahiya took another turn after the July 2006 war. Instead of emphasizing tradition and "difference," the proposed urban and building designs now invoke an alternate modernity. Waed's proposals imagine Al-Dahiya as an open, urban space that speaks against the spatial imagination of Islamic fundamentalism and the closed, militarized spaces that previously characterized Haret Hriek. In the process, it has turned away from the traditional architecture that Hezbollah previously endorsed.

The interplay of narratives of militarization and of a modern "urban space for all" has concurrently been shaping up in Al-Dahiya. But this shift of representation is not limited to architecture. In general, a "modernized" image of Hezbollah was thought to be needed after the world witnessed it emerge "victorious." This has already led to a repackaging of Hezbollah's image through the use cutting-edge graphics, calligraphy, and colors. As its new posters attest, Hezbollah is trying to reconstitute itself as a modern, possibly transnational, resistance movement.

B.3 THE IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUS OF TRADITION AND THE REVIVAL OF NATIONALISM

ENTANGLED MODERNISMS: BUILDING THE MOI INTERNATIONAL SPORTS CENTER

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WHEN TRADITIONALISM SPEAKS FOR THE NATION: DISCOURSE ON THE CROCODILE PIT AND TAMAN MINI INDONESIA INDAH

Eka Permanasari
University of Melbourne, Australia

SELLING TRADITION THROUGH ARCHITECTURE IN ROMAGNA, ITALY

Luca Guardigli
Università di Bologna, Italy

MONUMENT WITHOUT QUALITIES: TOWARD A THEORY OF TRADITION

Shundana Yusaf
Princeton University, U.S.A.

“NORMAN” ARCHITECTURE: PERCEPTION OF ORIGIN AND POWER IN IRISH CULTURAL HERITAGE

Marion McGarry and Hisham Elkadi
University of Ulster, U.K.

ENTANGLED MODERNISMS: BUILDING THE MOI INTERNATIONAL SPORTS CENTER

Duanfang Lu

Through the case study of the Moi International Sports Center at Kasarani, Nairobi, Kenya, this paper aims to enhance understanding of Chinese architecture built in Third World countries as part of foreign-aid programs. Since the founding of the Third World coalition at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, China has consistently identified itself with the Third World, and it has considered strengthening cooperation with other Third World nations a basic foreign policy objective. Extensive Chinese architectural export began in 1956 as part of overseas aid programs within the Cold War context. And in the decades since, Chinese architects have continued to design projects in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, ranging from major national buildings to factories.

This paper starts with a historical overview of how the formulation of an overseas architectural aid program became an important way for China to translate its Third World policies into

practices. It then focuses on the case of the Moi International Sports Center at Kasarani, designed and built between 1979 and 1989. The construction of sports facilities is an important aspect of China's overseas aid programs in Africa. The Moi Sports Center is among the largest of these, and its modernist style has been seen as a sign of national progress.

By looking into how the center was planned, designed, negotiated, perceived and interpreted within transnational contexts, the paper not only illustrates the entangled relationship between various modernisms and traditions involved in foreign aid programs, but it also reveals the power of architecture in elaborating a political vision of the future between nations.

WHEN TRADITIONALISM SPEAKS FOR THE NATION: DISCOURSE ON THE CROCODILE PIT AND TAMAN MINI INDONESIA INDAH

Eka Permanasari

As in many nations, in Indonesia, national identity is a subject of definition for both the state and the people, imagined through written accounts or represented in symbolic urban forms. In *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, Vale (1992) argued that elite politics often use architectural forms to establish and legitimate a specific metaphor of national ideology. AlSayyad (1992) referred to how built forms can consolidate the idea of national identity as “forms of dominance,” intended to show identity both at the national and international level. Yet, national identity is also always in flux. As AlSayyad argued, “Architecture can only hope to symbolize national identity as observed by a single individual or groups of individuals at a specific point in time.”

Throughout three regimes of postcolonial Indonesia, national identity, as embedded in architectural form, has been subject to redefinition and change. To demonstrate how this has happened, Kusno (2002) outlined the different political maneuvers used to establish power through urban form under the Sukarno and Suharto regimes. Where Sukarno inclined the national image toward the West, Suharto urged adoption of new emblems of national identity that looked back to forgotten cultural roots. While such traditionalism was promoted as a national culture, however, its use to unify multicultural Indonesia proved contentious because it relied heavily on Javanese notions.

This paper discusses the role of two main urban clusters built during the Suharto era as representations of the nation. It investigates the emergence of Suharto's regime and the ways it used Javanese traditionalism to secure power for itself. The paper begins with the analysis of Suharto's controversial rise to power following the tragic massacre of 1965. It then interrogates his urban approaches and the way a new direction of architectural traditionalism was established. Finally, the paper will present the current use and meaning of these two urban clusters after the fall of Suharto. The paper demonstrates the political importance of spaces as the stage for struggles over nationalist representation and the micro-politics of everyday life.

SELLING TRADITION THROUGH ARCHITECTURE IN ROMAGNA, ITALY

Luca Guardigli

This paper will depict the evolution of the cultural identity of a region over the last three centuries through the images of its architectural tradition. It focuses on epistemological issues about tradition, in relation to the goal of the conference.

“Traditional” architecture is by all means regional architecture; at the same time, the term “regionalist” can be applied to traditionalist architecture. Although we agree that regionalist/traditionalist architecture has good reasons to exist — at least in terms of financial success and level of customer satisfaction — we understand the reaction of modernists against regionalism/traditionalism in relation to the unavoidability of globalization. Regionalism, it is often said, is anachronistic. Nevertheless, this debate has often more to do with style than with a correct idea of regionalism. Within architecture, this has to do with “critical regionalism,” which began within the Modern Movement, and involves interpreting the characteristics of a built environment into a new, regional, modern architecture.

As an example of the construction of regional architecture this paper considers the coastal towns of Emilia-Romagna, in northern Italy. This region is quite peculiar and, for our purposes, perhaps more interesting than the well-known Tuscany. Indeed, on one of his trips to Italy, Norberg-Schulz took pictures of the “*campagna romagnola*” for his book on *genius loci*.

How old is the cultural identity of the region? “The sanguine and generous (*sanguigna e generosa*) Romagna that is kept by our imagination, has its origins in the XIX century.” The territory of Romagna, whose boundaries have changed through history, was for centuries controlled by the Papal States. During the Italian Risorgimento, it was considered a symbol of the “Italian issue” (*la questione italiana*), a reaction — *riscossa* in the words of Giuseppe Mazzini. Many authors contributed to the definition of the place, depicting Romagna for its Italian vocation. They also celebrated its identity, creating a gallery of symbolic places to which Mussolini gave the physical evidence (*concretezza*) of a patriotic itinerary: the Arch of Augustus, the tomb of Dante in Ravenna, the monument of Barrack in Lugo, the Duce’s birthplace in Predappio. Therefore, the idea of Romagna, as a region with a specific cultural identity, is something fairly recent. “Overcharged by history, Romagna is a little mirror of the nation, in which the ironic and sentimental profile of the Italian province is reflected.”

Other characters lie under this skin, and will be defined. However, nowadays its character still partly relies on its architecture, specifically on “its regional mercification,” represented by new symbols for tourism and commerce. The region is now a place for architectural experimentation and innovation where new local/regional identity is continuously generated.

The paper brings text and images of old and recent projects, based on archival research.

MONUMENT WITHOUT QUALITIES: TOWARD A THEORY OF TRADITION

Shundana Yusaf

Pakistan, an Islamic republic, was founded on a political ideology that stressed its role as a homeland in which a people would be able freely to pursue their religious way of life and secure the freedom of “tradition.” The irony of such a nationalist ideology — deriving its power from liberal, even enlightened, justifications and rationalist paradigms of social organization — has not been lost on those who define tradition correctly, but insufficiently, as the absence of choice.

In 1948, just thirteen months after the bloody and violent establishment of Pakistan as an independent state, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, its founding father and the grand narrator of Pakistani nationalism, died. He left behind a disoriented populace, unsure of their individual and collective place in the world. This made the imagination of his mausoleum, its architecture and urban space, a magnet for debate over self and identity, past and future, state and Islam.

From 1948 to 1968, hundreds of ordinary men, women and children sent their visions for a befitting monument to his sister, Fatima Jinnah. Thirty-six of these letters survive in the National Archives in Islamabad, and collectively, they construct an ephemeral, yet more durable, monument than the one that was actually physically built. In particular, they provide a rare view of how, in the popular imagination, architecture and urban space should be used to negotiate the relationship between political and symbolic representation — between legitimate membership in an open public community, and the need to constitute a formal language to selectively define their Islamic and national heritage.

As even the most cursory analysis will show, these negotiations are nothing but attempts to reconcile modern political and everyday existence with a desire for “authenticity” and “tradition,” which were once both the product and other of modernity. That tradition as a practice and popular concept is no less new, and no more fundamentalist than the liberations of modernist rationality is vividly illustrated by this evidence of popular imagination. This is by no means to say that we have arrived at the end of distinctions and differences, and therefore of history. Something still remains of the practice and concept of tradition that cannot be reduced to the modern. For one, it is an effective vehicle for illuminating the limits of our modernist imagination.

“Monument without Qualities” will present some of the epistemological challenges encountered in the study of tradition in cultural contexts, the source of whose experiences of modernity cannot be directly traced to the intellectual shifts of the Renaissance or the Enlightenment. Building my argument on the archive at my disposal and the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice, I will suggest that a theory of tradition, if it is to have epistemological currency, must be sought in its cultural uses and practices, not logocentric labyrinths.

“NORMAN” ARCHITECTURE: PERCEPTION OF ORIGIN AND POWER IN IRISH CULTURAL HERITAGE

Marion McGarry and Hisham Elkadi

The architecture of monuments in Ireland has gone through various stages of acceptance, and, hence, different levels of revival. These stages are strongly linked to politics and the perception of power, rather than to aesthetic qualities.

The relationship between architecture and politics is well rooted in history, and can affect how buildings are viewed and appropriated as cultural heritage. In Ireland, assessments of architecture are susceptible to such attitudes toward intangible heritage, and this has affected tangible artifacts such as Norman architecture. Over the years, this architecture, linked to Britain, has not always been popular in the Irish imagination; indeed, much of it was destroyed with the active assistance of successive governments because of its association with colonial rule. Indeed, it was only with civic intervention that these buildings were brought to public attention and the government forced to take action. However, castellated buildings from the medieval period continue to languish, and their descendants in the Norman Revival style have suffered mixed fortunes, despite being important and rare architectural types.

This paper argues that because architecture is linked to place and culture and can impart meaning, forms of “Norman” architecture in Ireland, with their colonial associations, have been linked to politics and the perception of power. Yet because these origins do not adhere to the foundation myth of the Irish state, the result has been a lack of patronage and official knowledge; and instead, folk memory has played a part in constructing their identity. Consequently, much castellated medieval secular architecture has been poorly cared for, improperly restored, or inappropriately displayed to the public.

The same is true of the revived Norman style. In Ireland it has endured negative attitudes related both to the historical circumstances described above and to the “Big House” tradition of which it is a part. Only two Neo-Norman buildings remain, and these will be analyzed here. The paper will further argue that Irish buildings of the style have been alienated from the popular imagination by being seen as products of a ruling power, via their attempt to incorporate the “dual identity” of both countries onto their features while using predominantly English sources. The paper will conclude that as a result the style failed to become popular, given its historical context.

C.3 MANAGING CULTURAL HERITAGE

CURATIVE REUSE OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS: REHABILITATING HONG KONG'S CENTRAL POLICE STATION COMPOUND FOR TEMPORARY USE

Thomas Chung

Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

INTERROGATING TRADITION THROUGH ARCHITECTURAL MODERNITY IN CHINA

Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren

University College London, U.K.

MODERNISMO MODERNIZED: A TOURIST SITE DESIGNED BY GAUDÍ AT RISK

Magda Saura and Dafne Muntanyola

Technical University of Catalonia and Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain

WORTH, VALUE, AND PRICE: CONSTITUTING AND RECONSTRUCTING TRADITION IN RESURRECTIONS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MELAKA, PALEMBANG, AND MAKASSAR

Imran Bin Tajudeen

National University of Singapore, Singapore

COURTYARD HOUSING AND CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY: A STUDY OF INNER-CITY NEIGHBORHOOD REDEVELOPMENT IN BEIJING

Donia Zhang

Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

CURATIVE REUSE OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS: REHABILITATING HONG KONG'S CENTRAL POLICE STATION COMPOUND FOR TEMPORARY USE

Thomas Chung

Hong Kong's Central Police Station compound is one of the island's most intact clusters of colonial heritage. It once housed not only the former colony's police force but also its Central Magistracy and Victoria Prison. The compound's eclectic fabric, accumulated from the founding of the city in the early 1840s, embodied within its fortified walls a remarkable concentration of British policing, judicial and penal systems. Declared a monument in 1995 and vacant since 2005, this impenetrable historical site remains fallow, prone to dilapidation, and hidden within the city's highrise metropolitan core.

Previous propositions speculating on the compound's future have either been cold-shouldered by the administration or, ironically, retracted in the face of intense criticism of profit-oriented

myopia and indifference toward heritage preservation. Voiced by increasingly outspoken conservationists, activists and community groups, these criticisms have articulated a politics of memory partly spawned by post-handover identity anxiety. They have also reflected an attendant appeal to the stabilizing and legitimizing effects of “culture” and “history” amid socioeconomic fluctuations. And they have highlighted persistent demands for rights by a progressively politicized and assertive citizenry. The criticism came to a head in the Star Ferry outcry in December 2006, when demolition of the ferry pier to make way for harbor reclamation was protested as erasing a putative symbol of the people’s “collective memory.” This met with major condemnation from campaigners, which in turn intensified general debate on, and scrutiny of, heritage conservation vis-à-vis urban redevelopment.

It is against this background that the police compound played host to the Hong Kong and Shenzhen Bi-City Biennale of Urbanism/Architecture (January–March 2008), the city’s first large-scale exposition dedicated to architecture and the urban environment. With the curatorial theme of “Refabricating City,” which emphasized Hong Kong’s self-made urban vernacular and its capacity to continually remake itself, the exhibition’s primary focus was to understand the city’s urban fabric and explore its revitalization with increasing citizen participation.

This paper explores the reciprocity of the Biennale, and the compound as its venue, to bring into focus such issues as the necessary negotiations and enabling procedures in preparing the site, its thematic articulation through the placement of exhibits, and the demonstration of architecture as the critical vehicle through which the dialogic engagement with tradition can be rehabilitated.

After delineating Hong Kong’s context of heritage preservation, the paper will note how, by maintaining close communication with local statutory advisory bodies on heritage, the preparational procedures effectively cut across the local bureaucracy to facilitate its set-up. Next, it will consider how the intention to align the thematic sequence of exhibits with an overall experience of traversing the labyrinthine site fused the notions of the site as a scaffolding for exhibits and as a piece of urban fabric awaiting refabrication. Finally, the paper will invoke the notion of “curative reuse” and the mediating figure of the curator as a creative “carer,” or “curer,” safeguarding heritage, to speculate on the possible cultural ecology of tradition.

INTERROGATING TRADITION THROUGH ARCHITECTURAL MODERNITY IN CHINA

Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren

Twentieth-century architecture is rarely the focus of interrogations of tradition in the context of China, a country that boasts “the longest continuous cultural history of any of the peoples of the world” (Sickman, 1956). Similarly, framing tradition in the context of urban environments can also be problematic, since such milieus tend to be amalgams of ancient and recent interventions that are in constant transition and subject to continuous reinterpretation. This study explores the strongly divergent expressions of tradition

embedded in physical form in China by investigating the experiences of a number of its urban centers during the early twentieth century. These themes are examined through the architectural discourses that consumed China’s architectural community during this period, an epoch characterized by a tripartite professional dialectic comprising modernity, tradition and nationalism.

This particular period in China presents a unique vantage point from which to observe tradition as a practice articulated in and through the built environment. At the time, numerous former treaty ports and formerly colonial urban centers were exposed to multiple architectural traditions, presently objectified within a singular national framework. From the start of the twentieth century, however, they were either created or manipulated by external influences whose approaches to existing traditions were disparate and invariably superimposed by imported traditions. Today, these material legacies, now themselves manifestations of evolved traditions, are subject to reinterpretation as they confront not only the unparalleled development that is reconfiguring China’s urban environments, but also a centralized bureaucracy with its own socio-political agenda framed by a distinct interpretation of history.

While this paper examines broadly the architectural traditions of different urban environments, it concentrates on the dialectic between prevailing design movements, particularly modernism. Throughout China, from the late nineteenth century, architecture was employed as a mechanism for creating, reinforcing or destroying urban tradition. From the Russians in Haerbin, the Japanese in former Manchuria, various international influences in the former treaty ports such as Tianjin and Shanghai, and the Nationalist government in Nanjing and Guangzhou, these often disconnected influences had a marked impact on the manner in which tradition was imposed or sustained in divergent urban environments. Today, the administration of these environments, which are increasingly seen as heritage ensembles, is drawing strongly on these legacies, whether authentic or manufactured.

In the twenty-first century, China’s unparalleled development and urbanization has had inevitably to reengage with these varied traditional constructs, and often utilizes their popular interpretation as a template for regeneration. Tradition in this case, albeit composed in modern (as opposed to ancient) physical form, therefore has become a dominant pedagogic framework driving contemporary development and regeneration.

MODERNISMO MODERNIZED: A TOURIST SITE DESIGNED BY GAUDÍ AT RISK

Magda Saura and Dafne Muntanyola

Since the 1930s there has been a traditional dislike for the work of Antoni Gaudí in Barcelona. As a result, his Church of the Holy Family there is a tourist site trapped with uncertainty. In the rather extensive bibliography on Modernismo in Catalonia, there are few references to the innovative urban designs of Gaudí. However, he changed Barcelona’s mid-nineteenth-century grid plan by opening a new avenue and by following vernacular traces of rural lots.

Evidence of Gaudí's planning will be shown here, as reflected in current public debate over the church site: how have professional attitudes toward Gaudí's modernism affected its modernization?

Currently, planning is underway to construct a tunnel below the Church of the Holy Family as part of a new high-speed rail line through the center of Barcelona. The project is part of a European Community project to link the railroad network of northeastern Spain to the French TGV and the British Eurostar rapid-transit system. Public debate has centered on whether the train should take another route so as not to damage the building. While local, regional and state civil engineers and public officers see no problem, a group of concerned citizens have hired an international consulting team of engineers and architects who say the tunnel may negatively affect the church's foundations. Cracks will appear on the sustaining walls, and eventually the whole building may fall into ruin.

This paper presents a survey on heritage conservation attitudes held by users and local architects. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social distinction has been useful to interpret ethnographic data. Interviews and questionnaires register a shift of attitudes from a paternalistic-reformist tradition toward a new tradition of environmental modernism. The paternalistic-reformist attitude holds a dislike for Gaudí, for any trace of the past, and is indifferent to grassroots movements and citizen participation in decision-making.

In his criticism of the subsidized, highrise architecture built on the outskirts of Barcelona after World War II, the art historian and architectural critic Joan Teixidor reiterated in 1957 what he had written in 1931: Le Corbusier's functional city, its imagery and reformist rhetoric seduced planners of and architects who still today attack Gaudí. However, this paternalistic-reformist ideology was reinforced on the occasion of the 1992 World Olympic Games. And in the name of slum clearance and urban renewal, and with blessing of municipal authorities and the real estate industry, it continues to work in other areas of the city. Entire neighborhoods are being gutted and replaced with commercial buildings and luxury apartment towers, lapped by vast open spaces. Connectors from adjacent freeways and railroads slash through the city, cutting it into fragments and irreparably rending its mesh. For some planning and public-transport authorities, the widespread adoption of this memory-free idiom is still a means of casting off Gaudí's yesterday.

WORTH, VALUE, AND PRICE: CONSTITUTING AND RECONSTRUCTING TRADITION IN RESURRECTIONS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MELAKA, PALEMBANG, AND MAKASSAR

Imran Bin Tajudeen

Colonization and nationalism have long affected the documentation of traditions of both the colonized and of the nation. This paper proposes a distinction between worth, value and price as underlying factors behind how tradition — and its corollary, heritage — are understood and expressed in writings and physical interventions on historic settlements. The relative weight given to these factors in different contexts determines what gets handed

down, and what passes into oblivion. In some cases, colonialist or nationalist lenses spawn essentialist reinventions of tradition that are subsequently expressed in built form and passed on as "tradition," while actual traditions are neglected and forgotten.

"Worth" comprises the awareness of intrinsic aspects, namely the architectural and socio-cultural significance of buildings and neighborhoods as typically documented and discussed, orally or in writing, by folk or academic specialists. "Value" and "price," in contrast, refer to political choices and pragmatic considerations. Value is ascriptive: it is encoded in the emphases and priorities of conservation policy and in narratives of history and heritage, which reveal a society's evaluation of its inheritance. Price involves the actual costs of improvements and preservation, who bears them, and why they do so: as such, it entails understanding of the materials, workmanship, and expenditure constraints of actual examples, and juxtaposes local initiative against official incentives and control mechanisms.

The distinction between worth, value and price enables a rethinking of the assumed correlation between identity and heritage and the historical elements of tradition. However, the predicament of societies with a legacy of destroyed or appropriated precolonial monuments complicates the interplay between these three factors. The three cities selected for discussion — Melaka, Palembang and Makassar — are important sixteenth-century port sultanates in the Southeast Asian maritime or Nusantara region, whose former urban cores have been partially or completely destroyed or altered. These examples illustrate the divergences between historical evidence and the dominant colonialist and nationalist narratives that have been produced for them. They indicate that cost is a complex issue, especially where state-led and local initiatives have produced very different results using different resources.

In addition to such forms of analysis, there is a need to elucidate narrative constructs and discursive codes expressed in the constituting and reconstructing of tradition as an outcome of colonialist and nationalist agendas. "Constituting" here refers to the making of narratives within which the concept of tradition has been (re)formulated, codified and consolidated, forming the corpus of how we come to know what we know about tradition. In other words, constituting is the "academic construing" of ways of viewing and interpreting traditional environments as prescribed by didactical or pedagogical writings on heritage and culture. "Reconstructing," on the other hand, refers to acts of restoring, rebuilding, fabricating and articulating revivalist structures. These projects are often tailored to present-day agendas, or imbued with ideological interpretations of the past they seek to represent, and are largely conducted by state agencies concerned with re-creating cultural heritage.

COURTYARD HOUSING AND CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY: A STUDY OF INNER-CITY NEIGHBORHOOD REDEVELOPMENT IN BEIJING

Donia Zhang

This presentation examines a residential rehabilitation project that has been implemented piecemeal in four inner-city dis-

tricts of Beijing since 2005. The municipal government will spend ¥1 billion (RMB) on this effort in 2008. The work includes renovation of 44 *hutong* (lanes) and 1,400 courtyard house complexes for 10,000 households. The entire project is expected to be completed by the end of June 2008, in time for the Olympics.

Most of these courtyard houses were built during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties. Until recently, there had been no systematic campaign to repair or maintain of them. Beginning in 1957–1958, and especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the government confiscated private, single-extended-family courtyard houses, and reallocated them to multiple nuclear, working-class families. Due to the natural expansion of these families and the Tangshan earthquake of 1976 (when many relatives moved to Beijing to find temporary shelter), these houses have deteriorated rapidly. The current project basically consists of renovating these houses, whose courtyards now contain many ad hoc extensions (transforming them into “chaotic yards”). However, the project has involved rebuilding these houses without innovation or the addition of more indoor space, and leaving already tiny (sometimes even less than “light-well”-size) outdoor spaces shared by multiple families.

By comparing the function of the traditional courtyard and the renovated ones as they are used to conduct daily and cultural activities, the paper questions the practicality of conserving courtyard housing in the context of cultural sustainability. Data supporting the study are drawn from an initial field trip to China in 2007. The presentation will focus in part of my survey data and analysis.

A tentative conclusion suggests several principles. First, sustainable housing design and development should honor a country’s past residential tradition by not copying it superficially, but by understanding it in a deeper sense. Second, housing should satisfy residents’ present living requirements by using proper building materials and applying appropriate construction techniques. Third, housing should integrate long-term considerations for creating healthy residential environments for the elderly and for future generations by designing rationalized indoor and outdoor spaces suitable for daily household and cultural activities.

The research indicates that future housing redevelopment efforts should first consult with residents — the ultimate beneficiaries or victims of new housing products. It should seek to understand their hopes, thoughts, feelings and requirements for and about their new homes. These opinions should then be taken into full consideration when designing a project. The research challenges future urban design efforts to start from the “inside out,” rather than from the “outside in,” as is often the case in contemporary neighborhood-redevelopment projects. The findings from this study have global implications.

A.4 ARCHITECTURAL FORM AND THE LANGUAGE OF SPACE

RETHINKING CHINESE TRADITION AND WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF COASTAL CITIES IN MODERN CHINA

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

THE FUTURE TRADITION OF NATURE

Amy Murphy
University of Southern California, U.S.A.

REINVESTIGATING THE TRADITION OF BUILDING ROYAL CITIES IN BURMA: MANDALAY, 1859–1885

Francois Tainturier
School of Oriental and African Studies, U.K.

MAKING KOREAN ARCHITECTURE: “WESTERN-STYLE” BUILDINGS AND THE MODERN TRADITION

Sang-Hun Joo and Bong-Hee Jeon
Seoul National University, Republic of Korea

ADDRESSING THE PAST BEYOND VISUAL ENTRAPMENTS: LESSONS WITHIN THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF ARCHITECTURE

Snehal Nagarsheth
CEPT University, India

RETHINKING CHINESE TRADITION AND WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF COASTAL CITIES IN MODERN CHINA

Yu Chen and Chye Kiang Heng

Because of China’s consistent history and unique culture, for centuries its cities distinguished themselves from Western cities and shaped their own character. Yet, beginning in the mid nineteenth century, colonial influence began to affect Chinese cities, making it important today to reevaluate the place of Chinese tradition and Western influence.

Outside influences were first felt in Chinese cities after the First Opium War (1839–1842), when treaty ports, such as Shanghai, Xiamen (Amoy), and Guangzhou (Canton), were opened for foreigners to live and trade in. At the end of the nineteenth century, some of these ports were ceded to foreign powers as exclusive settlements, including Dalian (Dalny) and Qingdao (Tsingtao). It was through these coastal cities that Western urban planning and management were first introduced to China. In the early twentieth century, Chinese cities, especially those on the coast, showcased Western influence in many aspects. And for

many years, the modern quarters of these cities were regarded as symbols of the supremacy of Western civilization, while their traditional Chinese areas were regarded as a sign of Chinese weakness. But the development of these coastal cities also stimulated the Chinese to think about their tradition and to find ways to modernize their country on their own terms.

This paper will investigate the urban development of five Chinese coastal cities — Dalian, Qingdao, Shanghai, Xiamen, and Guangzhou. It will examine their transformation from remote military towns to prosperous urban hubs famous for their Western landscapes. Dalian was ceded to Russia from 1898 to 1905, and was occupied by the Japanese from 1905 to 1945. Qingdao became a German settlement in 1897 and was occupied by the Japanese in 1914; Japanese control there ended in 1922, but was regained in 1938; control of the city eventually reverted to China in 1945. Shanghai's international settlement formed in 1863 when an original British concession of 1843 was combined with an American concession set up in 1848; the city also had a French concession since 1849; all of these reverted to China in 1945. A tiny British concession existed in Xiamen from 1853 to 1930; an international settlement lasted from 1902 to 1945 on the island of Gulangyu (Kulangsu). Guangzhou was well-known for Shisanhang (Thirteen Hongs), the exclusive area for foreign traders in China before the First Opium War; British and French concessions were set up on its Shamian (Shameen) island in 1859 and 1861, respectively; both reverted to China in 1945.

The paper will first describe urban development by foreign powers in these cities and discuss the spatial relationship between Westernized areas and traditional Chinese towns. Second, it will show how foreign powers engaged in urban planning of their concessions and settlements; this will highlight the various Western influences on Chinese cities/areas as the result of negotiations and compromises made between foreign powers and local Chinese authorities. Third, the paper will demonstrate foreigners' land rights in these cities, which were affected by the traditional Chinese land system, and which limited the implementation of Western urban planning in China. Finally, the paper will conclude that, while Western influences have affected modern Chinese cities, traditional ideas have also continued to shape their built environments as a result of to the gradual evolution of the social system in modern China.

THE FUTURE TRADITION OF NATURE

Amy Murphy

This paper takes for its main subject the representation of nature in postapocalyptic Asian anime, in order to highlight continuities as well as shifts in our traditional ideals of nature as they are projected into the future. While there are dozens of subgenres under the umbrella of “anime,” the paper strictly looks at feature-length Asian animations that depict dystopian or toxic futures in which the human species is confronted with an immediate need to adjust past modes of thought and action in order to survive.

The titles referenced include *Akira*, dir. Katsuhiro Otomo (1988); *Appleseed*, dir. Shinji Aramaki (2004); *Ghost in Shell*, dir. Mamoru Oshii (1995); *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*, dir. Hayao Miyazaki (1984); and *Sky Blue*, dir. Moon-saeng Kim (2005).

Though the paper primarily analyzes how traditional definitions of nature are represented in the anime works themselves, it occasionally ties the discussion back to issues particular to the perception of nature in contemporary built environments. Many of today's architects and planners, sympathetic to growing environmental concern, are finding it increasingly difficult to navigate the tug of war between traditional Western views of nature and alternative views being proposed by ecologists and others working to halt or reverse the degradation of the natural world. The narrative of Western civilization has been written as a series of upward evolutionary stages from the natural/rural to the technological/urban. Yet in the shadow of the nuclear age, and in anticipation of a future environmental tipping point, the values of technological determinism are now often rendered as apocalyptic rather than salvational.

Through these visual texts, it can be seen that in the future, standard dualities (such as positioning “tradition” and “nature” as lower, more primitive, and more Third World, while positioning “invention” and “technology” as higher, more advanced, and more First World) will no longer hold. With the advent of new biotechnologies, traditional boundaries between the human and nonhuman worlds (both natural and technological) will also begin to blur, and even in some cases disappear altogether.

None of these narratives argue for a return or retreat to pastoral or preindustrial idealized landscapes. Instead, they suggest moving beyond “conservation” tactics that tie definitions of nature to the unsustainable ideology of resourcism. They also significantly reposition us in relation to the natural world by rejecting many tenacious spatial metaphors of the past which supported notions of “natural” superiority.

In general, the apocalyptic trope is valuable as an object-lesson because of its proleptical form. It allows us to contemplate the future in the present. Typically, “tradition” is about defining the past. In fact, as seen in these forward-looking narratives, it has an equal, or even greater, role in defining our future(s).

REINVESTIGATING THE TRADITION OF BUILDING ROYAL CITIES IN BURMA: MANDALAY, 1859–1885

Francois Tainturier

This paper argues for a reinvestigation of the tradition of building royal cities in Burma. From the advent of the Pyu civilization in the first and second century AD to the collapse of the Burmese monarchy following British annexation in 1885, Burmese urban centers and politics had a complex history. Throughout the period, the building of new royal capitals served as an essential step in the political and religious assertion and consolidation of kingship.

Traditional historical and architectural studies have emphasized the continuity with which these capital cities succeeded one another, as cosmologic principles, century-old construction and

ornamentation techniques, and canons of Buddhist and Brahmanical iconography were strictly respected. The result was a distinctive built environment centered on the *nandaw*, the royal palace, and the *shwe myodaw*, the golden royal city. The sense of continuity from one capital to the next was reinforced by the common practice of dismantling wooden royal structures, moving them from their former sites, and reassembling them in the new city. This is attested to by nearly standardized accounts, composed by court chroniclers, of the successive royal transfers.

Examining Mandalay, Burma's last royal capital, built in the late 1850s and 1860s by King Mindon, the paper challenges this static view. Building on very recent scholarship, it argues that traditional historical and architectural studies have (1) relied too heavily on court-centered chronicles; (2) limited the scope of their physical investigations to the *shwe myodaw* area; and (3) seldom put the king's transfer project into historical perspective.

An examination of contemporaneous documents (royal orders, administrative records, maps, plans, paintings, illustrated manuscripts, photographs) provides evidence of subtle alterations — and in some instances even reinterpretation of aspects of traditions related to the founding and building of the royal capital at Mandalay. This examination also reveals that King Mindon's real concern, unlike that of his predecessors, was the planning of the outer city, the area around the *shwe myodaw* where most of the population lived. Finally, the study offers a view of the external challenges to the Burmese monarchy and to Burmese Buddhism, which would ultimately have repercussions on King Mindon's transfer project.

The paper seeks to go beyond the view of Mandalay's built environment as an example of the tradition of building a royal fortress that replicated cosmologic principles. Instead, it seeks to interpret the city as the achievement of an unprecedented vision, which was pragmatic in its resolve to make use of technologies recently introduced from abroad. More interestingly, it also seeks to understand how Mandalay was orthodox in the completeness and pervasiveness of a "Theravadin environment" designed to facilitate the engagement of both lay and monastic communities with religion, and thus assert Burmese leadership in the Buddhist world.

The paper explores Mandalay's environment against the backdrop of Burmese capitals built during the preceding Konbaung dynasty, from 1752 until 1885, and provide additional references to previous dynasties. The paper presents findings gathered from archival work carried out in London (at the British Library) and Paris (at the Bibliothèque Nationale) and through field research undertaken in Burma, in both Mandalay and Yangon, since October 2007.

MAKING KOREAN ARCHITECTURE: "WESTERN-STYLE" BUILDINGS AND THE MODERN TRADITION *Sang-Hun Joo and Bong-Hee Jeon*

The word "traditional" in Korea is usually used to describe the wooden buildings from the Joseon and preceding dynasties. However, a tradition of building Western-style buildings has also existed in Korea since the early twentieth century.

Western-style buildings were first introduced to Korea in the late nineteenth century. They subsequently spread widely during the Japanese regime, from 1910 to 1945. At the beginning, the rapid introduction of Western-style buildings was a shock to Korean because of their exotic appearance and materials. And the fact that the buildings were used by Japanese colonialists also made it difficult for the public to accept them. However, through the 1920s and 30s the public became more familiar with Western-style buildings, as many were built for commercial and educational purposes, both in towns and cities.

Nevertheless, from independence in 1945 to the 1980s Western-style building was still was not accepted as a tradition of Korea. During that time Koreans made every effort to restore the extinct tradition of wooden building from the premodern period, seeing it as Korea's sole authentic architecture. Simultaneously, the influence of modern, Western-style buildings was ignored, especially those built by the Japanese regime. Until the 1980s, these were associated with a negative political and social awareness tied to Korean nationalism, and regarded as a colonial legacy that should be cleaned away. Rapid economic growth and urban development from the 1960s to 80s also caused many older Western-style buildings to be demolished because they could not accommodate new functions or urban densities.

As time passed, Western-style buildings from the early twentieth century did achieve historical value. Many studies and plans for their conservation or reuse have now been conducted, and public awareness of their value has increased. The 2001 Law of Registered Cultural Heritage has accelerated this movement. This designation has given authenticity to Western-style buildings and drawn more public attention to them.

Improvements in the evaluation and recognition of Western-style buildings now means they have become a tradition of Korea, to be preserved and admired along with the premodern tradition of wooden architecture. The legacy of such buildings is also important because they made a connection to world architecture and were indispensable in the modernization of Korean architecture and the adoption of new materials and techniques. Therefore, they can be called the "missing link" between traditional wooden buildings and modern buildings. Recognition of these two traditions, the modern and the premodern, also enhances the diversity and continuity of the Korean architecture.

ADDRESSING THE PAST BEYOND VISUAL ENTRAPMENTS: LESSONS WITHIN THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF ARCHITECTURE *Snehal Nagarsheth*

Most discussions, debates and writings about tradition today seem derisive. Is this because we wonder whether they will yield anything? Will our concern for tradition go beyond consuming its visual aspects? Can it be more than a trap, enslaving us to definitions of space and the articulation of formal elements? Will our efforts merely use, recount and reproduce past forms without making a meaningful connection to underlying methods and

principles? Is there any means to connect to the past without becoming caught in visual entrapments?

Beginning with this premise, this paper will take up the challenge of addressing articulation — a superficial layer. However, in so doing, it will attempt to expose constants and variables within spatial definitions. Its aim is to unravel hidden layers woven within the manifest: to expose the place of individual expression within the traditional built forms of India. This presentation is the beginning of a quest to find other layers that “articulations” withhold, and to understand what these expressions perpetrate.

We cannot think about the universe without assuming that it is articulated; and, at the same time, we cannot defend the articulations that we find, or make, in it against the charge that these are artificial and arbitrary, that they do not correspond to anything in the structure of reality, or that, even if they do, they are irrelevant to the particular mental purpose for which we have resorted to them. . . . Yet, without mentally articulating the universe, we ourselves cannot be articulate — cannot, that is, either think or will.

— Arnold Toynbee

The study of History, Vol. XII (London, 1975)

B.4 TRADITION AND THE QUESTION OF IDENTITY

THE LEGEND OF BRIGADOON: ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS

Daniel Maudlin

University of Plymouth, U.K.

BUILT FOREVER: THE MILLENNARY TRADITION OF ENGLISH ALMSHOUSES

J. Fernando Bontempo

University of Guadalajara, Mexico

INTERROGATING PLACE AND IDENTITY: THE INFLUENCES OF IMPORTED CULTURES ON LOCAL TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF CYPRUS

Makbule Oktay and Ozgur Dincyurek

Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus

ORIENTALISM AS FUNDAMENTALISM? CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF IRAQ AND THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH EMPIRE, 1950–1958

Mona Damluji

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

INSTITUTIONAL FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE TRADITION OF “FREE SPEECH”: CELEBRATING 1964 IN PLACE, SPACE, AND TIME

Clare Robinson

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

THE LEGEND OF BRIGADOON: ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS

Daniel Maudlin

This paper will examine the changing understanding of what constitutes “Highland” in characterizations of Scotland’s traditional small-scale domestic architecture. Historic and contemporary assessments have failed to acknowledge the distinction between regional building traditions (identified only by place) and the cultural identity of the people of that region. Since the nineteenth century, the history of the Highlands and its Gaelic culture, both material and intangible, have been interpreted as central to Scotland’s national identity. In the case of dwellings, both the preimprovement indigenous blackhouse and the “improved” cottage and farmhouse of the eighteenth century have been used to represent the notion of “Highlands.”

Following Basil Spence’s imagined “Highland clachan” at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition in 1938, nineteenth-century Highland

romanticism culminated in the fantastical village of Brigadoon depicted in the 1953 musical (when searching for locations to film, however, the director Arthur Freed commented that he could find “nothing that looked like Scotland”). The turf-walled and thatch “blackhouse,” almost entirely eliminated from the region as part of the process of agricultural improvement in the eighteenth century, also continued to be championed as a Highland cultural icon by the folklorists of the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh, in the 1960s.

However, academic fetishism and popular romanticism did not reflect the historic position of the lost blackhouse tradition within Scottish Gaelic culture. In contradiction to these assumptions, research into Gaelic settlers in North America through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has shown that, while they were passionate about the intangible heritage of Highland culture (language, music, dance), the blackhouse form and construction were not significant, and were rejected in favor of “modern” timber-framed farmhouse types. To the Highland Gael, the blackhouse represented only poverty, while the choice of a colonial farmhouse represented wealth and modernity.

More recently, the white-rendered, eighteenth-century architecture of improvement, that remains dominant in the landscape, has also been identified as a Highland building tradition. This is an accurate, and less romantic, assessment of extant historic dwellings in the region. However, in the identification of tradition (by for example, local planning authority design guides, listed building consent-guidance notes, and contemporary regionalist architecture), the distinction between the identity of the place and of Highlanders, the people, is not understood. Research has shown that the improved cottage and farmhouse were chosen and imposed by modernizing landowners and tenant sheep farmers, often economic migrants from Lowland Scotland, who wished to indicate very clearly that they were modern Britons, not Highlanders. These dwellings are a Highland tradition, but not a Scottish Gaelic cultural tradition.

Both the blackhouse and the white house have been identified as characteristic of Highland tradition, but what does Highland mean? Both types are traditions of the place, but neither are seen by Scottish Gaels as significant artifacts of Highland culture. In characterizations of “traditional buildings,” the failure has been to assess whether these regional building traditions also evoke Scottish Gaelic culture. Rather, it is superficially assumed the two are interchangeable.

BUILT FOREVER: THE MILLENNARY TRADITION OF ENGLISH ALMSHOUSES

J. Fernando Bontempo

Almsouses are a distinctive component of English villages, towns and cities whose traditional function has always been to shelter the elder in need. Their millenary origin can be traced back to leper-houses built in the tenth century, but once leprosy disappeared, their use shifted to housing poor elders — under the name of hospitals first, almsouses later. A private or public

donor, who stated the given number of inmates in a leper-house first, an almsouse later, bequeathed the means to build and keep the house in proper use — forever.

In this paper I assume that the construction, alteration and conservation of almsouses bear testimony to a sustained tradition of Christian charity. A constant attribute of English society, the tradition persisted from medieval monastic times, after the dissolution of monasteries, through the Industrial Revolution, until the twenty-first century. As described with selected case studies, I show how almsouses present in their permanence, a dynamic interpretation of their many presents

INTERROGATING PLACE AND IDENTITY: THE INFLUENCES OF IMPORTED CULTURES ON LOCAL TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF CYPRUS

Makbule Oktay and Ozgur Dincyurek

Traditional settlements can be defined as places that are completely shaped by the culture of a society. They convey messages regarding a people in terms of way of life, religion and beliefs, and social intercourse. This is because traditional settlements — and houses, in particular — were developed to fulfill the needs of people and provide appropriate spaces for social activities. Environmental features can be evaluated as the other important determinant of traditional environments. Since such places were shaped in answer to their local/regional cultures and environmental features, every “region” has its particular traditional texture. In this manner, “locality” must be questioned to understand culture and, consequently, its effect on traditional architecture as a material culture.

It can be observed that people behave according to the sanction of their culture, either consciously or unconsciously. Therefore, when they move from one region to another, they try to adapt by reconstructing (organizing) these newly settled regions according to their origins, whatever the existing conditions and socio-cultural and political context may be. Although this allows people to feel more comfortable and more at home, it also influences the existing local culture and traditional architecture of the new region.

With these ideas in mind, the paper focuses on two traditional settlements in Cyprus that are inhabited by internal and external migrants, and also by foreigners. Its main aim is to interrogate the influences of imported and constantly changing cultures on existing local architecture. The selected settlements are two villages in close vicinity to the city of Kyrenia. Both were originally inhabited by Greek Cypriots before ethnic conflict split the island in the early 1970s. After 1974, Karaman (Karmi) village was resettled by foreigners, especially from the United Kingdom and Germany. Edremit (Trimithi) was resettled by internal migrants, forced to leave their villages elsewhere on the island, and by immigrants from Anatolia seeking a better life.

Tensions between globalization and localism, modernity and tradition, imported and persistently accumulated cultures will be discussed in this study. Selected rural houses and settlements, developed and evolved over time as the most appropriate response

to their local values and features, will be studied under the influences of changing context. The emergence of a new hybrid context in the aftermath of ethnic conflicts and as a result of a globalizing world will be thoroughly discussed through its impact on traditional rural architecture.

ORIENTALISM AS FUNDAMENTALISM? CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF IRAQ AND THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH EMPIRE, 1950–1958

Mona Damluji

In the wake of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, British colonial authorities occupied Baghdad, Basra and Mosul provinces just as the British-owned petroleum company's plans to extract oil from the region came to fruition. Meanwhile, in London, the nascent British film industry launched into the regular production of newsreels and documentaries, showcasing the first moving images of Iraq to be exhibited to mass Western audiences. Produced exclusively in affiliation with the British Royal Air Force and the Iraq Petroleum Company until the 1958 revolution, these films purported to give the novel experience of witnessing authentic sounds and images captured on location in Iraq.

This cinematic authenticity gave significant weight to the filmmakers' representations of Iraq, thus shaping public opinion about the place, its people, and the presence of British interests there. These scripted narratives naturalized the very concept of Iraq as a nation-state, and they consistently juxtaposed glorified representations of urban modernity, bolstered by military strength and oil revenues, against allusions to the antiquated traditions of a nebulous Iraqi past. I argue that the fundamental narratives and representations of the so-called Orient, first demonstrated by Said (1979) as deeply embedded in traditional Orientalist schools of knowledge, were here being redeployed in the powerful and novel medium of documentary film.

This paper contends that the films produced by the Iraq Petroleum Company between 1950 and 1958 should be examined as new expressions of a fundamentalist discourse that persisted throughout the evolving forms of British imperialism in Iraq. I will show how these documentary films reformulated, repackaged and redeployed entrenched Western epistemologies of the so-called Orient, using narratives of modernity, in order to legitimize continuing British interests in Iraq.

These films built upon the paradigm of virtual representation inaugurated in the late nineteenth century by the European world exhibitions. They also marked a shift in the production of Orientalist knowledge. The representation of the imagined Orient transitioned from the static media of literature and painting to the experience of the moving image. Beyond the contextualization of these films as fundamentalist expressions in their own historic moment of empire, this paper will address their constitutive role as predecessors to contemporary traditions of virtual Orientalist representation that continue to shape Western perceptions of the Middle East.

INSTITUTIONAL FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE TRADITION OF "FREE SPEECH": CELEBRATING 1964 IN PLACE, SPACE, AND TIME

Clare Robinson

The events of 1964 are celebrated, appropriated, and deployed by the University of California, Berkeley, and its various constituencies as a pedagogical tradition inextricably linked to the campus, its history, and present identity as a "liberal" institution of higher education. The reasons for celebration are complex. This paper will examine the ways in which the University of California, Berkeley, produces and is produced by processes of remembering the Free Speech Movement of 1964. At stake are relationships between built and practiced commemorative activities, exemplified by the Memorial to Free Speech, the FSM Café, and the Mario Savio lecture series, as well as temporally and spatially contingent subjectivities formed by universities in the United States, including alumni, students, and faculty (categories which are not mutually exclusive).

Two discursive relationships foreground and shape the arguments of this paper. One involves the entanglements of history, tradition, and remembering subjects. In this case, the paper will argue that the fundamentalism embodied by the tradition of commemoration at Berkeley is shaped, but also problematized, by contingent subjects, structures and flows of the postwar university, and a (false) binary between "official" and "unofficial" commemorative activities at an institution that is in, but not wholly of, the state. The other dialectic encompasses the mutually constitutive relations among the tradition of commemoration, place and space. Here, the paper will engage social and material aspects of tradition at Berkeley, including the architecture and extent of tradition. It will argue that commemorative sites and practices operate as a means through which the past is defined in relation to the present-future of the university, including its social, political and economic context. In this way, the relation between the university and the Free Speech Movement now is not what it was then.

Conclusions will situate the physicality and spatiality of the Free Speech Movement in a discursive context, illuminating the significance of traditions of commemoration on college campuses. In particular, it will articulate the ways in which the tradition of commemoration mobilizes the scalar and contested geographies of the "student," "alumni," "public," "citizen," "university," and "state." It will also address the significance of institutional fundamentalism at Berkeley, including its bearing (no pun intended) on various imagined constituencies, loyalties, spatialities, and architectures of campus remembrance.

C.4 BUILDING TRADITIONS

TECHNICAL ECLECTICISM AS REVITALIZATION OF BUILDING TRADITION: THE CASE OF FRENCH MANDATE BEIRUT

Robert Saliba

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PROCESSES OF “RE-MEDIEVALIZATION” IN THE MEDITERRANEAN URBAN FABRIC: THE CASE OF JERUSALEM

Giulia Annalinda Neglia

Politecnico di Bari, Italy

EARLY YEARS OF THE MODERN CHINESE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Huey Ying Hsu

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

BUILDING AND REBUILDING HOUSES: MODERN LAW AND TRADITIONAL PRACTICE IN BANGLADESH

Tareef Khan and Howard Davis

The University of Hong Kong, China, and University of Oregon, U.S.A.

REGENERATION AND APPROPRIATION OF THE IDEA OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY IN A SUBURBAN TOWN AND COLLECTIVE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN FROM THE 1920S TO THE PRESENT

Izumi Kuroishi

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TECHNICAL ECLECTICISM AS REVITALIZATION OF BUILDING TRADITION: THE CASE OF FRENCH MANDATE BEIRUT

Robert Saliba

In both metropolitan and provincial contexts, turn-of-the-twentieth century eclecticism has been qualified as a transitional stage between tradition and modernity. The architectural movement tends to be politically charged with national aspirations and a will to modernize in order to resist Western hegemony. In its provincial dimension in the Middle East and North Africa, eclecticism has been interpreted as a mostly aesthetic phenomenon (stylistic hybridism) and a social one (plan morphologies). The movement has rarely been dealt with in relation to its technological aspects, i.e., building construction and materials. Furthermore, some have blamed eclecticism for eroding local building crafts and leading to their eventual disappearance.

This paper starts from a contrary premise. It argues that technical eclecticism actually reinvigorated local traditions and led to unprecedented technical innovations from the hands of local builders. The architectural movement aligned traditional and new industrial materials, revitalized old practices and generated new ones, while also giving birth to homegrown typologies and crafts.

The paper differentiates between two types of building cultures: the high culture of engineers and architects, based on scientific inquiry and artistic pretension; and the popular culture of builders, based on hands-on experience. It explains how the duality between industrialization and craftsmanship has affected both cultures in different ways, and how the dual adaptation was handled differently in metropolitan versus provincial contexts.

The paper uses Paris and Beirut as case studies because of their colonial ties at the technical and commercial levels; it also emphasizes the ideological exchange between the two regarding educational models and professional practices. The paper documents how domestic architecture, while keeping its “inner” identity, witnessed a drastic remake at the hands of “concrete builders.” It celebrates the typical Beirut house of the second half of the nineteenth century as the ultimate expression of a vernacular building culture. These houses succeeded in integrating industrial materials with traditional ones, leading to the creation of an original building type anchored in both its local context and a long building tradition.

The paper concludes by finding that the specificities of Beirut’s technical eclecticism (and provincial eclecticism in general) suffered from 1) the difficulty of bridging the gap between importation and local manufacturing; 2) a lack of a critical discourse about the assimilation of contemporary building cultures; and 3) a professional hybridism that failed to differentiate engineering and architecture as both complementary and autonomous professions.

PROCESSES OF “RE-MEDIEVALIZATION” IN THE MEDITERRANEAN URBAN FABRIC: THE CASE OF JERUSALEM

Giulia Annalinda Neglia

Studies devoted to the recovery and redevelopment of Mediterranean medinas are numerous today as a result of the growing interest in them by researchers concerned with urban restoration and the redevelopment of historic centers. In such centers the traditional features of buildings are disappearing because the buildings are being abandoned by their inhabitants, and new functions are being substituted for their traditional ones. This process concerns residential buildings in particular, where activities related to living in a traditional courtyard setting are being replaced by activities related to tourism and commerce. In such instances, the general structure of residential building types and fabric tends to remain unchanged, undergoing only slight modifications. It is therefore still possible to study the features of these cities in terms of a morphological transformation process, the main characteristics of which tend to be linear.

In some centers in the southeast Mediterranean basin, however, it is no longer possible to identify such a linear movement. Here, due to specific social and political conditions, various phenomena have prompted and produced profound transformations in building fabric. These transformations are radically altering the consolidated sense of the traditional city, once composed of a fabric of courtyard houses with specialized building for commercial

and religious functions. Such phenomena are especially evident in Palestine, and in the historic center of Jerusalem in particular, where the sudden and exponential demographic increase in areas mainly inhabited by Palestinians has caused a process we could define as the “re-medievalization” of the building fabric (both residential and specialized).

This process is analogous to that which invested (albeit over a much longer period of time — though in similar ways) the Crusader castle at Tartous in Syria after its conquest by Muslims troops. Here a monumental building was transformed into a series of smaller residential buildings through the occupation of the interstices and upper levels of the citadel by single-unit dwellings. Similarly, in Jerusalem today the traditional courtyard buildings (both residential and specialized) in the Palestinian neighborhoods have been completely transformed through the construction of single-unit dwellings inside the courtyards, which are now almost completely congested. Due to their spacious courtyards, specialized buildings in particular (which in the past had already been transformed into residential buildings) have often seen their walled enclosures transformed into veritable settlements (such as in the case of Ribat al-Mansouri or Alas el-Din al-Baseer).

The formation of these single-unit residential types and their fabric — which have now almost completely replaced the courtyard dwelling type (the fundamental type in Palestinian neighborhoods of Old Jerusalem until a few years ago) — has involved a rapid process of caesura and transformation, the characteristics of which cannot be ignored. Understanding this process is the first step in a project of renewal and conservation of the traditional architecture, to the detriment of which these new buildings have been erected.

EARLY YEARS OF THE MODERN CHINESE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Huey Ying Hsu

The development of the modern construction industry in China can be traced back through three important historical moments in late Imperial times: 1103, 1425–1550, and 1925–1940. Analysis of activities during these periods challenges the folklore of the carpentry and construction trades on the scale of kinship, local institution, and global discourse. It also reiterates the ambiguous relationship between traditionality and modernity, and illustrates the constantly developing, evolving and contested nature of both terms.

In late-nineteenth-century Shanghai, the importation of the concrete-and-steel Kahn System marked a significant departure from traditionality, because it dismantled the social ties of the local construction trade. By closely documenting the evolution of Chinese construction standards and how the local builders adopted the Kahn System, one may glimpse the Chinese construction industry before the introduction of a totalizing Western architectural discourse. The experience also highlights the differences between traditional China and various modern European occupying forces in

Shanghai in terms of the organization of the building industry, the division of skilled labor, and the education of architects.

The intellectual project of architectural history has long revolved around constructing a narrative of the hero architect, while neglecting the other players in the process of constructing the built environment. As a modernization project in late-nineteenth-century China, the professionalization of the field of architecture complicated the act of construction and wove various players into the intricate processes of making a modern national identity.

Considering how the development of a modern construction industry was essential to building infrastructure, sustaining the needs of a growing bureaucracy, and facilitating the production of a rhetoric of modern national identity, scholarship on Chinese architecture needs a pay closer sociological and anthropological attention to the transformation of China's construction industry since the late Imperial era. Focusing on Shanghai during the International Settlement era (1854–1942), this paper seeks to understand the role of the local construction industry in the early development of modern Chinese architecture.

BUILDING AND REBUILDING HOUSES: MODERN LAW AND TRADITIONAL PRACTICE IN BANGLADESH

Tareef Khan and Howard Davis

This paper uses the construction of houses in Dhaka as a case study of the conflict between frameworks of building production that have different cultural origins and results.

The built environment results from a process that includes the application of numerous rule systems which control various aspects of production. These rule systems are both formal and informal, and control the actions of various players, including clients, users, bankers, builders, architects, officials, materials suppliers, and others. Most understandings of the “traditional” environment recognize these rule systems as being well coordinated with each other, having common understandings about the built result. One way of looking at traditional vernacular architecture is in terms of a coordinated human process in which understandings are so strongly shared that they do not need to be explicit.

Contemporary and traditional environments differ not only because of the influence of modern technologies, diversity and choice, and buildings that demonstrate a multiplicity of cultural origins. The modern environment is also characterized by rule systems of production that are not necessarily coordinated, and that themselves demonstrate different cultural origins. In some cases an individual player or institution may be operating in the framework of conflicting rule systems that have emerged from different sources.

The construction of houses in Bangladesh provides a vivid example of the conflict and negotiation between rule systems. These may emerge from different sources — from traditional practice to the colonial enterprise — but they coexist in urban production. This paper is based on case studies of 61 houses, including 264 separate acts of building, in a self-built neighborhood of Dhaka.

The form of these houses is the result of at least two kinds of rule systems: those codified in planning law, and those that result from everyday practice based on a desire to maximize square footage, improve environmental conditions, or respond to actions of neighbors. There is thereby a dialectic between the formal and informal, between legislation and practice, that happens in spite of that legislation — and legislation that happens in spite of practice. The combination of these rule systems does not necessarily result in an environment of greater depth or complexity. Rather, it also produces difficulty on the part of local people to make houses that fully support their everyday lives.

Following a description of the relative contributions of informal and formal rules in the production of Dhaka's residential environment, the paper will describe the ways in which the formal and informal rules are in conflict. Particularly, it will examine how formal rules, based on persistent colonial practice, might be modified to better respect the contemporary condition; this includes multiplicity as well as the desire for local autonomy and a flexible attitude toward the conduct of everyday life. In this way, traditional practice may be seen not as an impediment to contemporary production, but as a vital part of it. Likewise, contemporary production may be seen as a means to regenerate traditional practice.

REGENERATION AND APPROPRIATION OF THE IDEA OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY IN A SUBURBAN TOWN AND COLLECTIVE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN FROM THE 1920S TO THE PRESENT

Izumi Kuroishi

The idea of collective housing has been practiced widely since the nineteenth century for diverse and often contradictory purposes. These have included philanthropic housing for industrial workers, garden-suburb housing, colonial housing, and austere public housing during and after both world wars. Even though some idealistic spirits have aimed to use collective housing to liberate women and dissolve class distinctions, most projects have been based on a revival of traditions of communal society from the symbolized past. Despite its ideology of mutual aid, the combination of the idea of traditional community with prevailing methods of construction has also created contradictory results. Several critical studies of these historical and social issues in England have examined the multiple backgrounds and motivations of these projects, and their lack of the recognition of the gaps between the ideology and the reality of people's lives (Borden, Swenarton).

The multiple and contradictory meanings of the idea of traditional community and their relationships with the methods and actors in housing development have become increasingly important in many countries, because this idea is obviously effective in creating harmonious living environments. This paper assumes that tradition constitutes an interpretative process encompassing both continuity and discontinuity, which presupposes past symbolisms and creatively reinterprets them (Handler and Linnekin). It will analyze how ideas of tradition and community have

expressed polysemic natures and been regenerated in reifications into actual living environments.

The paper deals specifically with a Japanese town and housing redevelopment in Yamagata prefecture started in the 1920s by the government. Its hyper-notion of traditional community combined Japanese agrarian society with the ideology of the English garden suburb. After World War II, its residents combined regional revitalization projects in town management and housing improvement with new notions of traditional community encompassing the historical and geographical boundaries between other cities and regions. The paper will address several questions. How was the hyper-idea of traditional community created by the government? How was it used in identity formation? How was it reified in town and housing planning? And, particularly, how was it later regenerated by people to create a different sense of community and a different system of spatial organization in the town and in houses?

A.5 THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE REGULATION OF TRADITION

REGULATING TRADITION IN THE PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE

Tricia Stuth

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INTERROGATING TRADITION IN MODERN DEVELOPMENTS: THE YENİŞEHİR NEIGHBORHOOD IN LEFKOŞA, NORTH CYPRUS

Hifsiye Pulhan and Resmiye Alpar Atun

Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus

FORM, LANGUAGE, AND DERIVATION: EVALUATING THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF PRAÇA XV DE NOVEMBRO

Cristiane Duarte, Ethel Pinheiro, and Katia De Paula

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

HYBRID PROCESSES IN SARAWAK: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF INDIGENIZATION, INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE, AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS FROM 1841

John Ting

Melbourne University, Australia

REGULATING TRADITION IN THE PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE

Tricia Stuth

This essay investigates the interrogation of tradition in the production and evolution of a particular spatial landscape, the English countryside. It analyzes three contemporary Cambridgeshire case studies — a fox hunt, a women's organization, and a proposed country estate — and examines the relationship between traditional cultural practices and their current physical and political landscapes are examined.

The preservation of historical context, often viewed as conservative, regressive and constraining, is instead approached here as a potential means of compelling stakeholders and regulatory bodies to accept change. The process (and the interrogation of tradition it relies upon) is fundamental to the evolution and preservation of spatial landscapes.

INTERROGATING TRADITION IN MODERN DEVELOPMENTS: THE YENİŞEHİR NEIGHBORHOOD IN LEFKOŞA, NORTH CYPRUS

Hifsiye Pulhan and Resmiye Alpar Atun

This paper deals with the transformation and evolution of the Yenişehir neighborhood in the walled city of Lefkoşa, Cyprus, as a result of the changing social and political context. Yenişehir was originally erected during the first quarter of the British colonial administration (1878–1960). It was built along a historic street that provided a main artery from the inland city to the island's major coastal settlements. As a necessity of modernization, the British plan was to expand Lefkoşa for the first time beyond its historic walls. For almost five hundred years, the city had been captured within these walls, but it would now be opened to the outside, using new settlements, including Yenişehir.

Yenişehir was designed as a distinct urban quarter, with a circular arrangement of streets, following the Garden City approach. The radial major street axis, which originated from a public open area, established the its backbone. The skeleton of the neighborhood was then completed with repeating minor circular streets. This kind of planning resulted in plots with varying sizes and shapes. But the circular open public space at the center became the determinant of overall development form as well as the focus of the housing units around it. Although this street network emerged from a figurative approach, the architecture of the individual buildings did not have a formalistic attitude. These were of different sizes, offered different types of spaces, made use of various architectural detailing, and were inhabited by a multicultural population.

In a transitional period from tradition to modernity, the houses in Yenişehir can be read as embodying characteristics of traditional Cypriot architecture, reinterpreted with the new understanding and techniques of the age. As a reflection of traditional Cypriot architecture, the mud-brick Yenişehir houses were characterized by dominant inner halls, locally called *sündürme*, and by semi-open verandahs. In general, detached houses were sited within spacious gardens, which included additional service spaces for domestic purposes. However, according to the new understanding, outdoor space was laid out around these houses, instead of being enclosed within its mass.

Today, the neighborhood of Yenişehir is under threat of transformation, despite its distinctive urban fabric and its significance as a reflection of a certain period in the island's history. The new role of the neighborhood has necessitated functional as well as spatial transformations. Unless these transformations are conducted according to a holistic approach, the neighborhood will inevitably lose its characteristic place identity.

FORM, LANGUAGE, AND DERIVATION: EVALUATING THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF PRAÇA XV DE NOVENBRO

Cristiane Duarte, Ethel Pinheiro, and Katia De Paula

This paper confronts some binomial relationships within the urban surroundings of Praça XV de Novembro, a central and historic plaza in downtown Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Our analysis concerns the interference of language and “character” in architectonic production and the observation of new cultural aspects in this place. Using the Stock Exchange Building as a sample, we study the readaptation of space and the author’s architectonic interference (M.M.M. Roberto Office), which deals with governmental politics and the matter of authenticity.

The conclusions lead us to a critical guideline directed by the controversial relationship between different languages in a same scenario and the Brazilian architectural panorama in the production/deficiency of architectural reviews.

HYBRID PROCESSES IN SARAWAK: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF INDIGENIZATION, INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE, AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS FROM 1841

John Ting

The urban morphology of Kuching (now the capital of the Malaysian state of Sarawak) is similar in many respects to that of the former British Straits Settlements of Penang and Singapore. All three were equatorial sea or river ports lined with warehouses, and centered on an open *padang* (grass field or parade ground) surrounded by nineteenth-century institutional buildings, with ethnically defined commercial and residential areas beyond.

In the colonial Straits Settlements, the institutional architecture and settlement patterns were the deliberate result of colonial policies and practices intended to divide the city along ethnic lines and according to a colonial social hierarchy. Institutional architecture was at the top of this spatial and social scale, with the centers of the city being reserved for colonial institutions, designed according to contemporary European architectural norms. The Straits Settlements were also part of the larger British colonial project to facilitate trade and gain commercial superiority over European and indigenous rivals. Much agency was given to the colonial individuals who are today celebrated as the “founders” and “creators” of those cities: Francis Light in Penang and Stamford Raffles in Singapore. The contributions of indigenous and non-European actors were generally not considered.

Sarawak could have followed this pattern, but it was founded by a private trader, James Brooke, and was ruled by three successive Brooke rajahs, who were British subjects but were not answerable to the British government. Sarawak only became a colony of Britain after World War II. Nevertheless, the original Brooke was a product of the colonial system, who had been inspired by Raffles to expand the British empire at the expense of the Dutch, Britain’s main commercial rival in the region. Yet, even as he is today regarded in much the same way as Raffles and

Light, Sarawak histories often indicate there was much more engagement and negotiation between his administration and indigenous leaders, either as collaborators or as enemies, and they suggest there was a more hybrid approach to ruling in Sarawak. A closer look at Kuching also reveals that its *padang* does not have the same relationship with its urban fabric as those of Penang and Singapore; neither does the architecture of Kuching’s institutional buildings follow the metropolitan styles of the time.

This paper will investigate how Sarawak under the Brooke rajahs was positioned in terms of British colonialism in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia by comparing the colonial policies and practices of Penang, Singapore and Kuching through their settlement patterns and institutional architecture. It will argue that Sarawak offers a different reading of the colonial encounter by showing how the government’s engagement with local cultural systems and practices was represented in built form. It will also show how the involvement and contribution of indigenous and non-European actors can be read in these constructed artifacts.

B.5 APPROPRIATING THE LOST PAST: THE ROLE OF RUINS

APPROPRIATION OF ARCHITECTURAL RUINS IN BRITAIN DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Rumiko Handa

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

TROY, HOMER, AND THE MESSINESS OF TIME: CONFOUNDING EXPECTATIONS

Elizabeth Riorden

University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.

“STONE UPON STONE”: FROM NERUDA’S “HEIGHTS OF MACCHU PICCHU” TO HIS HOUSE IN ISLA NEGRA

Patricia Morgado

North Carolina State University, U.S.A.

APPROPRIATING THE LOST PAST: THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN SHAPING THE CONTEMPORARY BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Joseph Aranha

Texas Tech University, U.S.A.

THE MOSQUES IN AYVALIK: APPROPRIATING THE LOST PAST OF KYNODIES

Yasemin Ince Guney

Balikesir University, Turkey

APPROPRIATION OF ARCHITECTURAL RUINS IN BRITAIN DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Rumiko Handa

This paper will examine the romantic fascination with architectural ruins that appeared in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By comparison, it will help identify present attitudes toward tradition and architectural heritage.

In 1800, John Britton, a self-taught antiquarian, began a topographical survey of the entire country, which would take him the next twenty years to complete and result in twenty-seven volumes. The ruined monasteries included in his volumes were the result of political events more than two-and-a-half centuries earlier. When Henry VIII had dissolved monasteries in 1536–40, only a handful were promoted to cathedrals. Some of the rest were downgraded to parish churches, but the majority became a source of revenue for Henry. Woodcarvings, lead tiles, and timbers were stripped from the buildings, and the lands were sold to private individuals, who used their remaining stones for nearby projects, or built houses, schools, and factories around the remains.

Britton was only one of the many who were drawn to architectural ruins. Yet the admiration was new. Earlier, the Gothic style of these buildings had seemed puzzling and even offensive to eyes trained in the orderly proportions of Classicism. The style had also carried connotations of Catholicism. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, people had come to distance themselves from the aesthetic or religious implications, especially when the buildings had been broken and defunct for some time. Instead, they began to admire the ruins for their age value — in Alois Reigl’s terms, clear in their decayed stones and growing vines. And they were drawn to contemplate their past glory and the fragility of human existence in comparison to the face of time and nature.

This newly found fascination prompted the preservation of ruins. In some cases, this meant removing additions to restore the buildings to a proper state of ruin. Magazine articles and books were published in abundance, to report and discuss particular sites, and some ruins became tourist destinations. Authors such as William Wordsworth, George Gordon Byron, Walter Scott, and Benjamin Disraeli also visited them, working up their historical imaginations, and producing poems, travel essays, and novels. Architects were even hired to design new ruins as a part of estates’ landscapes, or build ruins themselves.

Reflecting on how we are often sickened by the inauthentic adaptation of past styles, shall we say we are more strict in appropriating past buildings? Considering how the nineteenth-century historical imagination conjured up an ideal human society, shall we say that we are more interested in historical-scientific accuracy about our built heritage? At the same time, we cannot deny our own longings for the mysterious past and tourists’ demands for fake tradition. This study will offer grounds on which to ask important questions about our attitudes toward past buildings and tradition.

TROY, HOMER, AND THE MESSINESS OF TIME: CONFOUNDING EXPECTATIONS

Elizabeth Riorden

The first imaginative work that we know of to appropriate the ancient city of Troy was the *Iliad* of Homer, also the oldest extant work of the Western world. Notwithstanding, the *Iliad* is epic poetry of the first rank. According to scholars, Homer’s Trojan landscape can be seen as an abstract construct to support the unfolding of the epic narrative. It is a tribute to the work’s richness, that we can see it as depicting both a real and an imaginary place.

Archaeologists have revealed that the real Troy is more layered and complex than anything Homer imagined. One could draw an analogy between the ruin and the poem: both exist on the surface, and both can be seen as an amalgamation of time and fragmentation. The surface Troy is a hilltop ruin in a gentle landscape within sight of the sea; the surface *Iliad* is an epic battle enacted against the background themes of honor, death, fate and power.

Scratch a little deeper, and the situation of both poem and ruin has a fourth dimension. One discovers an earlier Troy, richer, more impressive than the Troy around which legend formed.

Above, there is a Troy which built its own Disneyland version of itself — and not in the twentieth century, but twenty-two centuries earlier! It set the stage for the biggest appropriation of all: of Asia by the Romans.

The fourth dimension of the epic poem was revealed in the twentieth century through the work of scholars of working to understand the oral tradition. The *Iliad* contains some elements which must come down from the Bronze Age, yet it reflects the social concerns of the Iron Age. Events are telescoped together; the language is deliberately archaic or distancing, yet hints at giving an explanation, in the affairs of the gods, for the sorry state of its own “present day.” In the *Iliad* there is a profound sense of loss and resignation which telegraphs through any sense of victory.

Readers, like ruin visitors, come in all types. For many, despite efforts to the contrary, the fourth dimension of Troy and the *Iliad* is confusing, even irrelevant. They appropriate a meaning for themselves. This is perhaps slightly more problematic for the ruin than the poem. The visitor comes with certain expectations, raised by a hazy memory of the basic Troy legend. The actual site is not so easy to “read,” and many express disappointment when they see it — largely as a result of false expectations.

To avoid any appropriation of that reading, site interventions must be neutral with regard to the ruin. To use the terminology of Riegl, values need to be skewed toward the present-day values of “newness,” “use” and “art,” and avoid the values of “age,” “history” and “memorial.” The ruin has enough of the latter values just by itself, in addition to an extra value attached to parts of it, which we might call “literary,” and which are uniquely problematic for Troy.

“STONE UPON STONE”: FROM NERUDA’S “HEIGHTS OF MACCHU PICCHU” TO HIS HOUSE IN ISLA NEGRA

Patricia Morgado

Perhaps no one has been more inspired by Macchu Picchu’s astonishing demonstration of pre-Hispanic culture than one of its first visitors, the Nobel Laureate Pablo Neruda (1904–1973). The dramatic topography and magnificent stone structures of the “lost city of the Incas” made Neruda feel infinitely small, as he expressed in his memoirs. Yet, not only did he feel he belonged there, but he also stated: “I felt that my own hands had labored there at some point in time, digging furrows, polishing the rocks. I felt Chilean, Peruvian, American.” In 1943, on this magnificent site, Neruda found the “principles of faith” he needed to continue *Canto General de Chile*, a collection of poems he would then expand as a homage to all the Americas.

Upon his return to Chile in 1943 Neruda began to write “Heights of Macchu Picchu,” an emblematic poem on the origins of American culture and the subsequent loss of its ancient people. Contrary to what one might expect, however, Neruda did not write this poem based on an immediate emotional reaction to the site. Instead, the visit to Machu Picchu became an important milestone in the development of his ideology and poetry, and the song was

written only after prolonged meditation over a period of two years. Moreover, it appears he also studied the archeological work of two important figures in Peru’s indigenist movement, Luis E. Valcárcel and Uriel García. In his attempt to define the “transnational” American man, culture, history and identity, Neruda appropriated Machu Picchu as his own, transforming it into the symbol for the “Americanists” of the time, and for Latin Americans in general.

Neruda’s appropriation of Machu Picchu was not limited to his writing. In 1943, he also commissioned an addition by the Spanish architect Germán Rodríguez Arias (1902–1987) to an unfinished house in the developing coastal village of Isla Negra. Yet, rather than explaining his needs to the architect, Neruda took a different approach: he handed Rodríguez Arias a drawing of the floor plan and elevation he expected. Two volumes would be added to the original building — a tower with an entrance and bedroom on a second floor, and a larger volume for a living room, theater, and library, with a window framing the ocean view. In this latter space, an existing rock was to be integrated, while the fireplace was to incorporate stones personally selected by Neruda and carefully arranged “stone upon stone.” It was in this house, completed in 1945, where Neruda wrote “Heights of Macchu Picchu” after experiencing firsthand the Inca building tradition.

By surveying the writings, images and objects the Chilean poet handled at the time, as well as the architectural elements found in the poems, memoirs and other writings relating to his visit to Machu Picchu, this paper explores the literary appropriation of these elements in “Heights of Macchu Picchu” and their physical appropriation in his Isla Negra house and later buildings.

APPROPRIATING THE LOST PAST: THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN SHAPING THE CONTEMPORARY BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Joseph Aranha

In this age of tourism it is becoming increasingly common to extend the experience of ancient places beyond “heritage” monuments. At heritage sites worldwide, such as at Great Zimbabwe, Angkor or Borobudur, the atmosphere of the monuments is re-created in nearby hotels and luxury resorts through architectural forms, shapes, details and materials that evoke their presence. Sometimes resorts even imitate the monuments themselves.

More recently, this practice has gone beyond physical imitation of buildings. Visitors are increasingly being offered the experience of living in an era long gone or of an exotic lifestyle seemingly enjoyed by people of a different historical period. Therefore, for example, luxury hotels in Rajasthan and other parts of India draw from the architectural style of the local monuments, but also attempt to re-create lifestyles of the Rajput princes and Mughal emperors who were the patrons and users of the exquisite palaces, forts and other buildings that attract visitors. On the other hand, resorts in Laos, Cambodia, and other parts of Southeast Asia entice visitors by services that offer the exotic ambiance of a colonial lifestyle.

The interesting aspect of this trend is that the targeted audience is not only visiting foreigners. It extends to locals as well, who are becoming more affluent, well traveled, and selective. More recently, this nostalgia for appropriating the past has also been seen in housing developments.

Using case studies from Asia and Africa, the paper discusses how tourist architecture is appropriating the “lost” past while also defining a contemporary trend in the built environment and identity of certain social and economic sectors of local societies.

THE MOSQUES IN AYVALIK: APPROPRIATING THE LOST PAST OF KYNODIES

Yasemin Ince Guney

Hagia Sophia is a well-known example of the Ottoman practice, after capturing a Christian town, of turning its churches into mosques. This tradition was last practiced after the 1923 population exchange agreement between Greece and Turkey, which forced thousands of Greeks and Turks to migrate. The churches in Ayvalık are representative of it.

First known as Kynodies, Ayvalık is a tiny port in western Anatolia once used by Mediterranean pirates. It was established in the late sixteenth century by Greek migrants from the island of Midilli. After the 1770s, Ayvalık flourished, as did other coastal towns, as a result of its role as a centers for trade and education. This prosperity lasted until an 1821 upheaval, which mimicked the Greek revolution in the Balkans, when the town was completely demolished, together with its eight churches. It was not until a decree of 1832 that the Greek population was able to move back. After that time, the churches were reconstructed and some new ones were built. By the late nineteenth century, Ayvalık had a population of 22,000, eleven neighborhoods, and fourteen churches.

After 1923 most of the churches were turned into mosques by incoming Turkish migrants — though only three still function as mosques today. Those not used as mosques functioned as tobacco depots, and one was used as an oil factory. After 1984, however, a protection law left them unoccupied and, in turn, caused them to fall into ruin. But there is now growing interest in renovating these buildings, mostly for reasons of tourism, because the town has become a major attraction. Projects for the unoccupied churches are currently being prepared that would turn them into cultural centers, both for the occupants of the town and for national and international tourists.

The paper examines the processes involved in the original transformation of these churches into mosques and for other functions after the original residents of the town departed. By examining the changes introduced during this transformation — in the form of alterations, additions and removals — it discusses the nature of appropriation and relates it to discussions of authenticity. The discussion is enhanced by examining people’s perception of how these mosques are similar to and different from regular mosques and other ruined buildings.

C.5 CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TRADITIONAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT

CULTURAL CHANGE AND TRADITION IN THE INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE OF OCEANIA

Paul Memmott

University of Queensland, Australia

ALTERITY AND ESCAPE: THE CULTURAL IMAGINARY OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Gijs Wallis De Vries

Eindhoven University of Technology, The Netherlands

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN NATIVE AMERICAN PUEBLOS

Paul Oliver

Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF KUWAIT

Mohammad Al-Jassar

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, U.S.A.

ESSAOUIRA: THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF A COMPACT MEDINA

Mohammad Elshahed

New York University, U.S.A.

CULTURAL CHANGE AND TRADITION IN THE INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE OF OCEANIA

Paul Memmott

Within the study of cultural change, anthropologists have identified a range of types of change processes, although the field of study is by no means coherent or unified, and much theory integration remains to be done. This paper makes a contribution to this field by analyzing of a set of change processes drawn from architectural anthropology.

The paper is informed by presentations and debates from the 2006 IASTE conference in Bangkok, during which modern and global processes of cultural change were broadly addressed under the theme of “hyper-tradition.” Many rich ethnographies on cultural change and the transformation of traditions were put forward at this event, but without any final clear consensus as to the precise meaning of this thematic label. Multiple definitions of the polysemous notion of “hyper-tradition” were generated, with references to technological (communication, transportation, electronic media), political, and ideological properties, and to the roles of cultural authenticity and identity. Some of these are drawn upon in the ensuing analysis.

Of particular interest were a number of papers from the 2006 conference that dealt with aspects of deterritorialization and the interpretation of tradition. Starting with a reflective exploration of these notions and drawing on selected case studies, this paper combines anthropological theory on cultural change with a further corpus of research on the indigenous architecture of the South Pacific (or Oceania), as contributed by scholars of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia New Zealand (SAHANZ) over the period 1984–2008.

A central analytic tool in the comparative analysis of these case studies is the construct of tradition. The anthropological literature reveals two broad competing theoretical paradigms, which can be termed “static” and “dynamic,” respectively. The Oceanic evidence clearly supports a dynamic definition of tradition, in which changes regularly occur, particularly within the processes of intergenerational transmission and enculturation. A key reason for this is that interpretations are always made of the tradition presented, forcing all traditions to be continually reinterpreted. Since all cultures change regularly, there can only be what is new — although what is new can take on symbolic value as “traditional” in reference to what is perceived as being “old.” A central task in configuring a longitudinal theory of architectural stability and change is to explore the attributes of cultural traits and to understand the interpretative techniques of participants in processes of cultural reproduction, re-creation and resynthesis of architectural traits.

From the 80 SAHANZ papers written over the last 25 years on indigenous themes, and recently reviewed by the author and a colleague, a set of theoretical contributions is made in three areas: (a) forms of transformation of traditions occurring through deterritorialization; (b) types of biculturalism when cross-cultural architectural attributes are combined; and (c) the significance of the social engagement process in the reconstruction of tradition.

ALTERITY AND ESCAPE: THE CULTURAL IMAGINARY OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Gijs Wallis De Vries

My paper addresses the question of identity in environments where architecture is often debated in terms of tradition. In particular, I will consider the meaning of tradition from the perspective of alterity. This concept, coined by Lévinas, and modified by Foucault in the sense of heterotopia, has been used in cultural geography to interrogate landscape.

Instead of a discourse about belonging, alterity speaks of longing; its cultural imaginary expresses the desire of other times and strange places. Different from the way identity policies react to a globalizing world, it may help us understand the ambiguous horizons of the urban landscape. On the one hand, alterity may be used to critique themed environments and gated communities; in this respect the concept of “heterotopia” must be rethought regarding its recuperation as exclusive décor. On the other hand, since Lévinas has linked it to evasion, alterity may serve as a tool

to understand the spatial practices of tourism and leisure — tracing “flight lines” and “desire lines” in and out of the city.

To illustrate the concept of alterity, I will comment on the development of a type of modern vernacular. At one time Le Corbusier’s *Maison Domino*, representing a marriage of the Cycladic whitewashed cube, the Hellenic temple, and the concrete tectonic frame, was the prototype of a modern “seaside vernacular.” How must we interpret the defeat of its regenerative ambition now that it has been adopted as a standard real estate development kit? Why did its potential capacity to frame a sub-tropical arcadia fail to stir the collective imaginary?

Along these lines, I will comment on alpine and maritime resorts for mass tourism designed in the 1960s. Abstracting a modern poetics of escape from local traditions, these designs were overdetermined by infrastructural rationality, and were later rejected by the historicist discourse of local identity.

To conclude, my paper will outline a theory of escape in what is designated by the oxymoron “urban landscape.” If alterity is a constitutive element of traditional environments, their definition in terms of identity is insufficient. To understand a tradition, we must also study the spaces produced by a desire to meet the exotic. If we study alterity in traditional environments, it cannot be disqualified as the result of a globalizing world. The strange and the foreign are endemic in local traditions.

I will speculate on a poetics of space that requires neither the appropriation of the other, nor the oblivion of the self, but rather, as the poet Hölderlin thought, “the free use of the own” mirrored in the recognition of the strange. Applied to issues of design concerning tourism and leisure in natural or cultural landscapes, the concept of alterity could elucidate an “alterscape” that satisfies the desire for other spaces.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN NATIVE AMERICAN PUEBLOS

Paul Oliver

In order to “interrogate” a tradition in architecture and its perpetuation over time, it is desirable to address a culture known to have a long history. This applies to many peoples, but the survival of built forms of differing periods cannot always be assured. An image of Native American Indians familiar around the world is of the nomadic tribes of the Great Plains, for whom the *tipi*, or conical tent, was the practical dwelling unit. *Tipis* are now seldom used except for ceremonies, and early examples have not survived. However, in the southwest of the United States, particularly in Arizona and New Mexico, Native Americans have lived for generations in stone-built villages first identified in the 1530s by the Spanish as “pueblos.” Archaeological sites in the two states, such as Chaco Canyon, Betatakin and Mesa Verde, and others in Colorado and Utah, trace the early stages of pueblo cultures, and their eventual migration and dispersal as a result of climatic and environmental change.

Research studies of pre-Columbian pueblos and the numerous resettlement villages still occupied in differing environments indicate that many aspects of their architecture and ways of living

have been retained for more than a dozen centuries. Ranging from construction technology to spatial organization, from cooking ovens to underground cells, they display cultural connotations relating to the origins, clan systems, and beliefs of the resident peoples.

Tribal social structures persist, though pueblos and their inhabitants have been subjected to external influences. This became evident in recent years as various modern American facilities, from educational centers to electronic media, have become widely accessible. Pueblos like Zuni in New Mexico and the complex of Hopi settlements in Arizona have retained much of their identity, and their indigenous buildings have not suffered undue restrictions or control.

Certain pueblos, notably the immense five-story structure at Taos and the “sky city” of Acoma, situated on a high mesa, attract tourists and have been the subject of considerable state publicity. Their tribal occupants employ different methods to benefit from the tourist presence, while attempting to protect and retain their fundamental virtues and principles. Other pueblo peoples have also tried various means to retain their identities. This presentation will explain these with reference to the perpetuation of collective customs and traditions and their relation to aspects of architecture. Due consideration will be given to the economies of the pueblo peoples, of whom several live in dry desert. Their adaptation to recent developments, while ensuring the protection and perpetuation of abstract values as well as material culture, will be reviewed.

Historic and recent photographic images illustrate the perpetuation over time of fundamental aspects of the pueblo cultures, including the persistence of their vernacular architectural traditions. In some pueblos, however, certain modifications have been made, or restrictive measures taken, which have been necessitated by the pressures they have recently endured. The paper is based on research conducted over several decades, including extended comparative studies undertaken during the past year, supplemented with visual documentation from all stages of the research.

CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF KUWAIT

Mohammad Al-Jassar

Unlike other Persian Gulf cities that went through modernization in the 1970s, Kuwait City went through a drastic transformation in the early 1950s. The 1952 master plan, by the British firm Minoprio, Spencely and Macfarlane, drastically changed its urban fabric. By the mid-1970s Kuwait City was already established as a modern town. Today, only 120 buildings throughout Kuwait are considered historic enough to be saved, 30 percent of which are mosques. The rest range from schools to public markets and a handful of courtyard houses, most of which have been converted to museums. In 1964, Saba George Shiber, an urban planner who worked closely with the Kuwaiti government in the redevelopment of Kuwait City, wrote: “The impact of revenue on the urban and social landscape has been meteoric, radical, ruthless. It all but obliterated — in one hectic decade — nearly all physical and social landmarks of the past.”

It has always been assumed that the main catalyst of change in the urban landscape was the impact of oil revenue. While this is partially true, a closer look at the various socio-cultural dynamics that occurred in the 1940s and beyond reveals that oil revenue was only one of several factors that contributed to drastic changes in the built environment. Another was the ascendance of Abdullah al-Salim, a visionary prince with strong socialist agenda, to the throne in February of 1950. And another was the emergence of concepts such as pan-Arabism and nationalism, along with ideals and ideas stemming from concepts such as *al-nahda*, “the awakening.” This latter mainly manifested itself in what is referred to as *al-nahda al-omraniyya*, “built-environment awakening.”

This paper uses two micro-lenses within the traditional home environment, the courtyard and the *diwaniyya*, to look at the socio-cultural dynamics which took place in the 1950s and their impact on the traditional Kuwaiti built environment. This reveals how the courtyard, a culturally rooted space in the traditional Kuwaiti house, dominated by family and women’s activities, has totally disappeared from the urban fabric of Kuwait. On the other hand, the *diwaniyya*, another culturally rooted room dominated by nondomestic male socio-cultural activities, has morphed in the modern house into a grand entity for displaying wealth and social status. The various dynamics which facilitated the constancies and changes to these two rooms are also a reflection of the dynamics which drastically changed the urban fabric of Kuwait City in the 1950s.

ESSAOUIRA: THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF A COMPACT MEDINA

Mohammad Elshahed

To examine the relationship between tourism, architecture, and conceptions of place, this paper will consider the myth of the Islamic city through one of its local units, the *riad*, the “traditional” Moroccan courtyard house. The site for this investigating is the city of Essaouira, on Morocco’s southwest Atlantic coast, west of Marrakesh. The paper interrogates how the *riad* has been manipulated there by current regeneration practices, particularly the ongoing transformation of its walled medina. After a brief geographical and historical description and an outline of the theoretical armature needed for this topic, it discusses current transformations of the *riad* into the *maison d’hôte*. This leads to an in-depth analysis of the production and consumption of the medina, which is being preserved, but also manipulated and exploited, for tourism and investment.

The regeneration of Essaouira’s medina and many of its traditional dwellings owes much to the colonial policies of General Hubert Lyautey in the early decades of the twentieth century. By largely maintaining the medina as a contrast to the modern *villes-nouvelles*, his policies preserved what is now a valuable real estate commodity whose architectural potential has been rediscovered by European and Moroccan investors. Europeans were originally kept out of the medina, and were not interested in entering its

spaces during the protectorate period. But ironically, they are now entering it and investing in its spaces, just as ordinary Moroccans are leaving in search of standardized modern dwellings in apartment blocks outside its walls.

Today the image of tradition is also being manipulated to increase the value of the medina as a tourist attraction. This is being done by producing locality and adding charm to its *riads*. In a city without any significant cultural institutions or conventional tourist attractions, charm can play a significant role in attracting visitors, and the charm in Essaouira is evidently connected to a desire for spaces of Oriental fantasy.

By focusing on the compact case of Essaouira, I hope to find ways to answer the following research question: How has the entry of the Islamic City into the tourist economy of consumption dictated the use of tradition in the regeneration and production of space in Essaouira's walled medina?

A.6 HISTORICAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

MAIDAN TO *PADANG*: REINVENTIONS OF AN URBAN SPACE TYPE IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA

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MAKING MUTE ARCHES SING: ABDERRAHMAN BOUCHAMA AND POST-REVOLUTIONARY ARCHITECTURE IN ALGERIA

Sheila Crane

University of Virginia, U.S.A.

INTERROGATING TRADITION: PRISMS OF SUPERMODERNITY

Diane Wildsmith

University of Indonesia, Indonesia

THE TRADITION OF "ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE": FROM WESTERN CONSTRUCTION TO EASTERN CHAMPION

Reem Alissa

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

MAIDAN TO *PADANG*: REINVENTIONS OF AN URBAN SPACE TYPE IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA

Chee-Kien Lai

The *padang* is a regulated open space in major cities of Singapore and Malaysia. A legacy of British colonial governance in the nineteenth century, its continued maintenance as a green field exemplifies the contrast in these cities between their former colonial history and their present transformation into new Asian metropolises.

The provenance of such a space is significant. The first such space was the fifteenth-century Maidan-i-Naqsh-i-Jahan, in Isfahan, commissioned by Shah Abbas I of Persia. Around this space were organized functions of state power, religion, commerce, education, recreation and commemoration. Between its emergence in Isfahan and its later use in British Malaya, the colonial British government in India manipulated and altered the maidan form into an exemplary space for surveillance, military display, and governance. But it also displayed its less belligerent face as a site for sports events and commemorative exhibitions. The epistemic transmittance of this open space as a type to cities in Malaya and Singapore was thus instrumental, calculated and evolutionary based on what the British learned in India. But it was reinvented in ways that pertained to each city.

This paper examines the citational transformation from maidan to *padang* in cities of Singapore and Malaysia, as well as

the architectural formations around such spaces. In these cities, the design of the *padang* was mimicked by local groups for similar open fields, and through the years its original meanings and uses were maintained, changed or subverted. I argue that the persistence of the *padang* as a “spatial tradition” is problematic and contingent in these cities, and I discuss the possible extensions of its use in their immediate future.

MAKING MUTE ARCHES SING: ABDERRAHMAN BOUCHAMA AND POST-REVOLUTIONARY ARCHITECTURE IN ALGERIA

Sheila Crane

In 1966, Abdelrahman Bouchama, the sole Algerian to have attained professional status in architecture when Algeria became independent in 1962, published a collection of essays entitled *L'Arceau qui chante* (*The Arch that Sings*). In it, Bouchama articulated a new path for a post-revolutionary Algerian architecture, inspired by select monuments of a shared Arab-Islamic past. This paper traces the relationship of Bouchama's writings and architectural projects to post-independence politics in Algeria, arguing that this seeming return to tradition depended on the transformative potential of reappropriated forms in response to present political debate and future aspiration. Bouchama argued that formerly silenced and overlooked buildings would be made to sing, but only through a concerted process of reworking past forms and reinvesting them with new significance.

L'Arceau qui chante was conceived as a rearticulation of the Charte d'Alger (1964), the founding document of independent Algeria, within the sphere of architecture. In his essays, Bouchama laid claim to an expansive history of “Arab-Islamic architecture” that would be relevant to the new nation, even as it articulated broader regional and international affiliations that responded to current discussions of pan-Arab and pan-African identity. At the same time, however, Bouchama deployed “tradition” as a critical alternative to contemporaneous high-profile projects, including those of Brasilia and Chandigarh, where aspiration for a modern, cosmopolitan and universalizing architecture, in Bouchama's eyes, belied their neoimperialist implications.

Bouchama's deployment of tradition might fruitfully be understood in relation to Franz Fanon's consideration of traditional cultural forms in a series of essays originally published in 1959 as *L'An V de la révolution algérienne* (reprinted the same year as Bouchama's text as *Sociologie d'une révolution*). In these essays, Fanon argued for a dialectical reconsideration of the past in relation to changed present conditions, insisting that “at the same time, it is necessary to rethink things.” In similar terms, Bouchama's turn to history was not simply a call to revival of past architectural forms, but a strategic return intended to reach toward a new future.

While this paper focuses on the epistemological deployment of tradition as formulated in Bouchama's post-independence writings, it will also consider how this early theorization of the future past of post-revolutionary Algerian architecture was translated into

built form, particularly in Bouchama's project for the Hussein Dey Islamic Institute in Algiers. Oscar Niemeyer's designs for the University of Constantine will provide an important point of comparison, and allow for further exploration of the divergent claims for abstraction constructed by these two architects.

INTERROGATING TRADITION: PRISMS OF SUPERMODERNITY

Diane Wildsmith

This interrogation of tradition examines the prismatic isolation caused by the unresolved dialectic between the epistémês of Western architecture in the continuum of classicism and modernism and an equally powerful epistemological flow of Eastern traditions. The context is iconic capitalist architecture; the case study setting is Jakarta; and the epistemological basis is the cultural origins of modern architecture occurring in both streams. The examination contrasts philosopher Jürgen Habermas's confluence of classicism, modernity and postmodernity with the Eastern philosophical influences of *feng shui*. Remarkably, current architectural philosophies often fail to address these powerful, culturally significant issues.

The paper will discuss the propensity of developers, owners and architects to apply classical motifs to modern, postmodern and supermodern architecture. This inquiry on tradition in architecture covers Western and Eastern design philosophies; pinpoints German philosopher Jürgen Habermas's provocative essay on classicism, modernism and postmodernism; and identifies French philosopher Marc Augé's philosophical stance on supermodernism as “non-places.” Within the context of classical origins and empires of capital, Western epistémês of art, science and ethics shape a firm sense of identity, a commodious environment, and a coherent, delightful society expressed as architecture. A second stream of inquiry recognizes Eastern philosophy concerned with *feng shui*, the art of placement in the built environment. Alive in the public's imagination of modernity are Hugh Ferriss's renderings of Art Deco skyscrapers in New York City (1920–1929), which predate Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932). The stream of classicism continues to weave through the tongue-in-cheek architectural imaginary with Adolf Loos's colossal 21-story Doric column for the Chicago Tribune Tower Competition (1922).

In contrast with accelerated modernity, we live in a supermodern world of megacities. Delocalization occurs not only in Marc Augé's assessment of supermodernism, but in reality, as citadels of commerce and five-star hotels find themselves marooned in traffic jams. These supermodern towers are effectively linked only in cyberspace by telecommunications and broadband networks. Unable to address larger urban issues, developers are often compelled to call upon nuances of a classical tradition.

The cosmological confrontation between Sampoerna Strategic Square and the Dharmala Building in Jakarta is a worthy example of both streams — Western modernity and Eastern design traditions. Based on advice from *feng shui* masters, Sampoerna Strategic Square's new owners felt compelled to

reconfigure its postmodern architecture. This included adding spherical mirrors, a Neo-Beaux Arts entry portico, and a Baroque English garden with ornamental parterres to counter a perceived threat from the Dharmala Building's angular balconies. Ironically, Neoclassicism was mobilized to serve as a counterbalance for an Eastern-driven belief system and to stimulate the dialectic between prisms of supermodernity.

THE TRADITION OF "ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE": FROM WESTERN CONSTRUCTION TO EASTERN CHAMPION

Reem Alissa

To this day, the Orientalist label "Islamic architecture" remains largely unproblematized, as exemplified by its premiere research institution, the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The fact that this monolithic label has not yet been challenged to instigate a reform in terminology is perplexing. After all, there is no current specialization on Jewish architecture or Christian architecture. The aim here, however, is not to criticize the Aga Khan Program, nor to decipher the meaning of "Islamic architecture"; instead, it is to interrogate the terminology's epistemology, institutionalization, and in turn, "traditionalization" and its ramifications since the rise of Orientalism to its current moment of practice in the Arabian Gulf.

Edward Said's controversial book *Orientalism* defined its namesake concept as the Occident's scholarly observation of the Orient in ways that rendered the former dominant and the latter dormant and mute. Influenced by Said's work, Nezar AlSayyad translated this idea to the built environment by tracing the work of the Marcas brothers as a source from which the fiction of the stereotypical Islamic city emerged. It is ironic, AlSayyad noted, that Oriental academics, who are anti-Orientalist, unknowingly subscribe to the very foundations of such Orientalist scholarship.

I argue that the same thesis can be attributed to the recent trend of "Islamic architecture" in the Arabian Gulf. Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries form a cohesive entity marked by common economic and political interests. A major commonality is the razing of their pre-oil cities to institute modern plans and build modern urban centers, following the universal path of development dictated by the West. Recently, however, there has been a trend, namely, for civic institutions to adorn themselves in the garb of what they claim to be "Islamic architecture" or "their tradition." But this "Islamic architecture" bears no semblance to any tradition in the region; nor does it clearly display which Islamic style it adopts. Hence, it perpetuates the same criticisms for which Orientalists are renowned.

As noted in the "Epistemologies of Tradition" track, this presentation will move away from "tradition as a static legacy of the past; a viewpoint that is apolitical," and instead "following IASTE's intellectual perspective, (that) tradition can be identified as a dynamic project for the interpretation and reinterpretation of the past from the point of view of the present towards the promise of

its deployment in the future." What the Arabian Gulf deems "Islamic Architecture" never was tradition as constraint; nor was it tradition in the sense of practices passed down from one generation to the next. With Orientalists, it began as a way of making sense of the mysterious East, and today it has been co-opted by the East as "its tradition." The paper will interrogate these practices to see how Orientalist discourse has taken route in the Arabian Gulf, where the Easterner is now the Orientalist.

B.6 GEO-POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS AND SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS OF TRADITION

NEOT KEDUMIM: CELEBRATING TRADITION IN ISRAEL'S NATIONAL BIBLICAL RESERVE

Tal Alon Mozes

Israel Institute of Technology, Israel

THE "ARCHITECTURALLY NOBLE SAVAGE": ON THE SUSTAINABLE NATURE OF INDIGENOUS BUILDING

Gabriel Arboleda

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

RETHINKING TRADITION: ARAB/JEWISH (CO)EXISTENCE IN HAIFA

Ziva Kolodney and Rachel Kallus

Technion University in Haifa, Israel

CONTESTING STATEHOOD: THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF THE REPUBLICAN ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Chung Man Carmen Tsui

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

NEOT KEDUMIM: CELEBRATING TRADITION IN ISRAEL'S NATIONAL BIBLICAL RESERVE

Tal Alon Mozes

The tens of thousands of pupils who arrive each year at Neot Kedumim, Israel's national biblical reserve, to press olives, stomp on grapes, and retrace the children of Israel's journey through the desert are celebrating the nation's biblical history and everyday life. They harvest wheat, thresh it, and participate in the ritual of the first fruits offering (in biblical times, to the temple; more recently, to the community).

Established in the mid-1960s on the bare foothills of the Judea Mountains, Neot Kedumim embodies the power of the landscapes that shaped Bible imagery and practice, and provides a rich vocabulary for expressing them. Visitors are encouraged to walk in the Forest of Milk and Honey, to explore the Dale of the Song of Songs, and to imagine themselves working in Isaiah's Vineyard. Each of these areas is carefully designed as a capsule of time past, integrating the natural surroundings, the few archeological remnants, the pastoral view of distant Palestinian villages, and carefully selected examples of vegetation mentioned in the Bible.

Recently, the didactic reserve opened its gates to new activities: celebrations of weddings, bar mitzvahs, and anniversaries. It now welcomes Christian pilgrims to experience the site with the New Testament in their hands, as well as eco-tourists to explore

biblical environmental concepts. Leadership workshops and biblical cooking classes complete the range of activities that make the site one of the busiest Israeli tourist attractions.

The paper explores the emergence of Neot Kedumim as a state-sponsored initiative to unite Jews into one nation based on the biblical text and its everyday practices. It investigates both the historical and the contemporary landscape, and questions the relation between tradition and practice, design and politics.

Three periods of significance characterize the modern landscape of Neot Kedumim. One is the preconstruction and prestate period (1920s–50s), when the idea of transforming the literary biblical landscape into a concrete place was appreciated by cultural agents, but was not yet mature for implementation. Another is the early years of statehood (1950s–80s), when Israel enthusiastically supported the project, and even awarded its initiator and his staff the Israel Prize for Lifetime Achievement. The third is the contemporary era, when the national reserve has opened its gates to new populations and encouraged new practices. Each of these periods is characterized by a different political stand, which initiated physical changes and changes to the substance of local practices.

While tradition was inherent in the landscape due to its geographical location and its biblical past, only the actual design and construction of the site transformed it into a reserve and a site where tradition could actually be practiced. In the past, tradition was enlisted to celebrate the nation's identity; at present it is employed to celebrate one's personal events, including Christian beliefs and environmental commitment. Examining the evolution of Neot Kedumim through its forty years of existence presents an opportunity to examine the intricate relations between landscape, tradition, people and politics.

THE "ARCHITECTURALLY NOBLE SAVAGE": ON THE SUSTAINABLE NATURE OF INDIGENOUS BUILDING

Gabriel Arboleda

This paper deals with a popular belief in architectural writing and practice: the (well-intended) defense of the purest building traditions of indigenous communities. In particular, it responds to the idea that these communities should prefer their traditional technologies to modern ones because ethno-technologies are intrinsically sustainable.

The paper invokes the case of the Secoya, an Upper Ecuadorian Amazon group. Back in 1993, the group filed a \$1.5 billion class-action lawsuit against Texaco, in response to damages to their environment. Four years later, however, they signed an agreement with a second oil company, Occidental Petroleum, to allow further oil explorations. As an outcome of this agreement and per their request, the Secoya obtained a significant supply of industrial building materials. With these materials, the built landscape of the main Secoya settlements in Ecuador were radically transformed. These were changed from villages of thatched palm and pole houses to small towns with metallic-roofed houses and framed structures. Reacting to the agreement, environmental

activists who had acted in solidarity with the group in the confrontation against Texaco, dropped their support. Their sense was that the Secoya had given up fundamental principles of life as a self-sustainable indigenous community.

The paper argues that the Secoya's massive adoption of industrial building materials reflects careful consideration rather than disregard for the natural environment. Complex factors had made the Secoya building technologies plainly unsustainable. Just two decades before, this semi-migrant community had settled in permanent locations, and the overexploitation of nearby areas had made traditional building materials scarce. As a consequence of the shortage, the expense of building traditional Secoya houses had become a critical issue. Simultaneously, it became evident that the durability and maintenance requirements of the houses were not worth the effort of building them anymore.

Sensible as it was, the Secoya decision to change defied their outside supporters' expectations about how life in a sustainable environment should be. Several authors have characterized these expectations as a contemporary embodiment of Rousseau's myth of the noble savage. Dubbed "the ecologically noble savage myth" by conservationist Kent Redford (1990), there is also an "architecturally noble savage" part. Contrary to what is commonly expected, sustainable building is not about tradition. It is also not only about resource saving; nor is it about nature. As a concept, "sustainable building" is not as comprehensive and as conclusive as it is popularly regarded. Too much importance is conferred to performance and resource saving, while social aspects tend to be overlooked. Furthermore, it goes virtually unnoticed that sustainable solutions in one context might be unsustainable in others. The concept of sustainability, it must be remembered, is a relative and adaptable standard, one that varies according to different circumstances — in particular, those of place and time. If we insist on relating it to a comprehensive and conclusive idea, perhaps the most applicable would be that sustainable building is about change.

RETHINKING TRADITION: ARAB/JEWISH (CO)EXISTENCE IN HAIFA

Ziva Kolodney and Rachel Kallus

Using the slogan "Haifa: a city of coexistence," Wadi Nisnas, a picturesque Arab neighborhood in the heart of the city, has hosted an art festival for the past ten years. Promoted by the municipality and titled "The Holiday of Holidays," it takes place during the month of December to symbolically celebrate Christmas, Ramadan and Hanukah. The event is aimed at transforming the low-income, densely populated neighborhood into an open-air gallery. Artists use its streets, building facades, and rooftops to exhibit work prepared specifically for it. Hundreds of thousands of visitors from all over Israel (mostly Jews) visit Wadi Nisnas during "The Holiday of Holidays," bringing commercial prosperity, while slumming and mingling with the "other."

Using a strategy based on informal activities such as this popular art festival, Haifa has established itself as a multicultural,

bi-national city. The use of urban space as a socio-political arena also reinforces the common perception of it as a place of freedom and equality, where strangers can meet casually and exchange ideas (Habermas, 1962; Sennett, 1977, 1989). But in light of the deliberate use of the public space of Wadi Nisnas to market the city, one must wonder what the role of public space in the city is? What at stake here is not only the way the space is used, but its construction as a means to manage a multiethnic city.

Furthermore, in light of the continuous debate over the "Arab Village" (Eyal, 1993, 2005), and the problematic Arab urbanity in Israel (Hassan, 2005), one must ask, "How does the city utilize its Arab residents to promote itself, and what do the residents gain?"

These questions are sharpened in light of the municipality's attempt to construct Haifa as an "island of sanity" in the midst of the escalating Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The paper will examine and analyze the meaning of Wadi Nisnas as a symbol of coexistence against the second Palestinian Intifada (2000), in which "The Holiday of Holidays" events served as a "coexistence barometer," and in the face of the missiles that landed in the neighborhood during the second Lebanon war (2006).

CONTESTING STATEHOOD: THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF THE REPUBLICAN ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Chung Man Carmen Tsui

In 1927, the Kuomintang (KMT) Party, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, defeated the warlords controlling northern China and unified the country as the Republic of China. However, in the years that followed the republic was threatened both internally, by the left wing of the party, which was allied with the Chinese Communists, and externally, by the Japanese, who were about to invade China. In this period of political strife, Chiang decided to build a new capital at Nanjing, where the late party founder, Sun Yat-sen, had been inaugurated in 1912 as the first provisional president of the republic. Most importantly, he pushed forward the construction of a grand monument, the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, where a state burial would be performed. In so doing, Chiang positioned himself as the successor of Sun, who the KMT hailed as the "nation's father."

By exploring the invention of a republican architectural tradition by the KMT, this paper discusses the transformation of concrete representations of the new China state as embodied in built form. Hobsbawm and Ranger stress that "invented tradition" is about establishing continuity with a suitable historic past. It is a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past by imposing repetition. This paper builds upon these two points: establishing continuity and imposing repetition.

The first part of the paper discusses how the KMT established continuity with the revolutionary past through the construction of architectural memorials. It explores the ways that the KMT ritualized the worship to Sun Yat-sen by performing public ceremonies in politicized urban spaces. In this regard, the construction of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum and the performance of the

state funeral were important to the reinforcement of the republican statehood.

Unfortunately, these state-strengthening efforts did not prevent the KMT from being defeated by the Chinese Communist Party. The second part of the paper thus discusses how the KMT imposed a repetition of this invented republican architectural tradition after the party's retreat to Taiwan in 1949. By repetition, I mean two kinds of processes: repeated visits to the same architectural settings, and repeated production of the same architectural settings in new places. The former process is seen in the KMT leaders' repeated pilgrimage to the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing, while the later is seen in the construction of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Park in Taipei.

In conclusion, the paper looks at how the republican architectural tradition, which is closely associated with the KMT, is now being contested by other political parties. Taiwan was transformed in early 1980s from a single-party state to a multiparty democracy. Now that the KMT is no longer the only ruling power, its republican memorials are being downgraded from "state architecture" to "party architecture." In this way, political opponents of the KMT are making every effort to depoliticize architectural monuments related to the KMT legacy. In short, by looking at the construction of KMT memorials in Nanjing and Taipei, this paper seeks to discuss the invention, transformation, and contestation of the republican architectural tradition.

C.6 TRADITION, ARCHITECTURE, AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

TRADITION AS THE "OTHER" OF MODERNISM: DISCUSSING SIBYL MOHOLY-NAGY'S NATIVE GENIUS IN ANONYMOUS ARCHITECTURE

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A CHANGING PROCESS OF THE TRADITIONAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN YUNNAN, CHINA

Yun Gao

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BRUCE GROVE TRANSFERRED: THE ROLE OF DIVERSE TRADITIONS IN HISTORIC CONSERVATION

Kate Jordan

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PASSES OF TRADITION: CREATION AND DISSEMINATION OF ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN LADAKH

Sarika Jhawar and Mark Trepte

Independent Scholars, India

TRADITION AS THE "OTHER" OF MODERNISM: DISCUSSING SIBYL MOHOLY-NAGY'S NATIVE GENIUS IN ANONYMOUS ARCHITECTURE

Hilde Heynen

[T]he structures built by settlers in a new land can serve as visual means to come closer to an understanding of the causes of architecture. They are in the actual meaning of the term primitive, meaning not simple but original.

— *Sibyl Moholy-Nagy,*

Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy's 1957 volume *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture* was one of the first architectural books that explicitly focused on vernacular architecture as a source of inspiration for contemporary practices. Like many of her modernist contemporaries, Moholy-Nagy was convinced that modern art and architecture had taken up a thread of authentic experience and genuine expression which had been lost for many years. Like her fellow critics, she blamed eclecticism, bad taste, and consumerism for the loss of a general sensitivity toward what was basic and primordial.

In *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture*, however, she claimed that contemporary architects could learn from vernacular architecture. In contrast with commercial production, vernacular architecture could be admired because it fulfilled the basic mis-

sion of architecture. “To provide the home as an ideal standard is still the architect’s first cause,” she wrote. What anonymous builders did in the past, creating shelters “that provided spiritual as well as material gratifications,” had been made difficult by the proliferation of real estate development, and by a purely technocratic approach to building; but this could be taken up again in the present. Thus she differentiated between a vernacular that was the carrier of authentic tradition and distorted popular building practices that were based on purely commercial drives. If modernist architecture was to be vital and gratifying, it had to oppose commercial practices, while at the same time embracing the qualities of simplicity, functional adequacy, and material honesty.

As a contribution to the track “Epistemologies of Tradition,” this paper will seek to theorize this interaction between modernism and vernacular architecture. A simple opposition between modernity and tradition has never sufficed to allow adequate understanding of the intricate dialectics at stake. Within modernist architecture there has also been a form of primitivism that has sought to encompass some elements of the past while continuing to banish despised remnants of eclecticism and traces of commercialism. Not only Sibyl Moholy-Nagy but also contemporaries like Bernard Rudofsky have been fascinated by the qualities of vernacular environments, and sought to rejuvenate modernist architecture by an injection of the purity and authenticity found in its “other.”

A CHANGING PROCESS OF THE TRADITIONAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN YUNNAN, CHINA

Yun Gao

This study captures evidence of the different meanings of tradition in two sites in Yunnan province, in southwest China. It compares the development of the capital city, Kunming, which represents people’s desire for the modernity, to the Old Town in Lijiang county where a traditional environment has been regenerated for tourism. The study explores how the traditional built environments in these places have been perceived and constructed in order to compete in and connect to the global economy.

Throughout the twentieth century, theories and practices related to vernacular built environments in China were derived from a tension between two demands: to reflect tradition and to be modern. However, since the 1980s, the need to confront rapid economic growth and respond to new influences from developed countries has caused Chinese design and planning to go through a period of rapid transformation and change. In particular, since architectural modernism and postmodernism were introduced in the 1980s, many new buildings in China have been referred to as traditional, modern or postmodern. But one may question the meanings of these terms. Because much of China never went through a period of development and modernization, as in the West, the concepts and frames of reference for tradition, modernism and postmodernism are different from those in other parts of the world.

In Kunming, after initial anxiety about the conflict between tradition and modernity, this dynamic seems to have produced a

condition in which there is no clear definition of the two. And, rather than differentiate designs as traditional or modern, or modern or postmodern, there is increasing interest in hybrid juxtapositions. In the early twenty-first century, thus, hybrid effects embed tradition in a new material environment, overcoming older conflicts. More importantly, they position the city internationally in a global network, which is increasingly important considering Kunming’s new role as a gateway from China to Southeast Asia.

By contrast, in the Old Town in Lijiang, tourists confront a well-preserved traditional built environment. Yet everything there has been encoded with alternative meanings, so that the products and spaces are interpreted by the local residents and the visitors in different ways. In this sense, the place has managed to sustain an ongoing and interactive conversation between various groups. This process has changed through time, creating new ideas, social structures, and meaningful places. But there can be no single authentic lingua franca in such an endeavor.

In the development processes of both Kunming city and the Old Town in Lijiang, the paper will show how interaction between people and the material world has encoded the built environment with new meanings and reinvented traditions.

BRUCE GROVE TRANSFERRED: THE ROLE OF DIVERSE TRADITIONS IN HISTORIC CONSERVATION

Kate Jordan

The Bruce Grove Conservation Area in North London has recently been the beneficiary of £1 million of HLF funding in a bid to reverse years of economic decline and develop a comprehensive conservation strategy and program of heritage-driven regeneration. The focus of the project has been to “refurbish the fine Edwardian and Victorian properties,” and so raise the status of the area and refunctionalize its empty or underused buildings. Haringey Council is committed to encouraging public participation in the program and has undertaken extensive consultation with area residents and freeholders. In the process, the council has acknowledged the multiethnic population of the area, which contains, among others, firmly established communities from the Caribbean, central Europe, and Anatolia with deep, historical connections to the locality. As a conservation-led project in a deprived, ethnically diverse, metropolitan borough, the Bruce Grove scheme invites comparisons with the much-praised regeneration of Spitalfields, in London’s East End.

This paper will measure progress of the Bruce Grove Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI) against the Spitalfields Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme. In so doing, it will consider how effective local public policies have been at incorporating and accommodating the diverse traditions, practices and narratives of the resident communities. The paper suggests that overarching conservation strategies such as those employed in the regeneration of Bruce Grove and Spitalfields have the potential to order and reorder the historical narratives of territories. They may also elide certain traditions in the process of upholding others, in spite of their intended participation agendas.

The paper examines the different ways that communities have expressed the stake they have in the political and material economy of the Bruce Grove area. It also explores the complex interrelationships, rivalries and hostilities that characterize the neighborhood, looking at how these issues are being tackled by the THI. A broad analysis of the conservation program in Bruce Grove will reveal insights into the meaning of tradition; how the term is applied, and to whom; and how plural notions of tradition can shape and mold the historical, cultural and socio-political identity of an area.

The paper concludes with a suggested methodology for shaping further research into the Bruce Grove regeneration program. The aim of the research will be to build a model for reciprocal processes of understanding tradition. In this process, members of the more recent migrant communities might build connections and share traditional skills and practices with each other and with the older, local communities. This might help in the regeneration of this culturally diverse area, not only in material terms but also in ways which promote social cohesion and inclusion.

PASSES OF TRADITION: CREATION AND DISSEMINATION OF ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN LADAKH

Sarika Jhawar and Mark Trepte

In the impregnable valleys and high passes of Ladakh is man's modest response to extreme natural conditions. Ladakh is one of the highest inhabited places on earth, an arid desert flanked by the Karakoram Mountains on the northeast and the great Himalayan ranges to the south. It is connected to the rest of the world through a number of passes — thus, aptly the name Ladwags, “the land of high passes.”

The limited availability of materials, remoteness, and a harsh climate have all shaped the regional architecture, which has been further developed by adherence to religious and cosmological ways of thinking. Hence, some architectural expressions and rituals have structural derivations; the rest are based on strong cultural beliefs.

Only recently opened to outsiders, Ladakh has witnessed detrimental impacts of tourism and globalization, which has also started the process of conservation of traditions. While working in Ladakh, I felt the need to understand the epistemology of building traditions to carry out sympathetic interventions. However, my travels also exposed me to a gap between explanations of vernacular building traditions as I had read about them in books and their interpretation by local people. In local communities, traditions, which are a way of life, are simply deployed because they have always been, without enquiry into the reasons.

The interwoven, dual approach toward architecture in Ladakh allows for many theories related to its traditions. The paper aims to investigate their creation and how they are handed down. It will explore where the real explanations lie. Is there a difference in perspective, or are there several meanings and explanations as to why a tradition exists? As various preservation efforts are undertaken in the region, most by individuals or organizations

alien to the place, it is imperative to understand the epistemology of local building traditions in order to carry out meaningful and relevant conservation works.

Change is embedded in tradition. This is what makes the epistemology of tradition important: to understand tradition as a process by which the past may provide a guide for future activities from a constantly moving point of view — i.e., the present. While today we worry constantly about the loss of traditions and about developing methods to save traditions, we need to take a step back and study the epistemology of tradition, especially of living traditions, so that tradition is not saved for the sake of saving it, but so it can be carried forward in essence and spirit.

As we will be talking about ancient knowledge, it will be useful to see what this knowledge is and what its sources are. The first part of the paper deals with this. It then talks about the transition that is taking place and its reasons, and the challenges in conservation today.

A.7 REINVENTING TRADITIONS FOR THE MODERN WORLD

REDEFINING THE EDGE

Robert Brown

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FROM SLEEPING PORCH TO SLEEPING MACHINE: INVERTING TRADITIONS OF FRESH AIR IN NORTH AMERICA

Charlie Hailey

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MANIPULATING TRADITION(S): A KEY TO PROMOTE MODERN ARCHITECTURE

Christine Vendredi-Auzanneau

Keio University, Japan

DYNAMIC REINTERPRETATION OF THE PAST: THE CARLSBERG BREWERIES REDEVELOPMENT IN COPENHAGEN

Svava Riesto

Copenhagen University, Denmark

LINGUISTIC CONTAMINATION: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL TOOL FOR INTERROGATING VERNACULAR TRADITION AND CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE

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REDEFINING THE EDGE

Robert Brown

En — literally “edge” — is a formative construct in traditional Japanese architecture. It refers to the space found at the periphery of buildings that is neither inside nor outside, but rather an in-between that acts as a transition from one to the other. Found in both domestic and nondomestic structures, this transitional zone functions as a multilayered space with separate though intrinsically related screens of various permeability. These layers, ranging from opaque to translucent to perforated, control the penetration of light, air, sound and views from outside, enabling the inside to be ventilated and cooled while maintaining the visual privacy of inhabitants.

While once a central component of the vernacular, *en* has all too frequently disappeared from contemporary architecture. Various factors have led to its demise: the advent of air conditioning, the pressure to utilize every last square foot (or square meter) of floor area in incredibly dense and highly populated urban centers, and the assimilation of Western forms and techniques of building. The landscape of Japanese cities today gives testimony to this.

As an architectural construct, the articulation of *en* is, however, more than just a physical response to pragmatic needs; it is a concretization of Japanese attitudes toward public and private life, their relationship to nature, and their aesthetic sensibilities. Indeed, it is even argued that this transitional space approximates their concept of space (*ma*).

With the demise of the traditional *en* in contemporary architecture, what has happened to the meaning embedded in its form? Do the values and beliefs underpinning its original physical representation linger on, cognitively and emotionally reemerged into new forms? Or has the meaning of this condition disappeared simultaneously with the original form? Does it signal the “end of tradition” in a land long associated with its history, but now leading the way toward a globalized world?

These questions frame this paper, which will explore the work of contemporary architects in Japan. Referenced against a framework of vernacular architecture, it will consider the role of tradition in current practice and whether it represents cultural reengagement or the generation of new traditions.

FROM SLEEPING PORCH TO SLEEPING MACHINE: INVERTING TRADITIONS OF FRESH AIR IN NORTH AMERICA

Charlie Hailey

In the opening years of the twentieth century, physicians, politicians and architects exhorted the public to sleep outside. Prominent within Irving Fisher’s 1915 treatise *How to Live* is the argument that night air is good air. In the decades preceding this publication, physicians prescribed fresh air for tuberculosis patients. And in the two decades that would follow a generation of Californians spent their nights on sleeping porches.

Outdoor sleeping within a fixed dwelling was not new, as some architects contended. But the argument that human laws of health remained the same across diverse climactic and geographic contexts reframed the sleeping porch’s traditions, which in turn recast knowledge of the body’s relation to nature. This paper examines the negotiation of climatic imperatives and the politics of health and the sleeping porch to understand how both populist and avant-garde attitudes about air, and about the broader relation between body and nature, have shaped the margins of domestic space.

When President Taft wrote in the foreword to Fisher’s treatise that the provision of fresh air would be fundamental to his country’s public health, he was reinventing a preexisting American tradition. With Frederick Jackson Turner pitching a tent on the back porch of his Cambridge house while teaching at Harvard, the sleeping porch had already provided a vicarious connection to the American west — boundless in space as the porch was open to night air. And in the southern United States, the late-nineteenth-century sleeping porch registered social disparity in privileged expansions of domestic space. In reinterpreted strains of the porch, traditional connections between health and climate were displaced, reconfigured and confirmed.

As tuberculosis' global threat institutionalized the sleeping porch in urban and rural sanatoria from Switzerland to Chicago, the politicization of health further embedded the practice of sleeping outside in America, particularly in the context of California's emergent regionalism and lifestyle culture. Given the moderate climate of the American West Coast, bungalow design paralleled modernist interpretations of physicians' healthful recommendations. Eventually, what had customarily been understood as minor program, ad hoc addition, or necessary adjunct became the formal and programmatic locus for domestic life. This was evident in Greene and Greene's Gamble House, Schindler's houses, and the 1920s Midwestern suburban house — its sleeping porch societally obligatory and privately oneiric for Sinclair Lewis' iconic character Babbitt.

The sleeping porch sustained and synthesized arguments for both health and modernity, and thus became emblematic of nascent modernist traditions of "life in the open." At the confluences of politicized health and climatic imperatives, the sleeping porch could also be "sleeping machine" and could maintain paradoxes of private to public and interior to exterior within its rhetorical and instrumental provision of "fresh air." Legacies of these inversions remain with us today. Contemporary interpretations of the sleeping porch continue to evaluate how air shapes, and is in turn shaped by, the peripheries of domestic living — from New Urbanist imaging of ventilation, to trends of sustainability axiomatically professing that the "outside is the new inside."

MANIPULATING TRADITION(S): A KEY TO PROMOTE MODERN ARCHITECTURE

Christine Vendredi-Auzanneau

This essay retraces the birth of the concept of Japanese architecture by examining the introduction of Western concepts of architecture to Japan in the late nineteenth century and by analyzing the reactions they produced. By looking for what was at stake in each period, it reconstructs the various states of a changing tradition, which moved from an exclusively religious to a vernacular corpus. The essay then turns to the relationship between tradition and contemporary production, showing how during the twentieth-century tradition was invoked to advance opposite purposes. While tradition was invoked to resist modern architecture as alien to Japanese culture, it was also used to legitimate certain positions within this same movement. The work of Antonin Raymond provides helpful insights as to how Japanese tradition helped promote the cause of modern architecture inside and outside Japan.

Tradition was both a legitimizing tool of modern architecture and a touchstone against which to set the modern. By assessing the characteristics of each way of looking at tradition, the author will question the nature of tradition as a static legacy of the past. The paper hopes to show the ever-changing aspect of what is called Japanese tradition.

DYNAMIC REINTERPRETATION OF THE PAST: THE CARLSBERG BREWERIES REDEVELOPMENT IN COPENHAGEN

Svava Riesto

The past is never what it used to be. Remains of the past of a given urban situation are constantly re-formed, reinterpreted and negotiated. Many current urban redevelopment projects on former industrial sites are playing an ambivalent role in the dynamic shaping of identity. While they introduce new functions, users, cultural imaginaries, and physical qualities, they simultaneously activate selected signifiers of the lost past.

Currently, heritage is celebrated and manufactured seemingly ubiquitously in discourses surrounding the city — both in theory, politics, architectural projects, tourism, and among investors. Material and immaterial signs of the past are increasingly instrumentalized as enhancers of identity and economic growth. The meaning of the notion of heritage has also changed. From being understood as a static and vulnerable object for protection, it is increasingly described as composed of material and immaterial phenomena that can be utilized as elastic resources in urban redevelopment. It is important to ask a number of questions about this process. Whose past? For whom, why, and based on which sets of values? And with what impacts on the urban environment?

Meanwhile, deindustrialization is everywhere. Facilities for production are closing or moving to new locations. Yet, industrial production has left a more profound set of marks on our territories than those of any prior period. Industrial environments cannot be grasped by the traditional distinction between "landscape" and "the built environments" common in Danish planning and preservation practices. The postindustrial landscape asks for reinterpretations of the past.

The most widely discussed current Danish example of such reinterpretation is the transformation of the 81-acre (32-hectare) area of the Carlsberg Breweries in Copenhagen. Identity was the key notion in the international competition brief for this redevelopment, won by the Danish architectural office Entasis in 2007. The owner of the area and commissioner of the project is the Carlsberg company, itself, which is seeking to use it to interpret and deploy its own past on the site. The extent and complexity of this particular transformation, its status as an Industrial Heritage Site of National Significance, the number of listed buildings there, and the ambition to create a new urban district characterized by "constant change" make this a relevant case study.

The paper analyzes the current processes of interpretation, reinterpretation and negotiation of the Carlsberg site's past, based on selected competition entries. How did these entries interpret history and deal with the relationship between heritage and future urban transformation on the level of spatial practices, spatial appearance, and discourse? The conclusion is a case-study-based contribution to our understanding of how urban regeneration projects on former industrial sites influence the dynamic process of tradition.

LINGUISTIC CONTAMINATION: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL TOOL FOR INTERROGATING VERNACULAR TRADITION AND CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE

Paola Tosolini

In 1919, in an essay entitled “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” T.S. Eliot stated that a poet “is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious, not of what is dead, but of what is already living.”

The paper will investigate the idea of tradition intended as *matière vivante*, as an operative tool used in architectural practice. The epistemology of a tradition, can be achieved through the analysis of what I call linguistic contamination. It is through this analogous action, made by one element on another at a morphological or semantic level, that tradition “moves,” regenerating its forms and meanings.

This approach allows us to liberate the classical concept of tradition from its historical, time-bound limits and consider it in a new dynamic way. Tradition can be recognized in the survival of “architectural constants” ferried from the past to the present, sometimes remodeled, and sometimes deformed under the flux of progress and change. Some of these constants are, for instance, the Finnish *tupa*, the Spanish *boveda*, and the Swiss *chambre du tué*.

This epistemic exercise will focus on the identification of the different kinds of contaminations which have occurred between vernacular architecture and modern architecture. The way in which a lexicon of the past has been used in a language whose syntax is yet new will be investigated through case studies from modern and contemporary times.

B.7 SPACES OF CITIZENSHIP

RESTRUCTURING PLACE: POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS IN LEBANON

Marwan Ghandour
Iowa State University, U.S.A.

SPACES OF INSURGENCY: REFUGEE SQUATTING AND THE POLITICS OF BELONGING IN CALCUTTA

Romola Sanyal
Rice University, U.S.A.

INTERROGATING THE URBAN PROCESS: DIRECTED BY VISION OR CRISIS?

Heba Farouk Ahmed
Cairo University, Egypt

DEATH AS ARRIVAL: U.S. MILITARISM, FOREIGN-BORN SOLDIERS, AND POSTHUMOUS CITIZENSHIP

Elizabeth Lee
University of British Columbia, Canada

CONTESTING TRADITIONS IN JAPANESE-AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

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

RESTRUCTURING PLACE: POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS IN LEBANON

Marwan Ghandour

Postwar reconstruction projects provide a unique opportunity to examine how spaces produced by diverse actions over a long period of time may be reenvisioned and politically sanitized. In particular, current reconstruction projects in Lebanon reveal how they may produce space that empowers particular political networks rather than merely recover a devastated environment. Looking at three active reconstruction projects — Solidere, Wa’d, and Nahr el-Bared — I will compare design strategies employed in relation to the spatial and political configurations they produce.

Solidere has transformed downtown Beirut into a haven for neoliberal exchange. By transforming all property into market shares, it freed space from social claims, dissociating the area both spatially and economically from its context. This allowed rapid development of the urban environment, but it also made that development unsustainable, as the space itself symbolically embodied a biased political strategy. As such, the area has become a target for opposition groups, who have recently camped there, causing a regression of once “flourishing” businesses.

Wa'd, a project initiated in 2007 for the reconstruction of Haret Hreik, introduced a different strategy. Here, all property, down to every square meter of apartment, was to be reconstructed and delivered to its prewar owners. Historically, the Haret Hreik built environment was produced through formal and informal processes representing the dynamics between community, local developers, security conditions, and political representation. Through the act of conservation of the prewar existing fabric and an uncritical reconstruction process, the political patronage of Hizb'allah is arguably privileged over the livability of the neighborhood and its sustainable relationship to the city at large.

Nahr el-Bared Palestinian Camp reconstruction, a project still under development, differs from these first two examples mainly because the camp proper was totally destroyed, and because its Palestinian residents are only marginally represented within Lebanese politics. This has generated a situation where there are a multiplicity of players, such as UNRWA, volunteer groups, the Lebanese government, and community representatives, but no central, decision-making agency. The Nahr el-Bared reconstruction proposals have revealed open-ended design possibilities as well as the vulnerability of all these possibilities.

Through this comparative analysis, I will identify common features intrinsic to the reconstruction process itself, and I argue for the political specificity of the space produced by each of these projects.

SPACES OF INSURGENCY: REFUGEE SQUATTING AND THE POLITICS OF BELONGING IN CALCUTTA

Romola Sanyal

The discussion of forced migration inevitably involves the invocation of tradition. This is particularly true from the perspective of refugee-generating countries, which are eager to purify their bodies of unwanted populations and invent traditions and histories that offer no place for these people. Equally, the migration of people from one country to another for fear of persecution entails the protection of particular traditions, imagined histories, and physical traits in what Liisa Malkki has defined as "body maps." The deployment of tradition and its preservation thus becomes a key factor in the settlement practices, such as squatting, of those who are forced to flee their homes into host countries.

The process of squatting has been studied as a deeply politicized movement in many parts of the Third World. However, the discussion is generally limited to migrants from within the nation-state itself. Here squatting becomes a process by which a marginal group stakes a claim to urban citizenship and the right to shelter. Across political borders, how is this process used to challenge notions of national citizenship and the right to resettlement, and how does the invocation of tradition play a role in staking this particular right? Simultaneously, how does a host nation use the space of the displaced as a means of articulating who belongs or un-belong to a nation-state? The settlements of refugees become the spaces through which the traditions of the displaced are entrenched, while

the traditions of the refugee-receiving and refugee-producing countries are imagined and articulated against them.

This paper will interrogate the peculiar politics of squatting in post-partition Calcutta. Here, refugees from East Bengal engaged in a rhetoric of rights-based citizenship, invoking their active engagement in the nationalist struggle and their imagined contribution to the development and sustenance of Bengali tradition. In so doing, they created not only a unique politics of squatting, but also challenged attempts by the Indian government to create and sustain a tradition of secularism. Using squatting as a lens of analysis, the paper will look at how state politics of resettlement, and challenges to it from refugees, changed not only the urban fabric of Calcutta, but notions of who belonged to the new state of India.

INTERROGATING THE URBAN PROCESS: DIRECTED BY VISION OR CRISIS?

Heba Farouk Ahmed

Is a "city" a materialistic concept or an idealistic one? How can we define cities in the twenty-first century? A city incorporates its citizens, is owned by them, and accommodates their needs. Processes of development and transformation in cities are generally orchestrated by political institutions and their administrative bodies. In some cases, other organizations may jump in to ease a situation and provide help. Today, cities are still engaged in such processes of change and development. However, in developing countries, it may not be clear who is responsible for, or directing, these changes. Is there an urban vision for developing countries?

Cairo today is experiencing many changes and challenges, yet its citizens have no sense for the direction these changes are taking it or who is behind them. This paper highlights some of these changes, interrogating the different processes that are known to be directing the city. Historically, Cairo has been administered and developed by the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Planning, while many conservation projects have been directed by the Ministry of Culture and the Supreme Council of Antiquities. But it is no longer clear "who owns Cairo" and decides its fate. Are individuals, rather than institutions, directing its future, alienating its population in the process?

In April this year, Cairenes woke to find that two new governorates had been declared, to "ease the burdens of the two most populated governorates of Cairo and Giza." Residents in many of these areas realized that overnight, following a decree by the Egyptian president, their address had changed. In many cases, this would not have been a problem; however, the two new governorates did not have any administrative structure, or personnel. Far from easing their burdens, the decision to create two new governorates in the greater Cairo region thus only escalated their number, because people no longer knew where to go to address them. Cairo is a city today that has been put on hold until further decisions are made.

With the recent fire in the upper house of Parliament, the Majlis Al Shura, debate has also once again started as to who is

responsible for maintaining and operating the building. And the city has been struck by other “unnatural” urban crises, a slum rockslide and a shortage of bread, which the government has been accused of mishandling. What kind of vision is there of the future or to ease the situation of the urban population in the present?

Cairo, as a city, is characterized by a vast urbanization of poverty. Less than 10 percent of the population experiences the ready-made formulas of development. The transformation of the city can now be identified as a situation-based process, where crises determine an ambiguous future. Events and crises are reshaping Cairo, rather than vision.

DEATH AS ARRIVAL: U.S. MILITARISM, FOREIGN-BORN SOLDIERS, AND POSTHUMOUS CITIZENSHIP

Elizabeth Lee

The questions of citizenship and belonging have become more urgent today than ever, forcing us to rethink understandings of citizenship as we know it. This paper seeks to reconceptualize the relationship between citizens and cities, and to think radically about a democracy and political community outside, and well beyond, the notion of citizenship and the discourse of rights (Agamben, 2003).

The paper contributes to larger intellectual discussions surrounding citizenship by focusing specifically on posthumous citizenship in the United States military. This involves the granting of U.S. citizenship to an “alien,” or noncitizen national, whose death resulted from injury or disease incurred on active duty with the U.S. armed services during specified periods of hostilities. Today, there are approximately 69,000 noncitizen soldiers serving in the U.S. armed forces. The Department of Defense reports that Filipinos make up the largest foreign-born group, at 24 percent, followed by Mexicans, at 9 percent.

The paper examines how citizenship is established, lost, asserted, taken away, or even refused once it has been granted. Though posthumous citizenship is an “award” given to families of the dead, some have found such practices insulting. As such, some families have actively refused the citizenship they would receive by extension. I am interested in ways in which we come to talk about “refusal” or “dissent” at the site (or sight) of the posthumous body in these times of empire.

Citizenship is a status that is sought after, and equally, taken for granted by many. What can we take away from the refusal stories — this ambivalence, of sorts, to citizenship — from some of the most vulnerable members of society? How might this “ambivalence” challenge us to think about the limits of citizenship, and more importantly, to acknowledge that citizenship (as governance) quite literally comes in the wake of death of those noncitizens, foreigners and outsiders? It is my hope that such critical inquiries on the topic of posthumous citizenship, the granting of full political membership upon death, can enable us to question the entire militarized arrangement, and rethink liberal notions of citizenship we know today.

CONTESTING TRADITIONS IN JAPANESE-AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Lynne Horiuchi

In the case of World War II Japanese-American internment camps, tradition served as a complex political indicator of the unmooring of Japanese and American citizenship under the pressures of incarceration and forced relocation. This paper addresses the need to interrogate and locate the dislocations of tradition under such pressures of statelessness.

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt, bypassing the need for formal substantiated charges through Executive Order 9066, forcibly removed 120,300 people of “Japanese ancestry” from the West Coast and Arizona, including 75,000 Japanese Americans born in the United States. By June 1942, the U.S. had incarcerated approximately 117,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans in semi-permanent prison cities.

Resistance and nationalist loyalties, both American and Japanese, contributed to bitter divisions within the internment communities, otherwise represented by the U.S. government as orderly experiments in social engineering and democracy. Acknowledging “tensions” and “anxiety” fueled by “rumor,” the U.S. government physically separated persons they considered loyal or disloyal based on responses to an ill-designed questionnaire.

Having imprisoned people based on their race and ethnicity, government strategies for identifying loyal or disloyal prisoners were equally unobvious and confusing. While holding Japanese and Japanese Americans prisoners as “potential saboteurs,” the U.S. government asked them if they would be willing to serve in the U.S. Army and fight the enemy Japanese, and if they would be willing to forswear allegiance to Japan and the Japanese emperor.

For incarcerated Japanese citizens, legally barred from naturalizing as American citizens, there was no suitable answer. Already disenfranchised by the U.S., they would be treated as traitors in Japan if they affirmed loyalty to the U.S. This left whole families refusing to declare their loyalty to America. Other Japanese and Japanese Americans demonstrated defiance by flaunting expressions of pro-Japanese and nationalist political affiliations within the prison camps.

As the repository for “disloyal” prisoners, Tule Lake Relocation Center became the most contested and controversial internment site. Renamed Tule Lake Segregation Center on July 31, 1942, this prison city was expanded from its original configuration for 10,000 prisoners to a city of approximately 17,500. Chaotic conditions in Tule Lake — lack of proper sanitation, poor food, and unreasonable work requirements — contributed to mass protests and disturbances. Composed of a majority of young *kibei*, second-generation Japanese Americans educated in Japan, the Japanese nationalist group, Daihyo Sha Kai, organized many of these demonstrations. They played Japanese nationalist songs over the loudspeakers, maintained martial-art exercises, and violently attempted to force people to join pro-Japanese protests.

Such conflicted uses of citizenship and tradition resonate today and reveal ways that policies toward noncitizens have historically redrawn civil liberties in the United States.

C.7 PLANNING AND SUSTAINABILITY IN TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

“TRADITION” AND THE AGENCY OF THE DISEMPOWERED: THE WORK OF THE HUNNAR SHĀLĀ FOUNDATION, BHUJ, INDIA

Vikram Prakash

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

CISTERN IN SANCTUARIES: SHARING WATER IN A TRIBAL CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Morna Livingston

Philadelphia University, U.S.A.

SHARING WATER, SHARING SPACE: A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF COMMUNAL LAUNDRIES

Shana Greenstein

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A.

TRAFFIC POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS: THE CASE OF ANKARA CITADEL

Cüneyt Elker

Çankaya University, Turkey

CONTEMPORARY URBAN MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS IN THE KATHMANDU VALLEY, NEPAL: A RADICAL DEPARTURE FROM THE PAST

Vibha Bhattarai-Upadhyay

University of Sydney, Australia

“TRADITION” AND THE AGENCY OF THE DISEMPOWERED: THE WORK OF THE HUNNAR SHĀLĀ FOUNDATION, BHUJ, INDIA

Vikram Prakash

Hunnar Shālā is a building-research and implementation NGO that was formed in Bhuj, India, after the devastating earthquake of January 26, 2001. Since that event, the foundation has rebuilt twenty thousand dwellings in record time and according to designs that are both sustainable and earthquake resistant. It attributes its success to processes that empower local builders and communities.

Hunnar Shālā’s work with the community emphasizes dialogue, sharing of epistemic and financial resources, and research and innovation. As a consequence of this way of working, traditional knowledge is often privileged by Hunnar Shālā’s facilitators. This leads to outcomes different from the mass-produced “modern” solutions typically proposed by the authorities in the wake of disasters — solutions that may create a new disaster. However, once control of design and building processes is in the hands of local communities, the NGO actively encourages innovation and

rethinking of traditional practices to produce better, more sustainable, more equitable, and more just solutions.

What is the status of tradition in a decidedly local yet innovative design-build practice such as that promoted by Hunnar Shālā? In documenting the work and processes of the foundation in the wake of the 2001 earthquake, this paper will argue that “tradition,” like “modernity,” is a catachresis — an empty concept metaphor with no adequate referent in reality. Nevertheless, it remains one that is critical to apprehending and enabling the agency of the disempowered in a postcolonial world.

CISTERN IN SANCTUARIES: SHARING WATER IN A TRIBAL CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Morna Livingston

In Yemen’s mountainous interior rain collects in thousands of cisterns built to follow the hollows in the land. Shaped by underlying rock, each is unique: large tanks water the terraced landscape, while small pools beside rural mosques hold the purest water for ablutions.

Walled off from its roadside or town setting, a rounded pool typically connects to a cubical mosque by stairs, the pool and the room for worship as tightly linked as a tea house is to its moss garden in Japan. In Yemen, both the pool and mosque (even its roof) are constructed of rough stone, waterproofed with polished plaster. These little mosques offer sanctuary in many ways. Acoustically, they are quiet; texturally, they are smooth; and visually, they are ordered by their white-plaster covering. In every way they differ from the earth tones of the towns in which they are embedded, or the broken texture of the land along the roads they sit next to. Heavier than a tea house, less regular than Italian *trulli*, they are nonetheless classically vernacular, with no exotic elements.

So far, these sites in Yemen’s interior have escaped the fundamentalism which arose in Saudi Arabia. Craggy mountains, the tribes who fiercely defend them, and the Empty Quarter to the east have also kept out the more onerous forms of colonialism. Almost magically, they have even avoided the politics of nationalism. Any controversy, then, comes from within. However, in this regard, we find that no matter how calm the mosques look, they lie in a contested landscape. This is evident in the military checkpoints along roads, the defensive towers on every rocky pinnacle, and guard towers from which men protect their *qat* fields at night with rifles. Most males above the age of twelve wear a *jambiya*, and many also carry a Kalashnikov and a pistol. To allow trade in such tense circumstances, local people have been forced to designate certain areas as *hijra*, or sanctuaries, where they can congregate safely, and where they are honor-bound to respect the peace.

Yemen has no plentiful natural resource but water — and that wealth is only relative to the rest of the Arabian Peninsula. And a recently doubled population, plus a focus on *qat* as a major cash crop, has led to anxious debate over water. At Kawkabam, a water war included one death. Most arguments revolve around water which outsiders “steal” by truck at night.

In such a tense landscape, where the resolution of revenge killings may take years, the tiny mosque with its ablution pool may offer an alternative. Tradition need not be invented; holy sites have been *hijra* from ancient times. But expanding the concept now to declare entire regions as *hijra* may well be a Yemeni invention that could offer hope of resolution. In any case, the inconspicuous mosque — the smallest, yet most perfect piece of the Yemeni water equation — may lie in the estimable position of safeguarding a sustainable supply of clean drinking water for the whole countryside.

SHARING WATER, SHARING SPACE: A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF COMMUNAL LAUNDRIES

Shana Greenstein

This paper examines the potential of traditional communal or shared water use as part of a more robust conception of planning for cities affected by the catastrophic precipitation shifts expected to come as a result of global climate change. As planners reexamine current practice to meet this challenge, traditional methods of resource sharing may play a critical role.

I begin the exploration of communal water-sharing traditions by investigating cross-cultural examples of municipal laundries such as the *pilas* in Central America, the *lavoirs* in France, and the *ghats* in India. These public spaces, used for private-sphere work by socially regulated subgroups, offer an alternative to contemporary conventions of mutually exclusive public and private negotiated space.

In these traditional laundries, the relation of the social definition of users to the political definition of space was co-contingent; space gained meaning not only from its use but also from the social position of its users, who in turn received social identity by their association with the space. Further, this social identity influenced the planning, placement and design of the laundry itself. For example, the *lavoirs* of France were strictly the domain of lower-class women, who, by their association with laundering, were considered both politically threatening (privity to the “dirty laundry” of the city elite) and sexually suspect (with hitched skirts and wet bodices). These social connotations affected the geographic layout of cities by dictating that *lavoirs* be placed within earshot of a regulating presence (a town hall or a nunnery), and away from children, especially young boys.

Though planning is a “present-minded and future-oriented profession” (Abbott and Adler, 1989), and, as such, may overlook traditional historical examples, the threat of climate change demands a more robust narrative of city form, one that moves beyond the untried promise of technological innovation. The solutions offered by such historical practices may initially seem unrelated to the needs, and inconsistent with the desires of, a modern city and its people. Moreover, the socio-political complexity of these traditional systems of resource sharing requires significant disambiguation before they can be integrated into planning theory or practice. It will thus be necessary to determine both disarticulated and holistic meanings of these forms so that we may

re-collect traditional models of resource sharing in order to help planners imagine well-being in a future with far less water.

TRAFFIC POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS: THE CASE OF ANKARA CITADEL

Cüneyt Elker

Traditional environments are built in conformity with social, cultural and technological circumstances that shape their chronological and geographical framework. Historically, one common characteristic of traditional settlements was the absence of motor vehicles when they were built and developed. This is probably the principal reason for the sense of human scale that still characterizes them. Consequently, vehicular traffic is also one of the main factors that negatively affects them today. Besides its various tangible impacts, such as pollution, noise, etc., motor traffic ruins the social life and human scale that exist in these settlements.

The paper will start with a theoretical discussion of the adverse effects of motor traffic in historical quarters of old cities. The physical and environmental impacts of vehicles will then be analyzed and compared to the characteristics of various alternative modes of urban transportation. The relationship between traffic generation and urban indicators such as land use, physical pattern, and social profile will be investigated. The theoretical discussion will further cover alternative traffic policies that might create more sustainable environments in traditional settlements.

The historical citadel of Ankara, whose roots lie in Roman period, comprises all the typical features of a traditional environment. Because of harsh topographical conditions, it is connected to the main city by only a few gates. The majority of its buildings are today used as housing by low-income groups. Others have been converted to restaurants or cafés. Although not too dense, the existence of motor vehicles causes visual pollution and disrupts social activities in the citadel.

The case study begins by analyzing the social, cultural and economic profile of the citadel’s residents. It then provides a physical inventory of its street system and traffic volumes. Subsequently, the paper will use a multicriteria technique to compare alternative transportation designs and policies, such as area licensing, full prohibition of traffic, and a system that relies only on public transport. The paper will end with traffic policy proposals aiming at improving the sustainability of the Ankara citadel.

CONTEMPORARY URBAN MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS IN THE KATHMANDU VALLEY, NEPAL: A RADICAL DEPARTURE FROM THE PAST

Vibha Bhattarai-Upadhyay

There has been extensive research on the problems arising when Western styles of urban planning and governance are imposed on the very different cultural contexts of developing cities (Peattie, 1981; Sarin, 1982; Peattie, 1987; Quadeer, 1996; Al-Naim,

2002; Hein, 2003). This work has emphasized the procedural issues, miscommunications, and implementation failures that result when imported, modernist governance techniques are grafted onto the radically different social and institutional settings of historic cities where traditional systems of urban decision-making still exist. However, within this body of literature, it is rare that research shows how this shift in governance actually affects the use of space and the preservation or transformation of urban environments.

This paper explores these issues with reference to the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Formal and informal rules governed traditional urban and rural society in the valley for centuries until a Western-influenced government structure was introduced in the early 1950s. Prior to this time, ritual mediation was used to regulate the use of urban space, and compliance relied on individual faithfulness and discipline. In the Kathmandu Valley today new legal constraints and sources of power, as well as actors, interests, and institutions of urban governance, have been introduced. As a consequence, the traditional system of ritual mediation and observation has been replaced by modernization, globalization, and the adoption of a foreign urban management system based on the rule of law. Despite the continued presence of rituals in people's daily lives, ritual practices associated with the use of urban space, architectural expression, and the protection and care of religious buildings and communal places for congregation and festival have diminished.

This paper adopts an analytic approach (Healey et al., 2002) to examine changes in processes, practices, and modes of governance in the Kathmandu Valley and the implications of these changes for the urban environment. It highlights shifts in the types of actors and institutions from the traditional to the contemporary. It draws on analyses of documents, policies and plans (pre- and post-1950s). And it reports on interviews with key personnel associated with both the traditional urban environment and contemporary governance agencies.

The analysis suggests that indigenous knowledge has never been recognized by modern authorities as a tacit form of local urban management in Nepal. This lack of recognition continues to hinder development of a collaborative form of management today. It is also a main reason why international planning techniques have not been successful in the Kathmandu Valley, where traditional skills still survive. The paper concludes that a radical departure from traditional modes of planning and governance has had a significant impact on urban decisions and urban form. It has threatened the continuity of traditional socio-cultural activities, allowed a loss of cultural heritage, and ultimately contributed to the deterioration of the traditional urban environment.

A.8 THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF DWELLINGS

THE RETURN OF THE TURKISH HOUSE

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FROM FACADE TO INTERSTITIAL SPACE: REFRAMING SAN FRANCISCO'S VICTORIAN RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

Tanu Sankalia

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SHUNNING THE ORDINARY: SUBURBAN PRETENSION GOES GLOBAL

Rosemary Latter

Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

COMMUNISM AND *TULOUS*: A STUDY OF SOCIO-POLITICS AND TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS

Jing Zheng

Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

THE EVOLVED FACE OF WALLS IN CHINESE URBAN HOUSING

Fang Xu

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THE RETURN OF THE TURKISH HOUSE

Ipek Tureli

The Turkish house is a memory device rather than an architectural form of precise definition. And despite the diversity of housing forms in Turkey, Istanbul's vernacular timber houses from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries today lend their look to this apparition.

Architectural commentaries on the Turkish house in the Republican period (1923–50) have been the subject of several studies, but the reappraisal of the Turkish house since the mid-1970s remains unexplored. How can its "return" be explained? What does it mean for the negotiation of socio-political identities formed around its documentation, protection, branding and consumption? Based on archival research, this paper argues that renewed attention to the Turkish house has been informed by the process of European integration and by heritage discourses actively promoted by institutions such as the Council of Europe. This return is also significant in terms of understanding the nostalgia for Istanbul that has framed discourses of the city since the 1980s, and which has been materialized in forms that range from the fictional restoration of urban fragments to plans to freeze development in its historic quarters.

Nostalgia for Istanbul centers partly on the Turkish house and on the traditional neighborhoods it once constituted. This longing diverges profoundly from literary accounts from a century ago of the Turkish house as the site of Orientalist imaginings. It also contrasts with its evaluation by several prominent local architects in the Republican period. In the latter case, the Turkish house was seen to embody a timeless form, on par with the principles of architectural modernism. It was even turned into an object of typological research.

In the post-World War II phase (1950–70s) of urbanization, however, despite the drastic speed with which old houses disappeared, architects remained dispassionate about them. Among the general public, too, the renovation of Istanbul's urban fabric with boulevards and concrete-frame blocks was a cause of celebration rather than chagrin. But by the mid-1980s this modernist frame of mind had completely changed. Several associations, organizations and universities had developed an active interest in the documentation of old houses.

The paper starts with an examination of events in the year 1975, declared the European Architectural Year by the Council of Europe. During 1975 the council made direct efforts in each European country to establish associations concerned with the historic fabric. In Turkey this culminated in the founding, with direct state guidance and sponsorship, of several "civil society organizations" which brought together individuals disturbed by the pace and impact of urbanization. Alternatively, existing foundations were also encouraged to this end. The Association for the Protection of Turkish Historical Homes is perhaps the most paradigmatic of these new organizations because it staged numerous exhibitions on "Old Istanbul," and actively sought to influence public opinion. The most publicized among similar endeavors was that of the Turkish Touring and Automobile Club which developed Sogukcesme Street as an immersive, museumized environment.

Analyzing these cases in relation to each other, the paper suggests that the transformation in appraisal of the Turkish house has had to do as much with local processes of urban change as with European integration.

FROM FACADE TO INTERSTITIAL SPACE: REFRAMING SAN FRANCISCO'S VICTORIAN RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

Tanu Sankalia

The epistemology of traditional Victorian residential architecture in San Francisco has been produced by a very particular discourse of stylistic documentation, codification and replication. Traditional architecture and house form has been largely conscribed in terms of style and decoration, discussed through a body of literature that celebrates nostalgia, quaintness, and in some instances, feminine beauty. While certain scholarship has looked at the metamorphosis of traditional residential architecture in San Francisco, revealing the dynamic properties of house form and its relation to the urban fabric, the general view of this topic is still dominated by aesthetic considerations that lead to static positions related to architectural tradition, preservation, and urban change.

In order to push the epistemic boundaries sustained by this particular discourse, this paper proposes an alternate method of documentation and analysis. It proposes a formal strategy to interrogate "interstitial spaces" — spaces between Victorian buildings that function as light wells, stoops, entrances, porches, gardens, and service areas. This strategy involves a shift in focus from the center of the building to its margins, from facade to the space squeezed in beside it. Often overlooked and seldom studied, interstitial spaces are replete with an infinite set of formal, spatial and phenomenological possibilities, which when uncovered, vastly expand the body of knowledge regarding San Francisco's traditional Victorian residential architecture.

The research thus far has revealed an abundance of interstitial spaces in about ten neighborhoods in the heart of San Francisco, an area developed by the westward expansion of the city after the 1906 earthquake and fire. Sample spaces selected from the study area were rigorously documented through two- and three-dimensional drawings and models, and analyzed for their architectural properties. Negative space and positive form derived therefrom were subject to a series of formal transformations, which produced new spatial and formal archetypes. These contained many of the characteristics of the "traditional" context from which they were extracted, and could potentially be redeployed in the city as new architectural forms. Additionally, this investigation provided a set of design tools — an architectonic vocabulary — that could enhance design engagement within and beyond the traditional Victorian residential context.

In conclusion, this paper argues that "tradition" can potentially exist beyond the conventional boundaries of the architectural object, at the margins instead of at the center. Operating at the margins provides a signal shift from normative practices of documentation, codification and replication. Such formal strategies directed toward studying marginal spaces produce an entirely different way of discussing the traditional Victorian residential architecture of San Francisco.

SHUNNING THE ORDINARY: SUBURBAN PRETENSION GOES GLOBAL

Rosemary Latter

Kenilworth, Illinois, is perhaps an unlikely place to examine vernacular architecture; an upper-class neighborhood on the North Shore of Chicago, it has one of the highest densities of chief executive officers' homes per acre in the U.S. Conceived by entrepreneur Joseph Sears in the 1850s after a visit to England and the historic town of Kenilworth, Warwickshire, it began as an early idealized suburban settlement for the wealthy, away from the squalor of downtown Chicago. Its streets are named for English towns, including Oxford, and some of its first homes were designed in the Tudor and Victorian styles.

As the "village" developed, designs were influenced by the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, where some more fanciful ideas of form and modern technologies were introduced. Then, in the

early twentieth century, the Prairie Style emerged, and homes with strong horizontal lines and wide overhanging, hipped roofs began to be built. These reflected new models of household organization, relating the buildings to the wide-open plains and the natural world. Innovations in construction and technology and changing socio-political identities continued to produce alternative ways of conceptualizing and expressing what was distinctly “Midwestern” about Kenilworth houses, producing a variety in “*parole*” within an identifiable “*langue*.”

Throughout this period, Kenilworth’s grand houses were serviced by staff from the other side of the railroad tracks, where they lived more modestly. Their houses took the most recognizable suburban form in Greater Chicagoland, the Chicago bungalow. Plain and simple in construction, accommodating the large growth in the city’s middle-class population, these homes are found in many Chicago suburbs, and are now sometimes the focus of restoration and gentrification. A pair of these bungalow houses remains in Kenilworth, but they have needed a local preservation society to defend their “ordinariness” from developers.

A new fashion has emerged in Kenilworth house design in the last ten years: the Normandy mansion. This is the latest “must-have” style of home, often built on sites on which older homes have been torn down. The appropriation and deployment of a traditional style from northern France is a curiosity, even for a suburban illusion. Is this new vogue an affectation, employed “merely for fancy” by tastemakers as a marker of economic progress? Given the invented history of Kenilworth’s founding, is this latest incarnation of the North Shore home, in fact, an entirely consistent and authentic response to its inception as an English village, and to the hybrid nature of global architectural reference? What is the essence of “belonging” to a place such as Kenilworth in the twenty-first century? Is this latest manifestation of suburban pretense just an extreme example of an effect felt more widely?

This paper examines the cultural coherence of the Chicago bungalow type and the rationality of its tradition in contrast with the highly self-conscious Normandy-style homes of Kenilworth. The divergence of these two approaches to suburban living represents a wide spectrum of ideas that has meaning to various groups and classes of individuals, the preservationists and the purveyors of dreams.

COMMUNISM AND *TULOUS*: A STUDY OF SOCIO-POLITICS AND TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS

Jing Zheng

This paper explores the dynamic relationship between a particular type of traditional dwelling in China and the social change experienced by its residents. Prevalent in a mountainous area in the country’s southeast, *tulous* (rammed-earth towers) are a regionally specific type of multistory dwelling that can accommodate up to a few hundred people. Unlike most Chinese traditional dwellings, which ceased being built after the 1950s, these rammed-earth buildings were built in large quantities between

1950 and the late 1970s. Today, they have become tourist sites, attracting visitors from home and abroad.

Tulous have long been regarded as an ideal form of residential tradition within Confucianism, which recommends that several generations of a family live in the same building and share the heritage of their ancestors. However, case studies show that in most situations the construction of rammed-earth buildings has depended on the cooperation of local people from different families. These families invest in a shared building fund rather than merely rely on the effort of their own members. In other words, instead of representing heritage shared by a limited number of direct descendants, these dwellings should be understood as the common property of a wider group of shareholders. Thus, the value of collective cooperation has been treasured in these communities, in addition to the value of individual households.

This finding further suggests an explanation for the history of this traditional dwelling form in the second half of last century. From the 1950s to the 1970s, state communism, which emphasized collectivity and the equality of all people, swept over China. Building traditional dwelling forms was rejected because they symbolized the value of hierarchies and individual families. By contrast, *tulous*, which were always products of collective cooperation, retained favor because they suited the social value of the time. In the last three decades, as economic reforms have broken down collectivities and distributed resources among individual households, these traditional collective dwellings have been replaced by modern-style housing owned by individual households.

This paper attempts to interpret the transformation of traditional dwelling form from the perspective of socio-politics by looking at social structure and value, collective memory, local historical records, and the architectural construction process. Its goal is to provide a better understanding of rammed-earth buildings by employing an interdisciplinary method of analysis.

THE EVOLVED FACE OF WALLS IN CHINESE URBAN HOUSING

Fang Xu

The use of boundary walls to demarcate individual dwellings or residential compounds was a standard in China for centuries. Although walls largely receded in public housing developments during China’s socialist period, they have returned since then. Today, fences and walls characterize much of China’s new private residential development, including their use in gated communities.

This paper discusses the Chinese attitude toward walls and the need for them. Assuming demand-side factors as initiatives for gating, it first explicates how housing needs embody both pragmatic and semantic ingredients. It then scrupulously examines the demands reflected by wall-building in different residential contexts. It argues that, on the pragmatic level, neither tradition nor globalization comfortably explains the resurgence of walls in Chinese urban housing.

As a result, the paper proposes that the semantic elements of housing needs be highlighted when studying gated neighbor-

hoods. These have had the ability to survive the erosion of relevant socioeconomic infrastructure and evolve through human imagination. In this regard, it suggests that the contemporary demand for defensive walls could be supported by a reconstruction of traditional understanding interwoven with novel semantic meanings nurtured by a postmodern landscape of capitalization, social stratification, and globalization.

Specifically, the paper argues that, given China's drastically altered social foundations, the actual needs feeding historical wall-building have not been loyally handed down. Walls were long essential to Chinese courtyard housing as a way to mark the physical frontiers of extended families. They were also used to create walled wards as a way to deter urban insurrection and facilitate governmental control. However, in modern China, nuclear families have replaced extended families as the primary social structure, and the residents of homes behind the same wall are usually no longer bound by blood ties. Neither have authorities seen the need to build ward walls for several centuries. Therefore, the pragmatic elements of traditional wall-building no longer match current social reality.

The paper demonstrates how the idiosyncrasy of contemporary China's land use policies and urban institutional settings have also not created pragmatic new needs for walls in a globalized housing market. Indeed, thanks to post-socialist privatization and the adoption of Western capital practices, much commonality has grown between housing markets in China and America. In this regard, the rise of gating in China does echo the growth of secured enclaves in America, common-interest developments enhancing club consumption and private governance. Yet, incomplete or nebulous property ownership and the existence of public intervention make the club realm provided by American gated communities an impractical need in China's context.

This paper concludes by hypothesizing that the evolved semantic meaning attached to walls in Chinese housing tradition, combined with the imagination of a legal-social realm reified in Western cases — rather than any pragmatic need — probably fuel the preference for building walls around China's urban housing. In this sense, the values and beliefs associated with walls could undergo mutation. In this case tradition has not been transmitted through gradual adaptation, but has reemerged with a significantly changed face.

B.8 CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF MEMORY: TRADITION, PRESERVATION, AND GENTRIFICATION

TRADITIONS OF THE MOSQUE VERSUS TRADITIONS OF THE MONUMENT: MUSLIM SUBJECTS AND THE CONSUMPTION OF NATIONAL HERITAGE IN DELHI, INDIA

Mrinalini Rajagopalan
New York University, U.S.A.

ON THE FRINGES OF SACREDNESS: CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF MEMORY IN ABU DHABI

Mohamed El Amrousi
United Arab Emirate University, U.A.E.

TRADITION STEREOTYPES AND CULTURAL RESISTANCE THROUGH TRADITIONAL FORMS: THE CASE OF THE HADHRAMAWT, YEMEN

Fernando Varanda
Universidade Lusofona, Portugal

STEALTH GENTRIFICATION: CAMOUFLAGE AND COMMERCE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE

Lara Belkind
Harvard University, U.S.A.

DEATH VERSUS DESTRUCTION: THE FUNDAMENTALIST POSITIONING OF PRESERVATIONISTS AND MODERNISTS DURING WORLD WAR II

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

TRADITIONS OF THE MOSQUE VERSUS TRADITIONS OF THE MONUMENT: MUSLIM SUBJECTS AND THE CONSUMPTION OF NATIONAL HERITAGE IN DELHI, INDIA

Mrinalini Rajagopalan

Delhi, the capital city of India, is well known as a center of Islamic art and architectural heritage. Every winter, many of the city's monuments serve as the aesthetic backdrop for performances of classical music, dance, etc. Through these performative practices the body of the monument is consumed as a synecdoche for Delhi's identity as a historic center of bourgeois culture. This is largely an act of aesthetic consumption, where the monument's association with the "secular" traditions of the nation-state trumps its religious representations. In addition, these highly aestheticized images belie the contestations surrounding the city's numerous Islamic monuments where many intersecting and sometimes oppositional traditions collide.

In this presentation I refer specifically to a series of protests where Delhi's Muslims asserted their right to enter and pray within the many historic mosques of the city. By virtue of their antiquity, these historic mosques fall under the preservation mandate of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), and were subject to the Survey's general rules of admission, which do not necessarily follow Islamic sumptuary laws. In the late 1980s, Delhi's Muslims demanded access to these mosques to fulfill their confessional duties without hindrance from the ASI or other governmental bodies. While mainstream print media represented the protests as the aggressive demands of a "volatile" religious community, I submit that they can more fruitfully be understood as the collision of various traditions of the postcolonial nation-state.

The discursive construction of Delhi's monuments is a legacy of nineteenth-century colonial traditions of historical classification and heritage preservation. In the postcolonial context, the historic monument might also be interpreted as the signifier of nationalist traditions of cultural autonomy that in turn legitimate political sovereignty. The mosque, on the other hand, functions as the space of religious traditions, which are kept alive through performative rituals of prayer and confessional obeisance. However, in the context of contemporary India the mosque also operates as a symbolic space of a minority religious community that poses a challenge to the hegemonic traditions of the nation-state. The paper, thus, uses a spatial analysis of the contemporary mosque as a historic monument in Delhi to reveal the dialectic nature of tradition as a product of epistemological representations and ontological realities.

ON THE FRINGES OF SACREDNESS: CONSTRUCTING SPACES OF MEMORY IN ABU DHABI

Mohamed El Amrousi

The coming of international museums to Abu Dhabi, such as the Guggenheim designed by the American architect Frank Gehry and the "Desert Louvre" designed by the French architect Jean Nouvel, represents a shift in its urban policies toward cultural icons and other monuments for cultural tourism.

Each star architect has brought his/her signature/brand to the chosen site. The monuments also vary in their architectural manifestations, from a revival of classical Muslim motifs to the introduction of new forms associated with icons of tradition. For example, the "Desert Louvre" Nouvel has designed for al-Sa'adiyat Island does not mimic the original setting in a Parisian palace; rather, it breaches the tradition of conventional institutions of display by including a great dome — a symbol that in the Middle East is associated with institutions of Islam. The translucent dome will allow various tones of light and shade to reach its sheltered environment. Beneath the celestial dome, intersecting waterways and bending paths formulate a local vernacular expression built using the latest technologies. Thus, the dome breaks with its traditional use as a structural system much associated with funerary complexes and/or religious architecture.

As the expansion of Abu Dhabi continues based on Western planning ideas, the Grand Mosque of Shaikh Zayed has become more prominent as an icon of a Muslim/Arab state. The mosque's imperial Indian/Mughal domes question the notion of a fixed heritage associated with a specific place. Second, they interrogate the transgression of spaces of commemoration and funerary visitation to a Gulf state, their rituals and meaning. Modern monuments provoke investigation to reexamine relationships of religious space as an icon of the state. New icons warrant a review of epistemologies within the discourse of orthodox Muslim traditions of the sacred and the secular.

This paper examines Shaikh Zayed mosque as a space of memory and the way tradition reintegrates commemorative monuments in the modern city. Practices within formal spaces of visitation and display are interrogated in an attempt to constitute links between the role of built environment and cultural imagery. Venues of investigation include plural narratives in Muslim jurisprudence related to funerary complexes and the need to recalibrate legislation affecting monuments of memory.

TRADITION STEREOTYPES AND CULTURAL RESISTANCE THROUGH TRADITIONAL FORMS: THE CASE OF THE HADHRAMAWT, YEMEN

Fernando Varanda

Until May 1990 the present-day Yemen Republic was divided into two separate states (the Yemen Arab Republic, also known as North Yemen, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, or South Yemen). The reunification involved a fairly complex and delicate balance of power, where the president of North Yemen became the president of the new country and the president of South Yemen became its vice-president. This agreement was hard to maintain, and shortly after an attempt at secession, led by the vice-president, ended with the victory of the established president of the country.

From then on, the obvious intention of homogenizing a national character has taken such forms as the transfusion of the southern population to the north, and vice-versa. However, from the specific point of view of architectural idioms, one of the aspects that strikes today's visitor most is the diffusion of stereotypes that were characteristically northern and urban to most of the south, where they seem to have been gladly accepted, however alien they might appear amidst the south's older architectural fabrics. They tend to be presented as the contemporary version of a "Yemeni Style," which is supposed to overlay the enormous variety of regional traditions of building (as documented by this author in previous published surveys).

Yet this is not always the rule. One case in point is the Hadhramawt, where a solid tradition of earth construction, at the service of an architectural language with a strong identity, has not lost any of its vigor. This may be explained by a variety of reasons, but one, at least, is openly expressed: the Hadhramis sense of identity and their opposition to influences that may threaten the relative independence they have maintained throughout history.

This presentation attempts to illustrate the confrontation between the stereotypes of what appears to be intended as a “national architecture” and the actual identity traits of forms and techniques, both consolidated and in evolution, as observed in a significant area of the Hadhramawt during a field survey in 2006.

STEALTH GENTRIFICATION: CAMOUFLAGE AND COMMERCE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE

Lara Belkind

This paper presents current adaptations and representations of the traditional environment of New York’s Lower East Side. It examines how global factors such as expanding “content” industries, market differentiation, and the Internet have reinforced perceptions of the Lower East Side as real and authentic, while opening the neighborhood to dramatic urban change.

Its subject is a recent trend of commercial camouflage — hidden shops, restaurants, and clubs that “re-present” neighborhood tradition by meticulously preserving the defunct facades, signage, and other physical traces of the neighborhood’s working-class and immigrant past. At the Arlene Grocery, for example, bands perform in a former bodega, or typical neighborhood convenience store. Meanwhile, down the street is a still-functioning bodega, with identical décor. Occasionally, more than décor has been preserved. At the Beauty Bar, patrons sip cocktails seated in the hair dryers of a recently colonized beauty parlor, while the salon’s former owner — now in her eighties — gives manicures. Other recycled spaces include an old dress shop, a retailer of Jewish religious articles, and a Chinese massage parlor.

Recycled storefronts are just one manifestation of a stealth aesthetics and of camouflage strategies of spatial occupation that have played a shifting role in neighborhood transformation over the last several decades. These tactics have been deployed by a diverse group of actors — artists and squatters, local entrepreneurs and hipsters, and large investors and global brands. Each of these new arrivals has adopted the found terrain of old buildings and shops or sought to re-create the aesthetics of this environment from scratch.

In the early 1980s, for instance, squatters and artists formed collectives concealed from authorities within a landscape of abandoned buildings. At the same time, middle-class “pioneers” created homeownership opportunities and a bohemian atmosphere in crumbling tenements and warehouses. In the 1990s, local entrepreneurs claimed defunct storefronts as sites for hidden bars, theaters and restaurants. These spaces were sites for the production of cultural content, sometimes known to a Web-based community of global hipsters, while remaining invisible even to local working-class residents. More recently, larger commercial entities have borrowed the area’s image and mythology to sell a range of goods and entertainment.

Such stealth may alternatively be seen as an expression of counterculture, of solidarity with a legacy of working-class activism and ethnic diversity, or of exclusivity. Or it may be seen as a themed celebration of the Lower East Side’s material culture.

Whatever the case, all these expressions have been translated by the market into commercial and real estate value. And this value has now heightened a struggle for space between new and existing occupants and land uses.

This paper examines camouflage practices and their relationship to local transformation from the 1980s to the present. It argues that, while such factors as economic restructuring and city policy decisions have been important contributors to neighborhood change, it is the cultural phenomena engendered by restructuring that have made it possible to sell neighborhood authenticity and urban “edge.” This has been true despite barriers to upscaling that have endured for more than a half-century.

DEATH VERSUS DESTRUCTION: THE FUNDAMENTALIST POSITIONING OF PRESERVATIONISTS AND MODERNISTS DURING WORLD WAR II

Susanne Cowan

During World War II, air raids not only greatly increased civilian casualties but caused a previously unseen level of urban and architectural destruction. While a majority of people, including architecture and planning professionals, showed natural sympathy for those killed both at home and abroad, some groups of modernists and preservationists in England argued that the importance of the buildings destroyed in these attacks equaled or surpassed the value of the lives lost. In a strange twist of fate, preservationists showed a seemingly unpatriotic concern for the architecture of the enemy, while modernists showed an almost perverse and unfeeling enthusiasm for the destruction of the East End of London.

Preservationists’ arguments that historical and monumental buildings in Europe were worth protecting, even at the risk of human life, led to a public debate in London newspapers about what action, if any, should be taken to save historic architecture from being bombed. At the same time, some modernists saw the London blitz as an opportunity to argue for expanded power in “clean-slate” slum clearance. Although people would suffer from the bombing in the short term, they argued, the destruction would lead to long-term social progress.

These British architects and planners, both modernists and preservationists, took extreme positions that created a dualism between the value of human life and cultural heritage or social progress. In the midst of total war, these discourses reframed the conflict from a clash of enemies on the battlefield to an internal struggle to define the interests of society. The debates highlighted a form of fundamentalism in which each professional group mobilized the imagery of death or destruction to advance its particular ideological stances. Using these hegemonic discourses, modernists and preservationists both tried to negate the possibility of reasonable debate and frame the argument over war destruction to assert the moral certainty of their respective positions.

This case study will attempt to understand forms of professional fundamentalism by examining how ideological groups use extremist rhetoric and positioning as mechanisms of control.

C.8 RURAL GEOGRAPHIES: PRESERVATION PRACTICES

TRADITION OR SCENOGRAPHY: MIRAGES OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

Fernando Vegas López-Manzanares and Camila Mileto
Universidad Politécnica of Valencia, Spain

CONFLICTS BETWEEN TRADITION AND PRESERVATION

Carol Martin Watts
Kansas State University, U.S.A.

PROTECTING THE PARISH: ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF PAROCHIAL LAND MANAGEMENT IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Anthony D. C. Hyland
University of York, U.K.

CONNECTION NOT CONSTRAINT: THE REEMERGENCE OF TRADITIONAL VERNACULAR HOUSING IN RURAL RIPARIAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE CHAO PHRAYA DELTA, THAILAND

Pratima Nimsamer
Oxford Brookes University, U.K.

TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL INHABITATION IN ROMANIA DURING THE PERIOD OF POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION: A SOCIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Andrei Serbescu
University of Architecture and Urbanism Ion Mincu, Romania

TRADITION OR SCENOGRAPHY: MIRAGES OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

Fernando Vegas López-Manzanares and Camila Mileto

The isolated region of Rincón de Ademuz (Valencia, Spain) is known because it has conserved until recently a great part of its traditional architecture in its original state. This architecture presents very peculiar endogenous features and consists of a general use of gypsum for the supporting structure, slabs, facades and partition walls.

After a twentieth century characterized by massive migration, which emptied the villages of this region, a reverse trend is now beginning. The descendants of these emigrants are coming back to the area, either for holidays or to settle there in search of better quality of life than that in the big industrial cities that once attracted their grandparents. This migration has added to the flow generated by so-called mainland cultural tourism, as city residents, who are not historically related to the region, buy second residences there in which to spend their weekends or holidays. This

phenomenon is helping to regenerate this area economically through the construction of new houses and the refurbishing of existing buildings. But, at the same time, it is creating strange mirages in the traditional architecture of the region.

The construction of new houses mainly reflects two tendencies: the creation of would-be urban dwellings and would-be rural dwellings. The would-be urban dwellings seek to transform these rural settlements into little towns, despite their tradition. The would-be rural dwellings try to emulate the local vernacular architecture through scenographic resources, falsifying and spoiling the essence of the built culture. Sometimes, a real traditional building is even demolished, instead of being refurbished, in order to build a would-be rural building that better fits the stereotype of tradition newcomers have in mind. In contrast to these two, there is a third tendency of great anthropological interest. It reflects the mechanisms of local tradition, but uses new industrial building materials. This new architecture of uncomfortable appearance and difficult integration in the environment, which we call the new vernacular dwelling, paradoxically represents the survival and continuity of the constructive tradition.

Finally, the paper will address the refurbishment of existing historic buildings. Rightfully, this aims to bring these up to date with present conditions. But very often during the process it completely transforms the natural appearance of buildings in search of a preconceived image of the vernacular, to the point that it ignores the physical reality of specific buildings. As an alternative, the paper defends the refurbishment of traditional architecture when it preserves both its constructive and structural substance and its built skin and patina. The paper presents examples of traditional buildings that have been refurbished and preserved in their original aspect, avoiding the representation of a fictitious and sometimes nonexistent tradition.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN TRADITION AND PRESERVATION

Carol Martin Watts

This paper is based on a longitudinal study of more than thirty years in a small, isolated, medieval village in central Italy. It is also based on first-hand experience with traditional builders and the changing attitudes of local inhabitants.

From the 1960s to the 1980s there was little concern in this village with historic preservation, even though the town was listed as a historic district. Local builders largely used traditional materials, and when they introduced modern materials or practices, they made no effort to hide them. Since the 1990s, however, the attitude has changed, and a new generation of traditional builders has become concerned about European Union building codes and historic preservation. This is the result of international tourism drawing visitors to the town, as well as legal changes resulting from Italy's entry into the European Union. Today's builders are concerned that new construction be in keeping with the place, and new materials are now used in invisible ways to improve livability without compromising image. Conscious effort is also made to

use both recycled materials and new materials made in traditional ways, such as hand-made bricks.

It is not only the builders who have changed. Whereas in earlier times town residents wanted to move away to new housing developments, they have now gained a new appreciation for restored old buildings. The local economy has also changed from one based on self-sufficient agriculture to one based almost entirely on tourism. There are no famous architectural monuments in this town; its vernacular form itself attracts tens of thousands of tourists every year. Besides economic self-interest, locals appear to have a genuine appreciation for their architectural heritage, but they do not want to freeze their town in time. They have also become tourists themselves, with much more awareness of the rest of the world.

Town residents know every stone, and note minor changes. Over thirty years, these have been significant, but very gradual. Control is exerted locally through awareness of what the neighbors will tolerate in terms of change. Although theoretically a historic district, control over building is lax. People know to make only changes that do not draw much attention. Some changes are taken for granted as necessary to accommodate a modern way of life — such as vents for gas heaters, covers for utility meters, and satellite dishes. Others are a reaction to increased tourism and prosperity, including a proliferation of potted plants, iron gates, and window bars.

While some might see what has happened to this town as “gentrification,” it appears to me to be very different. Traditional in this context means gradual incremental change, rather than preserving the outside of buildings so they look medieval. In this regard, there has been a continuity of tradition that is counter to the legalities of historic preservation, but which has allowed this town to remain viable. Tradition has allowed change in a way which preservation would not.

PROTECTING THE PARISH: ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF PAROCHIAL LAND MANAGEMENT IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Anthony D. C. Hyland

The recent campaign by the small rural community of Ellerton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, to prevent the demolition of its redundant and vandalized parish church, marks a significant turning point in the inexorable decay of rural life in England.

Ellerton lies at the heart of Yorkshire’s Lower Derwent Valley, a rare cultural landscape of international importance based on a land-management system that has survived largely unchanged for perhaps a thousand years. However, the international significance of Ellerton, and of the neighboring Derwent Ings, was not fully discovered until the Ellerton Church Preservation Trust was created in 1996.

Ellerton, recorded in the eleventh-century Domesday book as Alreton and Elreton, was the site of an early priory. This was founded about 1203 by the only indigenous English medieval

monastic order, the Gilbertines. The order sustained a traditional system of riverine land management, which was common in many parts of Europe and the Middle East a thousand years ago, but of which few examples still survive. This system of land management was retained by the landowners who acquired the land after the priory was dissolved by Henry VIII, at the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

The parish church of Ellerton, which the priory chapel became at the Reformation, served a very small agricultural community. It fell into decay in the early nineteenth century, and was virtually rebuilt in the 1840s by the young architect John Loughborough Pearson. But the village could hardly sustain its own parish church, and rationalization and down-sizing of rural parish administration by the Diocese of York in the second half of the twentieth century led first to the amalgamation of several neighboring parishes into a united benefice, and subsequently to the church being declared redundant, and closed. Vandalism and rapid decay followed, and a decision by the Diocese to demolish the church was averted at the last minute by a vigorous local campaign to save it.

The subject of this paper is the historical and environmental development of the parish of Ellerton and the Derwent Ings and the campaign to protect and sustain this unique rural environment. It describes and analyzes the acquisition of the Derwent Ings and site of the priory known as Abbey Garth by a sympathetic nature conservation trust, the creation of the Ellerton Church Preservation Trust in 1996, the consequent repair, reopening and (nonliturgical) reuse of the church, its embellishment by local artists and craftsmen, and its presentation and interpretation to visitors. The paper advocates the replication of this strategy as a model of sustainable rural environmental conservation.

CONNECTION NOT CONSTRAINT: THE REEMERGENCE OF TRADITIONAL VERNACULAR HOUSING IN RURAL RIPARIAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE CHAO PHRAYA DELTA, THAILAND

Pratima Nimsamer

Riparian settlements are characteristic of the villages in Thailand’s Chao Phraya delta, a floodplain where economic and social life depend on the river system. But vernacular houses in this region have gradually been transformed over time. The first, traditional, Thai houses here were raised on wooden piles and topped with high, curved roofs. The next generation of houses, which appeared with modernization in the late twentieth century, were still raised on wooden piles, but had a straight gable roof that was adapted to new building materials and construction methods. After then, however, concrete been introduced, and has since become the basic material for all new buildings. Concern is now being raised about the disappearance of traditional and vernacular houses and the subsequent loss of Thai culture.

In recent years, a new generation of vernacular houses has emerged. These consist of a traditional wooden house built on a concrete base. This paper will examine this reemergence of the

traditional Thai house in order to understand the nature of tradition and the role that tradition plays in people's lives. If tradition is about constraint and absence of choice, as some scholars argue, why do people turn to traditional houses, when choices are unlimited in this globalizing world?

The results of local interviews found that a majority of Thai people have always wished to own a traditional house, if only they could afford its high-quality materials and craftsmanship. It is evident that tradition is not truly a constraint; rather, the other way around, there are constraints that limit the continuity of tradition. Currently, some local people are wealthier, so the traditional house has reemerged, but in a new form that serves a modern lifestyle.

The reemergence of traditional house demonstrates the persistence of Thai values and the norms of rural riparian communities. This supports Bronner's argument (2006) that tradition is related to feeling secure and comfortable through a connection to the past. Binding to the past provides emotional identity and security, the main reason for the revival of traditional houses in these case studies. Beyond this, the finesse and grace of the traditional roof and house form reflect the aesthetic values and taste of Thai culture, and a traditional house represents the status of the owner, his wealth and long family history. It is also people's expectation that a traditional house in this area will be built at the water's edge rather than along a road.

The examples of living riparian vernacular house traditions in the Chao Phraya delta provide some answers to how traditions can be maintained. Asking local people how they perceive their traditional houses and how these perceptions effect the continuity of their traditions provides fundamental data for interrogating the nature of vernacular architecture and the continuity of tradition.

TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL INHABITATION IN ROMANIA DURING THE PERIOD OF POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION: A SOCIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Andrei Serbescu

In 1989, at the end of 45 years of communism, Romania began a long and difficult period of transition toward a democratic and liberal society. Having joined the European Union not long ago, Romania is today the scene of wild capitalist development and rapid economic growth. These processes have led to important changes in a country where years of socialism caused great hardship through a combination of physical destruction and the annexation of urbanism to official ideology (collectivization, compulsory urbanization). Today, Romania is no longer involved in the big project of totalitarian modernization, but it is confronted by new issues of market-based development and a more open relationship to Western cultures and societies.

The period of Romania's post-socialist transition brought successive social, economic and political earthquakes. These remodeled the country and diluted all previous marks and references, creating strong contrasts and disagreements. The explosion, and the strong, implacable blast of sudden globalization, also led to a

pronounced confusion within the vernacular in the face of an intense infusion of foreign elements and requirements. Fast and uncontrolled development was also immediately followed by a degradation of characteristics which we consider "authentic."

This paper sets the interdependence of social and architectural dimensions as its main coordinate. It then examines whether rural Romanian society is today facing a moment of absolute crisis, or just a different phase in the continuously changing process of inhabiting a place. Around this question, popular discourse is often either extremely nostalgic (based on a common understanding of "vernacular" as embodying old, "authentic" buildings which can no longer be built) or a cry for the glory of progress and development. In either case, "specificity" is seen as a series of frozen elements which should either be preserved intact or imposed as such onto new buildings.

In contrast to these positions, the paper proposes an integrated discussion about social evolution and its architectural expression. In this discussion, questions should rise from the perception of tradition, authenticity, specificity, or the vernacular as dynamic and creative processes, which result from cultural interaction, loans and connections. This should, consequently, have to do not only with fluidity and continuity, but with transformation and ambiguity.

The crisis is obvious. But does it represent a definitive, irreversible discontinuance, or an episode with its own logic which could bring something new? The paper acknowledges that there is no true, absolute answer to such a question. Instead, it accepts that change is part of tradition itself in rural Romania, and argues that, by itself, change is not a threat to authenticity — although its continuously growing speed could be. Under these circumstances, one shouldn't probably try to preserve and impose forms which lack meaning, or that no longer correspond to social norms. Maybe what is needed is the will to refresh tradition with a "spirit of making."

A.9 IDENTITY POLITICS AND THE REINSCRIPTION OF SPACE

THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

Howayda Al-Harithy

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

TOURATH, IDENTITY, AND THE LEBANESE SALON ARABISANT

Sylvia Shorto

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

TRADITION AND TRIBAL NATIONS: CONSTRUCTING NATIVE AMERICAN ARCHITECTURES AND IDENTITIES

Anne Lawrason Marshall

University of Idaho, U.S.A.

INALA TRADITIONS: PLACES, PEOPLE, AND HISTORY IN URBAN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Kelly Greenop

University of Queensland, Australia

"EPISTEMOLOGY" OF PLACE: INTERROGATING HANOI'S IDENTITY THROUGH EVERYDAY ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE

Dinh Quoc Phuong

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THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

Howayda Al-Harithy

Many villages and towns in the south of Lebanon suffered major destruction during the July 2006 war. While attacking Hizbollah's infrastructure, Israeli aircraft targeted the cultural and economic centers of these villages and towns, where heritage sites were also concentrated. During the aftermath of war, the centers faced a further serious challenge. The wave of enthusiasm to rebuild and facilitate the return of displaced residents threatened additional destruction, and even total erasure, of their previous built fabric. The danger emerged from rapid and indiscriminate rubble removal, a lack of coordination between forces on the ground, and an absence of clear vision for reconstruction specific to each site.

The paper investigates the politics of identity construction in postwar reconstruction through the case study of Bint Jbeil, a town in the south of Lebanon. Bint Jbeil was chosen for several reasons: the severity of its destruction, the richness of its history, the shift in its identity, and the involvement of the author in the reconstruction work.

Bint Jbeil is located in the southeastern corner of Lebanon, three kilometers from the border and 120 kilometers from Beirut. It is 720 meters above sea level, and covers approximately 9.1 square kilometers. The total population is recorded at 44,000, but only around 4,000 people reside there year round. Some 70 percent of its residents are scattered across the world, including in the U.S.A., Europe, Africa, and other parts of the Arab World, while another 20 percent reside in Beirut. The primary occupations of those who remain are small industry, commerce and agriculture, particularly tobacco farming. More important, Bint Jbeil is considered a capital of "resistance" by Hizbollah. As such, it has been associated with the armed movement to liberate Lebanon, and was heavily bombarded during the July 2006 war.

When Bint Jbeil prepared for reconstruction after the 2006 war, the initial vision centered on the "opportunity" to build a new "ideal city." Accordingly, the clearing of the site of the old town was ordered. However, in an attempt to save the old town, a counter vision was also proposed, opening debate on process and product, identity and resistance, memory and ownership.

This paper argues that acts of destruction and rebuilding are processes of identity construction by those who build, dwell, represent, destroy, remember, interpret and rebuild. The dialectic relationship between identity, memory and ownership is therefore central to the reading of both scenarios in Bint Jbeil. In the vision of an "ideal city," the operative memory is social. Bint Jbeil's identity is constructed using a political frame grounded in the Islamist discourse of Hizbollah. Thus, places are identified by events of martyrdom and victory, and the concept of resistance is translated into the efficient, rapid construction of an improved town so that the displaced can return. In the alternative vision of a "restored traditional environment," the operative memory is disciplinary. Identity is constructed using a historical frame, allowing places to be identified as ancient, medieval and modern. The concept of resistance is translated into restoring the urban fabric and its monuments so that ownership and historical roots can be reclaimed.

TOURATH, IDENTITY, AND THE LEBANESE SALON ARABISANT

Sylvia Shorto

People before us lived in this place.

When they moved on they left it for us.

We dwell on the land as they did,

And we leave it for those who come after us.

The poetics of this inscription, carved onto the stone gateway of the house known as the Donna Maria Palace in Ain Sofar, Mount Lebanon, give insight into the ways intangible values have infused property ownership and affected Lebanese cultural identity. The Donna Maria Palace was built in 1910 as a summer residence by a wealthy Greek Orthodox businessman, Alfred Bey Sursock. It stood on a hill that commanded attention from all points in the village, proclaiming the presence of occupants with status and power. In both its architecture and its decoration, the house was a complex

admixture of imported and evolving regional styles; for example, its internal organization combined a neo-Palladian plan with a residual central *dar*, or court. The hybrid tastes of the family who spent their summers there were further expressed through furniture and furnishings, recorded in a rare inventory, and acquired during the owner's extensive travels in the region and abroad.

The modern growth of Beirut and its hinterland in Mount Lebanon began in the later nineteenth century. Distinct from other coastal towns like Saida or Tripoli, it marked the beginning of a new historical continuum, running parallel to earlier tradition but incorporating industrially generated and European-influenced designs. In this paper I use the Donna Maria Palace, as well as other building projects of the Sursock family, to highlight the development of a contemporary room typology, the Arab Salon, or *salon arabisant*. In naming this typology, I draw an opposition between the traditions of rooms in older Ottoman Syrian houses and those newly built in Beirut. But I also question the degree to which the latter were invented traditions. I argue that to either categorize them as Westernized Orientalist fantasies, or to divorce them altogether from their historical context, is to deny the Lebanese legitimate participation in the complex history of early modernity.

TRADITION AND TRIBAL NATIONS: CONSTRUCTING NATIVE AMERICAN ARCHITECTURES AND IDENTITIES

Anne Lawrason Marshall

Native American people are engaging in a variety of strategies to counter centuries of colonization and conquest. One of these is the creation of new, tribally specific Native American architectures.

In some cases, traditional building forms are being translated into new materials. Thus, within the Gila River Indian Community in southern Arizona, the tilt-up slab construction of the Great House of the Huhugam Heritage Center replaces the coursed mud walls of its ancestral namesake. In other cases, smaller objects of tribal significance are transformed into architectural elements. For example, at the Museum at Warm Springs, in central Oregon, the form of a dance bustle appears as a door handle, within a mullion system, and as an entrance canopy. This paper considers notions of tradition as it examines the creation of tribally specific, hybrid architectures that fuse traditional forms and contemporary building practices.

Several fundamental challenges confront tribal communities seeking architecture that will reconstruct tribal identities. The plurality of constituents within a hybrid community — whose histories include different traditional languages, lifestyles and architectures — makes it difficult to create an architecture representing all members of a community. This issue is resolved unevenly. On the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation, the three roof forms of the Museum at Warm Springs represent traditional house types of all three tribes sharing the reservation. On the other hand, within the Gila River Indian Community, building forms of the Huhugam Heritage Center refer to the name and traditional architectural forms of ancestors of only one of the two tribes residing there.

In some cases, tribal communities have been alienated from their histories and from the architectures of their forebears. In Pueblo Indian communities in New Mexico, where people remain in their ancestral villages, architectural traditions are intact. These communities often construct cultural centers in traditional forms, sometimes using traditional materials — stone or adobe, with wood-framed *viga-latilla* roofs. On the other hand, the Mashantucket Pequots, who reconstituted their community in the 1970s after being massacred in 1637, were forced to be more inventive. The only remnant of their architectural tradition, a woodcut documenting the horrific destruction of their round fort, which was burned to the ground, became the genesis of a symbolic tribal museum.

Contemporary Native American people operate within structures imposed by the majority culture, including those governing building design and construction. Architects designing for Native Americans are rarely members of the communities for whom they work, and consequently have an incomplete understanding of tribal traditions or the need to distinguish between popular representations of Indian architecture in general and the architecture of a specific Indian nation. Even when designers are from within a community, know the traditional architecture, and understand the contemporary tribe, traditional forms rarely support lifestyles that Native people practice or aspire to today. This necessitates translation into hybrid tribal architectures that mobilize the power of tradition, rooted in the past, to reconstruct tribal identity and authority in the present and future.

INALA TRADITIONS: PLACES, PEOPLE, AND HISTORY IN URBAN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Kelly Greenop

Tradition is a powerful invocation for Indigenous Australians. Pride in the ancient status of their culture is celebrated in many forms and frequently called upon for advertising and promotion both of them and of Australia generally. Yet urban Indigenous Australians are pursuing different cultural practices which are seen as not being “traditional” by mainstream critics, and government legal instruments require that land claimants demonstrate that their cultural practices are largely unchanged in order to demonstrate Native Title rights over land.

While there has been some investigation of urban Indigenous society in Australia, it is generally underexamined given the comparatively large proportion of Indigenous people who now live in cities and towns. The main focus in the past by anthropologists, geographers, archaeologists and others has been on remote and regional Indigenous populations, with their “more intact” traditions. Urban populations are seen as having been “assimilated,” or having “lost” their culture.

Current research by the author in Inala, an outer suburb in Queensland's state capital, Brisbane, investigates the traditions and human geography of Indigenous people there. The comparatively high number of Indigenous people in this area have created

new forms of tradition which draw on classical practices of Indigenous culture, and which relocate, rework and reinvent them in a contemporary urban context. The result is a distinct cultural practice which is neither mainstream nor classical, but which the author would argue is a continuation of traditions.

This paper will discuss the creation of new social geographies, which emerged in the 1970s and which retain their currency for some residents today. Residential groups have formed and divided the suburb into distinct territories, with boundaries along natural watercourses, in a microcosm of the traditional boundaries between Indigenous groups in the precontact era. These self-described “urban tribes” are historically and socially powerful, and bind people, events and places into a meaningful experience of suburban life.

Yet the acceptance of new traditions is uneven within the Inala Indigenous community, and some do not find relevance in these socio-geographic groups. Instead, they share a distinct and equally novel sense of belonging and “claiming” of Inala as their home territory — above any “home country” association usually given precedence in Indigenous place attachment. Different times of settlement in Inala, distinct experiences of work, schooling and opportunities have created diverse experiences within the Indigenous communities, with some political tension between groups.

Inala Indigenous traditions fall into several categories, which will be examined in this paper: traditions of ownership, traditions of kinship and belonging, traditions of social identity, and traditions of gathering. Within these categories there are numerous and diverse manifestations. Through description and analysis, the paper will discuss the diversity of traditions and the diversity of attitudes toward tradition within and among the Inala Indigenous communities. The research will show that, contrary to a condition of culture loss, there is evidence of the “invention” of new traditions, which add to the weight of culture rather than demonstrate its depletion.

“EPISTEMOLOGY” OF PLACE: INTERROGATING HANOI’S IDENTITY THROUGH EVERYDAY ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE

Dinh Quoc Phuong

Vietnamese cities face challenges in their rapid transformation toward modernity. In this process, they must confront the problem of global homogeneity. It will be their ability to conform to local attributes of place that will be crucial if they are to conserve their identities and differences.

This paper examines the case of Hanoi, a city whose built environment has undergone dynamic transformation. In Vietnam, more than one thousand years of Chinese domination were followed by almost one hundred years of French colonial rule. Then, for several decades after independence, Vietnam received support and assistance from the former Soviet Union. These influences created layers in the built environment. Now, more than twenty years of *doi moi* (economic reform), and of opening to global markets, have brought another coating to the city.

Most studies of Hanoi’s architecture have focused solely on the influence of external factors. To date, the interrelationship between global forces and the everyday experience of city residents and their culture has not been fully interrogated. How should place memory, spirituality and experience be interpreted to further understand the city? How do its multiple layers and their dynamic confluence create a sense of place? Perhaps most importantly, how do the implications of this interrogation change our “epistemology” of the city — and, hence, the processes by which its place characteristics may be conserved.

In a search for Hanoi’s identity, this paper looks at the interaction between local culture and the city’s layered architecture. It will present three “cuts” through the city’s sense of place. First, it will present an empirical search for identity through direct observation and interpretation of everyday life and architecture in three places that represent the city’s different layers: a street in the Ancient Quarter, a Soviet-style apartment block, and a street of French-style villas. Second, it will search for a sense of place identity through paintings of Hanoi’s streets and architecture by local artists. Third, it will seek to understand the spiritual dimension of place through an exploration of *phong thủy* (wind and water), a popularly practiced house design and building in the city.

B.9 TRADITIONS OF CULTURE: CULTURES OF TRADITION

MYTHOLOGIES OF PLACEMAKING IN AMERICA: THE FICTIONS AND TRADITIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE

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ALTERNATE MODE OF SPATIAL REPRESENTATION: POSTMODERN WEST MEETS PERSIANATE VISUAL CULTURE

Frances Downing, Shima Baradaran Mohajeri, and Peter Lang
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BANGKOK HOMELIFE: A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn
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QUESTIONING THE TRADITION OF SPACES AND TRADITIONAL SPACES IN CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF LAPTA, NORTH CYPRUS

Halide Orcunoglu and Hifsiye Pulhan
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MATRIXES OF TRADITION IN THE WORK OF RENZO PIANO

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MYTHOLOGIES OF PLACEMAKING IN AMERICA: THE FICTIONS AND TRADITIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE

B. D. Wortham-Galvin

Mythmaking and place are intertwined with identity. America as a place, writ large, was created out of the ideas of America mapped onto its spatial territory. Thus those who work (popularly, socially, politically and aesthetically) to conceive an idea of America are also making the place.

The enduring origin myths of America involve not only the Revolutionary leaders but also constructed cultural landscapes. One of the most important of these is the idea of the New England village. The New England that is clung to at the start of the twenty-first century was carefully crafted (both as idea and reality) starting in the nineteenth century. This does not mean that the New England village is a false fiction; just that its inventions and realities are inextricably intertwined.

As a symbol of how to make place, the story of New England represents the story of the nation, with the former being smoothed over and whitewashed in order to relieve the tensions of the latter. This paper will address the process of constructing

America as a cultural landscape, as situated in the New England village from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries.

ALTERNATE MODE OF SPATIAL REPRESENTATION: POSTMODERN WEST MEETS PERSIANATE VISUAL CULTURE

Frances Downing, Shima Baradaran Mohajeri, and Peter Lang

Although time and space have been core themes of architectural research, they have not, until recently, been treated within a cross-cultural perspective that could generate an alternative mode of conception and representation. However, as current concepts of time and space extend beyond their boundaries and fixed localities, they may encounter new territories that follow unfamiliar trajectories. This experience of displacement may in turn bring new possibilities for hybrid figurations of form and content in the space between cultures, places and histories. This approach to an alternative mode of thinking about time and space takes its cue from the nomadic way of thinking, which favors simultaneity and a state of placelessness.

The concepts of simultaneity and placelessness are posited as a challenge to the conventional Kantian implication of “succession” and “placeness,” which embody a linear, homogeneous, absolute time and space that denotes an “extensive” or actual multiplicity. In contrast, the interrelated concepts of simultaneity and placelessness are based on what Bergson called an “intensive” state or duration, a form of nonlinear, heterogeneous, relative thinking. Deleuze has renamed such virtual multiplicity a “temporal adventure” of immanent spatiality and movement in multiplicity. And it is through such open pathways or trajectories that Deleuze has conceived space in relation to time. In the process of dislocation, a subject is able to map a “transition,” a becoming in time and space that is referred to as neither time nor place, but only as “events.”

This temporal-spatial model demands a cognitive map that is rhizomatic — that draws multiple connective lines between heterogeneous experiences. This map, consisting of multilayered perspectives and positions, best illustrates the process of transformation and displacement among different loci. The rhizomatic model also encompasses discontinuous temporalities in the form of a matrix. Thus, the nomadic consciousness, as a suspended being detached from fixed position, favors dwelling in-between, enmeshed in a network of interrelated trajectories.

On the basis of these ideas, this paper seeks to bridge between two broad realms of inquiry in regard to time and space: one is attributed to the “postmodern West,” the other falls under the rubric of the “Persian East.” The act of transition over the interstice between the two contexts gives rise to a significant and illuminating dialogue in parallel with what postmodern thinkers have called “transculturality.” To sustain such relational thinking in the realm of the in-between requires cognitive tools as a means of communication. In particular, artistic practices along with philosophical musings may perpetuate this implicit development and retrace the transformation of spatio-temporal concepts in both domains.

As the Western tradition of spatial-temporal thinking is relinquishing its linear, rationalistic, universalist framework, it is more likely that the transversal connections between the two fields — postmodern West and Persian East — will be able to foster an objective communicative language in the course of approaching an alternative model of time and space.

BANGKOK HOMELIFE: A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn

The Thai word *baan*, “home,” embodies a complex interplay of personal subjectivity and cultural ideal. Given its huge significance in Thai culture, it is surprising comparatively little work has been done on its meaning. As in other cultures, home certainly cannot be defined by any of its functions. Its meaning, rather, appears indeterminate and saturated by cultural history. The domestic interior is no better understood.

Given this lack of empirical research on the meaning of home in Thai culture, the paper first analyzes the concept of dwelling by dealing with a “semantic field” within which are grouped a number of terms. In English, these might be translated as signifying house, home, dwelling, inhabiting, residence, and compound. From the semantic analysis, the paper then unfolds the idea of home as a realm cultivated by its architecture, its interior, and life in that place.

Since the domestic interior (the inside of a house) first emerged as an area of study in the context of modernized (Westernized) domesticity, academic interest has emphasized how such interiors have been decorated and what they represent. What has been missing is the study of the relation between ideal domestic interiors and actual living conditions. This is the main area of investigation in this paper.

The paper presents photographic evidence from the author’s research documenting differences between the lived domestic interiors and ideal ones. They illustrate physical outlook, orientation, how people use interior space, and how such spaces are an important aspect of home life. When Thais say that “home is cultivated” rather than built, they acknowledge an interweaving of cultural ideology, personal identity, and lived relationship. From this perspective, the paper argues that although the modern era ended the physical apparatus of the traditional Thai house, traditional ideology continues to be inscribed in the Thai mentality through language and other articulations.

In other words, although *baan* is no longer a space of traditionality, tradition helps maintain the idea of it. Thus the traditional quality of domestic interiors is problematic when what we look for is actual living conditions. Nevertheless, we can still study the traditional aspects of how home is made and represented. The research findings, on the one hand, reveal original resources and insights into contemporary home lives in Bangkok. It reflects not only the home life experiences of 40 individuals, but also the diversity of domestic interior as it is lived. On the other hand, the

complexity the research reveals is overwhelming, leaving many issues concerning Thai domesticity unresolved.

QUESTIONING THE TRADITION OF SPACES AND TRADITIONAL SPACES IN CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF LAPTA, NORTH CYPRUS

Halide Orcunoglu and Hifsiye Pulhan

This paper deals with the architectural and settlement characteristics of Lapta (Lapithos) village on the island of Cyprus. It interrogates how the traditions of the settlement are reengaged and deployed in the making of spaces.

Lapta is a distinctive traditional village whose Mediterranean settlement and building characteristics are conjoined with attributes of Ottoman, British, Venetian, Byzantine, Roman and other civilizations which have existed on the island through the centuries. The settlement also carries characteristics of its geographic and climatic condition: it is located on different levels in a mountainous area with a view of the Mediterranean Sea. Because of rich water sources and springs, the settlement also is enriched with peculiar examples of Ottoman water architecture.

Rich cultural accumulation and beliefs systems in the settlement are expressed through religious buildings such as Ottoman mosques and Byzantine Orthodox churches. And, being an important district center, Lapta was densely settled during the British colonial era. Several houses expressing the architectural synthesis of colonial and Cypriot attributes dominate its settlement fabric. In general, the traditional stone houses of Lapta, which are usually entered on different levels, are distinguished by arched or colonnaded entrances, timber roofs, enclosed courtyards, and projecting balconies that overlook a pattern of organic streets and squares. These are the expressions of accumulated cultural and historical layers that communicate the unique traditional architecture of Lapta.

Today, however, the traditional fabric of the village has come under threat of demolition as it has become attractive to developers. The cohesive traditional tissue of the settlement is being destroyed and replaced with contemporary buildings as part of rapid and extensive construction activities along the northern coast of the island.

Although most of the new developments in the village ignore the essential requirements of architecture and social identity in a Cypriot village, there are rare examples which continue local traditions through contemporary interpretations according to current socioeconomic and political circumstances. These have struggled with contemporary dynamics to adapt themselves to changing needs according to the continuity of traditions. This paper focuses on such traditional houses which achieve cooperation with the cultural imaginary and the material reality of the settlement by considering the historical values and the political economies on the island. They are owned, adapted and sustained with the self-imagination and material interpretations of their users.

The new, established system of knowledge, which considers the reuse of the traditional buildings, inevitably influences the build-

ings themselves, as well as the settlement fabric. The buildings which are revived and regained with the interest and meanings of the new occupants are cultural artifacts in a dynamic process of transformation, which is worth being studied to understand alternating approaches and practices in the transfer of tradition.

MATRIXES OF TRADITION IN THE WORK OF RENZO PIANO *Giamila Quattrone and Consuelo Nava*

Present advances in science and technology are contributing to the homologation of socio-cultural identities and the built environment. In particular, designs based on functional zoning and the widespread use of industrial materials and construction techniques have resulted in the standardization of living spaces and their social and environmental degradation and delegitimization.

Interrogating tradition in present architectural practice seems a viable strategy for the creation of socially and culturally legitimized living spaces. Interrogating tradition means being inspired by its paradigmatic lesson of environmentally and culturally appropriate built form, which communicates meaning and results from man-environment interplay.

By identifying the matrixes of tradition through theoretical reflections and analyses of case studies, this paper shows how a critical reinterpretation of traditional cultures, architectural typologies, and technologies is a crucial strategy in the design of sustainable built form.

The first part of the paper interprets tradition in relation to design practices oriented toward environmental and energy efficiency. It adopts an “explorative” approach through an examination of selected works by Renzo Piano. These provide a multilevel technological and environmental interpretation of tradition: form and language; technical creativity in the service of energy and resource saving; integration of traditional with innovative materials; design and construction conceived as a permanent workshop.

In particular, tradition is read in relation to spatial patterns affected by dwelling modes and place, as layered in traditional settlement patterns and built forms. It is also seen as a reinterpretation of historical practices and archetypes, providing cues for the design of innovative passive systems. Finally, tradition is read as a reclamation of workmanlike construction as the most appropriate way to give accurate directions, from design to construction.

The second part of the paper looks at tradition as a design parameter for a contemporary critical-regionalist architecture. According to an analytical-interpretational methodology, devised to study the regionalist features of architectural work, tradition falls within the scope of “Environmental Regionalism,” “Technological Regionalism,” and “Typomorphological Regionalism.”

With reference to these facets of regionalism, this reading interrogates tradition in terms of the combination of craft with manufacture, traditional with industrial materials, and in terms of architectural typologies as built expressions of a community’s settlement and dwelling patterns. Selected works by Renzo Piano are presented as case studies of this critical reading.

C.9 ENCLOSURES/FORECLOSURES, RISK/SPACE

THE FABRICATION OF TRADITION: THE RAMMED-EARTH REVIVAL IN BRITAIN, 1905–1925

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CONTESTED THRESHOLDS AND DISPLACED TRADITIONS OF FISHER DWELLING: A STUDY OF TRADITIONAL SRI LANKAN COASTAL ARCHITECTURE

Shenuka De Sylva

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

ECO-TRADE: ECO-TOURISM AND THE DISCOURSE ON TRADITION

Sebnem Yucel Young

Izmir Institute of Technology, Turkey

ADDRESSING THE VULNERABILITY OF FISHING COMMUNITIES IN POST-TSUNAMI RECONSTRUCTION: A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE FROM KOVALAM VILLAGE, TAMILNADU, SOUTHERN INDIA

Ram Sateesh Pasupuleti

University of Westminster, U.K.

TRADITION, PLACE, AND IDENTITY: COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN THE WAKE OF DISASTER

Meredith Feike

Louisiana State University, U.S.A.

THE FABRICATION OF TRADITION: THE RAMMED-EARTH REVIVAL IN BRITAIN, 1905–1925

Mark Swenarton

Rammed earth, or *pisé de terre*, is widely regarded as one of, if not the, most traditional methods of building. In Britain, rammed earth is not an indigenous method of building, yet Britain became famous for the revival of rammed earth in the early twentieth century. Backed by the British government, the rammed-earth revival involved not just books and publications (notably Clough Williams-Ellis, *Cottage Building in Cob, Pisé, Chalk and Clay*, 1919) but also practical building (the Amesbury settlement, 1920–22). Together, this output of theory and practice still forms the benchmark for those working in rammed earth (P. Walker et al., *Rammed Earth: Design and Construction Guidelines*, 2005, p.5).

However traditional the method, the rammed-earth revival of 1905–25 came about not as the result of traditional factors, but

new conditions that emerged in early twentieth-century Britain. Three distinct conditions of modernity can be identified.

The first was the emergence and diagnosis of the “housing problem” and the formulation of distinctive political approaches to dealing with it. J. St. Loe Strachey, “the godfather of Pisé building as far as modern England is concerned” (Williams-Ellis, 1919), was an unashamed free-marketeer who believed that the way to make private enterprise in housing work was to find cheap materials. His first idea was to use concrete, but the Cheap Cottages Exhibition that he sponsored at Letchworth Garden City in 1905 was a disappointment and left him searching for alternatives.

The second was colonialism. The period before the outbreak of the World War I saw a climax in the battle of empires, with Britain leading the way. St. Loe Strachey, as editor and proprietor of *The Spectator*, was a cheerleader for British imperialism, promoting the belief that the empire benefited colonized and colonizer alike. When in 1913 he learned of a method of housing construction — rammed earth — favored by British colonialists in Australia and Africa, he needed no further persuasion. Solving the housing problem in the home country by importing a method of construction from the colonies would provide unequivocal proof of the benefits of empire.

These two factors were sufficient to impel Strachey into experiments in rammed-earth construction beginning in 1915. What turned the rammed-earth revival from private passion to public policy, however, was the third condition of modernity: the change in the relations between social classes brought about by World War I, and especially by its termination. At the start of 1919 the British government sought to defuse unrest in the armed services by offering ex-servicemen “a place to settle on the land.” The Amesbury settlement of 32 houses (a quarter of them in earth materials of different sorts) was its first outcome.

It is self-evidently not the case that all instances of “tradition” in the modern era are fabricated. But the rammed-earth revival reminds us that meanings are not inherent in technologies: the technology can be ancient, but the deployment modern.

CONTESTED THRESHOLDS AND DISPLACED TRADITIONS OF FISHER DWELLING: A STUDY OF TRADITIONAL SRI LANKAN COASTAL ARCHITECTURE

Shenuka De Sylva

This paper interrogates the built traditions of the Sri Lankan coastal fisher community and highlights a way of dwelling that differs from modern perceptions of “house” and “living.” The architecture in question is unique in its simplicity, and unlike that of most other traditional maritime communities of the Asia-Pacific region.

The coastal fishers of Sri Lanka are a community of people dislocated from place and time by political systems of the past and present and from the marginalizing effects of modernization. This paper proposes that the everyday living spaces of this community, whose living traditions are little known, occurs at a series of thresholds between house and sea — between cultured space and natural place. Defined by activity specific to the fishers, these

thresholds reflect the tensions of a life lived continually on the edge. They are essential spaces for the continuity of a way of life that is unpretentious, driven by utility and ancient traditions.

The intention of this paper is to highlight how popular assumptions and generalizations affect traditional communities in postdisaster rebuilding situations. The thresholds of dwelling specific to the Sri Lankan fishers have been contested since the 2004 tsunami, and their living traditions have been displaced by postdisaster policies and post-tsunami housing. This paper is the outcome of a study of the adaptations that the Sri Lankan coastal fishers have had to make to their mass-produced and donor-built postdisaster houses. It interrogates the rationalities that shaped their traditional dwelling environments and that forced these changes.

While postdisaster reconstruction efforts are widely perceived as an opportunity to assist displaced communities regain a lost foothold and rebuild a normal life, postdisaster policies are aimed at rapid modernization of local situation and regulated to conform to global standards. The paper hopes to demonstrate that it is essential to recognize that perceptions may be cultivated and can differ significantly even within a culture. Therein lie the dangers of generalization, but also the possibilities for architecture.

ECO-TRADE: ECO-TOURISM AND THE DISCOURSE ON TRADITION

Sebnem Yucel Young

The January 2007 issue of the journal *Business News: Is Dunyasi Dergisi* devoted its sector-analysis section to “A Sleeping Giant of Tourism Sector: Ecological Holiday.” The article was only one of many in Turkish journals and newspapers since 2006 which have sought to describe eco-tourism establishments around the country. However, representations of this fast-growing sector have been directed more to understanding it as a lifestyle than a business.

One reason this new form of tourism has been treated this way can be found in its grassroots beginnings. Organized under the guidance of the Bugday group, it first emerged when villagers opened their farms, houses and lands to those who wanted to learn about healthier, organic lifestyles and forms of agriculture. Volunteers would contact the villagers through the TaTuTa (Agriculture Tourism Exchange) link of Bugday, and arrange to stay with a family in return for work in the fields. Soon, however, the exchange lost its work component and boomed into a form of alternative tourism, accommodating all who just wanted to observe and experience healthier living and organic food. Now have come “eco-farms,” whose stone, timber, or mud-brick “bungalows” are designed with inspiration from regional vernacular architecture. This paper is about the fast-growing eco-tourism sector in Turkey and the appropriation and re-creation of traditional environments to facilitate both its activities and an environmentalist discourse.

Despite the manufacture and consumption of tradition by big resorts, especially through the creation of exotic atmospheres, smaller-scale entrepreneurs are also making tradition an integral part of their businesses. Indeed, an important part of the socio-

political identity of these entrepreneurs identity is derived from opposition to big resorts. There are three grounds on which this identity takes form: global environmental ethics (energy usage, waste, and impact in the land); health (both in terms of living and environment); and social justice (concerning the rights of the local villagers). Such environmentally and socially driven discourse is ultimately a critique of current development patterns. It aims to replace the vicious cycle of “predatory development” with “sane” and “ecological” development that will limit mass migrations to the cities, protect the Earth, and support a healthier, happier population. Traditional lifestyles and environments are seen as playing an educational role in reaching these goals.

Traditional lifestyles and traditional environments have also played an important role in marketing this new sector/lifestyle. Thus, while vernacular architecture has inspired the new “bungalows” and represented the “organic” and the “healthy” from the outside, regional cuisine, introduced not only during the meals but through cooking workshops, has represented the “organic” and the “healthy” from the inside. This paper will discuss the above issues of identity, representation, tradition, and global environmental ethics in relation to the specific case of Pastoral Valley Farm, in Fethiye, Turkey.

ADDRESSING THE VULNERABILITY OF FISHING COMMUNITIES IN POST-TSUNAMI RECONSTRUCTION: A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE FROM KOVALAM VILLAGE, TAMILNADU, SOUTHERN INDIA

Ram Sateesh Pasupuleti

This paper is developed from primary research the author carried out in a fishing village in southern Tamilnadu, India, which was hit by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. It explains in detail the underlying cultural dimension that is often ignored in disaster relief and in the more general context of development aid. It further elaborates on how people attempt to adapt to change by giving new meaning and logic, for instance, to socio-spatial spaces to accommodate their local needs.

Through a detailed assessment of this case study, the paper proposes that there is a need for strategies that will integrate local cultural needs with the post-tsunami development process.

TRADITION, PLACE, AND IDENTITY: COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN THE WAKE OF DISASTER

Meredith Feike

For thousands of years, ecological instability and political conflict have tested the adaptability and resilience of human societies. The 2005 Atlantic hurricane season brought widespread devastation to the Gulf Coast of the United States. In the city of New Orleans, it was the technological failure of the levee system, coupled with breakdowns in both political and social systems that caused the worst disaster in America’s history.

While disasters are inevitable, it is possible to reduce the severity of their impacts. The Vietnamese community of New Orleans East possessed the capacity to mitigate the adverse effects of Hurricane Katrina. The social structure of the enclave fostered collective action that resulted in the recovery of two ethnic neighborhoods. Part of a larger doctoral research project that documents how the ethnic enclave accomplished rapid revitalization through a neighborhood-based initiative for redevelopment, this paper examines the vital role tradition played in the community’s resiliency and long-term sustainability.

During both the 2005 disaster and subsequent rebuilding process, the largely Vietnamese neighborhoods of Versailles and Village de l’Est relied on an ethnically inclusive mode of survival. Experiencing a revitalization that no other Eastern Orleans Parish neighborhood has yet to duplicate, the enclave has been dubbed a miracle by local officials and the media.

Taking a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates anthropology, geography and disaster science, I draw largely on the humanistic tradition and employ a phenomenological methodology to understand this phenomenon. I explore how the relationship between tradition, identity, and love of place revealed itself as a successful formula for community resilience. A shared sense of tradition characterized by strong kinship ties, religious belief, common values, and a historical background shaped by a legacy of displacement, allowed for the community’s self-rehabilitation. Members of the enclave acted as social agents for redevelopment, following tradition by embracing a support network that united the community in a time of crisis.

A.10 TRADITION BY MEANS OF SELF-INTERROGATION: EPISTEMOLOGIES OF RESILIENCE

TRADITION, TOURISM, AND TECHNOLOGY: EPISTEMOLOGIES OF RESILIENCE IN FREIBURG IM BREISGAU

Robert Mugerauer

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

THE SCHEHERAZADE SYNDROME: FICTION AND FACT IN DUBAI'S QUEST TO BECOME A GLOBAL CITY

Alamira Reem Bani Hashim and Clara Irazabal

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

TRADITION AS REINTERPRETATION OF THE PAST

Eeva Aarrevaara

Lahti University, Finland

PERFORMANCES OF CHINESE TRADITIONS BY THE SINO-BURMESE IN RANGOON, BURMA/MYANMAR

Jayde Lin Roberts

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

TRADITION, TOURISM, AND TECHNOLOGY: EPISTEMOLOGIES OF RESILIENCE IN FREIBURG IM BREISGAU

Robert Mugerauer

This paper's thesis is that Freiburg im Breisgau, in Germany, has made changes over the last two decades that show, in the midst of severe economic and ecological problems, how local knowledge has allowed deliberate self-reflection and generated strategies for remediation. This local knowledge from the specific historical and geographical-climatic situation was critical and practically oriented to action (Coburn, Nussbaum). Additionally, when combined with other epistemologies — scientific knowledge, technological know-how — it has led to new forms of self-presentation, transforming and continuing a regional bio-cultural tradition. As a case study, the response of Freiburg im Breisgau supports the argument by Lewontin and Lewis (2007) that "so-called traditional knowledge is not static or unthinking; . . . [it] always involves experimenting, even when it is presented as the transmission of preexisting knowledge."

The paper utilizes a hermeneutical phenomenological methodology (Fischer, 2003; Mugerauer, 1996) to recover and interpret the problems and processes of change in Freiburg im Breisgau from the 1970s through the shifts of the last twenty years. A historical environmental-cultural hermeneutics, utilizing archival research and fieldwork (carried out over the last thirty years, 1976–2006), will be used to document and describe elements con-

stitutive of the city's and region's *genius loci*; recent events, social-political processes, and outcomes dealing with that spirit of place and identity; and pragmatic environmental and economic issues.

The paper will focus on an analysis of the community dialogue, decision-making, and renewal or addition to critical natural features (such as the microclimate, Black Forest, streams, soils) and built environments (e.g., the historic city center, unique *brückli*, new environmental research centers, solar-oriented suburbs). It will show how these epistemological-pragmatic activities came to organize themselves around a complex of tradition, tourism, and technology.

The interpretation will recover two dimensions of the region's generative ethos: what has historically unfolded, and what has been publicly deliberated and rearticulated by the region's multiple constituencies. The hermeneutics will deploy a layering of ethnographic and historical details to provide analytic reference points connecting the local situation with its global economic and environmental context. It will also focus on the experiences of city and regional residents — both those experiences that have seamlessly occurred, where practical knowledge and judgments operated as part of the course of daily life, and those that were deliberately transformed into explicit or formal knowledge through political processes.

The paper will show how public reflection and debate concerning past, current and desired future practices have raised questions and suggested alternatives that eventually enabled city residents to decide upon and implement dramatic but consistent regulatory, environmental, behavioral and economic changes. The study will discern which of these changes fundamentally continue local tradition, which significantly transform tradition, and which, if any, are nontraditional. The outcome will be a demonstration that Freiburg's hybrid of practical-local, technological, and theoretical-scientific knowledge has provided a successful, complex epistemology of resilience, successfully transforming local tradition.

THE SCHEHERAZADE SYNDROME: FICTION AND FACT IN DUBAI'S QUEST TO BECOME A GLOBAL CITY

Alamira Reem Bani Hashim and Clara Irazabal

Cities around the world compete with each other in their attempt to advantageously position themselves in the global economy. In the process, city agents have to construct and sustain urban identities that make the cities attractive to both local elites and global markets. This process of self-branding has reached unprecedented levels of creativity, sophistication and daring in many cities. However, no city has been bolder at re-creation itself through developmental storytelling than Dubai. Featuring audaciously eccentric projects such as an indoor ski slope, the world's largest themed shopping mall, and an underwater hotel, this desert city is mastering what we term the Scheherazade Syndrome: a city's capacity to story-tell its way to global status. By exploring the implications of Dubai's Scheherazading, not only do we uncover the paradoxes of this practice for Dubai but also sobering lessons for other cities' ever-more-popular incursions on Scheherazading.

The article first presents a historical overview of Dubai's development, from a sleepy fishing village in the 1900s to today's gallery of dazzling architectural projects. The story of *Scheherazade and the One Thousand and One Nights* is offered as a metaphor to discuss the importance of storytelling as a promotional device in the global competition for urban dominance. Second, the article analyzes the role of agents who have been instrumental in orchestrating and implementing Dubai's urban image, including design professionals, city boosters, and Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum. Third, it reveals the paradoxes of Dubai's development, uncovering its unsustainable and inequitable dimensions. Finally, it elucidates the effectiveness and challenges of storytelling as a strategy to successfully position urban localities in global markets.

This project is based on extensive life experience, fieldwork, and professional architectural and planning practice in Dubai. It also builds on the burgeoning literature on city marketing in general and Dubai's development in particular.

TRADITION AS REINTERPRETATION OF THE PAST

Eva Aarrevaara

Several definitions of tradition, or vernacular architecture, have been introduced in studies concerning preserved material culture, the built environment which bears evidence from the past. For example, attention has been focused on product and process qualities (e.g., Rapoport 1989), and on different attributes describing features of traditional settlements. Within this school of thought, case studies dealing with different traditional cultures and their way of building have produced a storehouse of information concerning vernacular architecture.

According to Crysler (2000), a change of paradigm began to appear in traditional settlement studies in the 1990s, based on recognition that other perspectives were missing from the field. As a result, through the adaptation and combination of interdisciplinary viewpoints, interest grew in processes of transition in traditional cultures. Researchers also became aware of how environments that had long preserved their original qualities were becoming targets for transformation, and how such pressure for change would usually demolish their authentic features.

Meanwhile, in developed countries the present stage of the built environment could often be described as fragmentary, with settlements usually composed of several historical layers. This type of environment also presented researchers with a new challenge: how to recognize and differentiate separate layers and their essential features from one another. And not only was the historical documentation demanding, but the interpretation of the environment also needed attention. As Crysler has pointed out, documentation is always bound to a researcher's interpretation.

Studies of cultural landscape in geography frequently adapt the iconographical viewpoint originated from art history (Daniels & Cosgrove, 1989; Raivo, 1997). I propose that this approach could also be fruitful in the study of traditional settlements, which are often considered part of cultural landscapes. Traditionally, the so-called

pre-iconographical viewpoint deals with documenting a landscape, describing, classifying and mapping it as an area. This can be considered analogous to the documentation of vernacular environments, since it requires knowledge of the history of the landscape and an understanding of how it was composed. The conventional iconographical viewpoint can then be focused on the identification of meanings and discourses connected with the landscape. Representation of the meanings and discourses is essential, because the third stage of a cultural landscape study can be defined as iconological interpretation. This is based on critical considerations, such as why the landscape has been interpreted in certain ways.

The approach emphasizes that meanings combined with the cultural landscape — or the tradition — are constantly reinterpreted and renewed from the present. These viewpoints are discussed with an example of a Finnish cultural landscape consisting of vernacular architecture, and the inventories made of the area. The change in the evaluation of this type of environments during the last three decades provides a starting point of this discussion.

PERFORMANCES OF CHINESE TRADITIONS BY THE SINO-BURMESE IN RANGOON, BURMA/MYANMAR

Jayde Lin Roberts

On June 26, 1967, after anti-Chinese riots broke out in Yangon's Chinatown, the staff at the Burma Overseas Chinese Library hastily gathered up their collection and set it on fire. They feared for themselves and their fellow Chinese, and so preemptively destroyed anything that might provoke further violence. Soon after these riots, all Chinese veiled their identity behind Burmese names and dress, and stripped their homes and shops of any identifiable signs of Chineseness.

From the 1960s until the collapse of the socialist regime in 1988, Chinese identity and practices went underground by necessity. However, since the early 1990s, expressions of Chineseness in the public spaces of Yangon have grown at an unprecedented scale. Today, eye-catching Chinese signboards pepper the city, marking out Chinese buildings, and traditional Chinese rituals are conducted in public for everyone to see.

The timing of this phenomenon has been surprising, because it has occurred at the same time that a virulently Burman nationalist government has solidified its power, and because Chineseness had proven deadly in another authoritarian state (Indonesia in 1998).

Although few scholars have studied the lives or environments of the Chinese in Burma (henceforth, Sino-Burmese), those who have agree that their postcolonial history can be divided into three major periods. The first lasted from 1948 to 1962, during which time the Sino-Burmese enjoyed extensive economic, political and social freedom but remained insulated within the Chinese community. The second lasted from 1962 to 1988 and was that time when the Sino-Burmese were significantly discriminated against as aliens undeserving of citizenship. The third period has lasted from 1988 to the present, and has been a time when liberalized economic policies have provided avenues for Sino-Burmese

to achieve financial success and begin to reestablish themselves as a Chinese community.

This latest phase has compelled many Sino-Burmese to reconsider what it means to live as an ethnic minority in Burma and what kind of legacy they want to leave for future generations. Leaders in the Sino-Burmese community have discussed a number of questions. How do they want to recompose themselves as a Chinese people outside of China? How have they affected and been affected by the Burmese? And, where do their loyalties lie — in Myanmar and/or in the People's Republic of China?

Reflective questions such as these are not new for the Sino-Burmese. The shifting economic, political and social contexts outlined above have always demanded some level of awareness and adjustment. Rather, the increased exposure to Chinese outside of Burma, brought about by economic liberalization and the enhanced status of China on the world stage, have reawakened the Sino-Burmese sense of Chineseness and inspired them to evaluate how they want to be Chinese.

This paper will examine the public rituals surrounding Chinese New Year — the four-day, 24-hour Chinese New Year market, the newly established lion-dance competition, and the boisterous dragon-dance parades within and beyond Chinatown — to understand how and why the Sino-Burmese have continued to define and practice Chinese traditions.

B.10 DESIGN PRACTICE AND PEDAGOGY

TRADITION, WHERE ARE YOU? A HOUSE RENOVATION GUIDE FOR THE UASHAT MAK MANI-UTENAM INNU COMMUNITY

Andre Casault, Pierre Côté, Louise Lachapelle, Tania Martin, and Geneviève Vachon

Université Laval, Canada

AN INCLUSIVE DESIGN MODEL: PEDAGOGICAL EXAMPLES OF YORUBA AND GUJARATI SPACES

Abimbola Asojo and Vibhavari Jani

University of Oklahoma and Louisiana Tech University, U.S.A.

KATH-KHUNI IN HIMACHAL PRADESH: DOCUMENTING AND PRACTICING TRADITION

Jay Thakkar and Skye Morrison

CEPT University, India, and Concordia University, Canada

THE CONSTRUCT OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AS A PEDAGOGIC OBJECT OF CLIMATIC DESIGN

Vandana Baweja

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A.

TRADITION, WHERE ARE YOU? A HOUSE RENOVATION GUIDE FOR THE UASHAT MAK MANI-UTENAM INNU COMMUNITY

Andre Casault, Pierre Côté, Louise Lachapelle, Tania Martin, and Geneviève Vachon

Over the last ten years, our research team has tried to understand the logic, value and scope of contemporary traditions among the Innu communities of the northeastern coast of Quebec, Canada, specifically those of the residents of Uashat mak Mani-Utenam. Through various action-research and creation-research projects (as well as design projects) community members and the research team have together explored the meaning of housing and what a “contemporary home” for the members of the community could be.

The collaborations began with a design project with the Unamen Shipu community in 1998–99. In 2002 the team initiated a long-lasting relationship with the Uashat mak mali-Utenam community by exploring design alternatives for the sustainable development of the Innu reservation and for small housing prototypes and youth centers. These were followed by a participatory design workshop in 2003–2004 to propose contemporary housing prototypes that would reflect the climatic and cultural needs of the community.

In the spring of 2006 the team was mandated to develop a house renovation guide in collaboration with the community that would help it recycle and revitalize its existing housing stock, which

is aging and ill-suited to the Innu community's cultural needs. In keeping with the tenets of sustainable development, the guide suggests house renovation ideas and provides decision-making tools such as a manual, leaflets, technical guidelines, and a MODInnu (an interactive visualization and virtual 3-D computer modeling tool).

After presenting a brief history of the community-university collaborations, the paper explains the objectives of the House Renovation Guide Project, details the approaches and strategies employed, and presents the preliminary results. The paper concludes by reflecting on the ideas discussed between the research group and community members concerning the future of Innu traditions.

AN INCLUSIVE DESIGN MODEL: PEDAGOGICAL EXAMPLES OF YORUBA AND GUJARATI SPACES

Abimbola Asojo and Vibhavari Jani

In 2006 the authors conducted a survey seeking to understand why multicultural perspectives are not better represented in interior design curricula. The study indicated that 30 percent of IDEC members believe the major contributory factor is a lack of teaching materials, while 20 percent believe it is a lack of faculty expertise. This paper presents precedents from Yoruba and Gujarati cultures as references for discussing ways to promote a more inclusive design perspective. The authors analyze and compare Yoruba and Gujarati traditional and contemporary interiors through examinations of form and space, ornamentation and color, interior/exterior relationships, courtyards and verandahs, and material and construction techniques.

The paper will first discuss the dwelling traditions of the two groups. The Yoruba are one of the largest ethnic groups in West Africa, residing in southwestern Nigeria, as well as in neighboring Benin, Togo, and Sierra Leone. The paper will compare their houses to the *havelis* built by Gujaratis in northwest India. Archaeological studies indicate that both Yoruba and Gujarati towns have long been comprised of several compounds, in each of which multiple houses are built around a series of open courtyards of different sizes.

The paper will next analyze traditional Yoruba and Gujarati spaces that depict extensive utilization of decorative embellishments. The comparison of interior elements will show how in villages, cultural and social symbols adorned huts and palaces. In both cultures, many palaces had elaborately carved entrance doors. Beams, lintels and ceiling boards were also carved with human, mythological and animal figures and geometric patterns. Yoruba traditional interiors consisted of walls with murals; so did Gujarati interiors. However, in Gujarati homes, the mural work enhanced the spatial experience.

The paper will also discuss the impact of colonialism on these cultures. During the colonial era, the Yoruba abandoned many traditional forms, while Gujarati interiors adopted Islamic and British influences and developed a combination style that still prevails.

In Gujarat, Muslim invaders first brought onion domes, four-square garden styles, and *jalis*; later, under the British Raj, bunga-

low forms became the primary dwelling style. By contrast, nineteenth-century colonialism brought many international stylistic influences to Yoruba towns, which led to a major abandonment of traditional forms. Yoruba designers are today striving to recapture lost elements of traditional African architecture and integrate them into contemporary practice.

The paper will bring to light similarities and differences between the two cultures and show the importance of a number of building elements in both cultures. Among these are courtyards and verandahs, ornamentation and color, and natural materials and construction techniques. As with Western design traditions, Yoruba and Gujarati interiors offer many valuable precedents for teaching interior design.

KATH-KHUNI IN HIMACHAL PRADESH: DOCUMENTING AND PRACTICING TRADITION

Jay Thakkar and Skye Morrison

In Himachal Pradesh, India, indigenous stone and wood structures, called *kath-khuni*, have received mention in discussions of temple architecture. But little attention has been paid to their use as houses and granaries in Himalayan mountain villages. Through the curriculum of the School of Interior Design (SID) at CEPT, University in Ahmedabad students and faculty recently conducted field research to measure and draw these houses and granaries, as well as temples. The research cell of SID has since digitized and documented two field studies in the book *Maatraa: Ways of Measuring Himachal Pradesh* (scheduled for publication in 2008.)

The historical practice of making measured drawings of built form is a classic tool for students of architecture and design. SID supports this practice by a second-year curriculum component called "Living with Craft: Related Studies." We continue to teach and learn from the classical tradition as a way of the mind, eye and hand connecting in the field. Local people also understand this methodology as a way of seeing their built environment. Two field trips to Himachal Pradesh in 2005 and 2006 resulted in an excellent resource of measured drawings, sketches, and photographs. Since no one from an urban educational institute had ever asked local villagers living in *kath-khuni* buildings in Himachal Pradesh to see their houses, granaries and temples before, the experience was both intriguing and a topic for local discussion.

Our practice is to support the continuation of field-based measured drawing by hand as both a low-cost tool for research and a person-to-person form of visual communication. We combine this with storytelling exchanges between local people and faculty and students in the field. At the same time, we can see the potential of digital technology to extend the information gathered in hands-on field study to detailed structural analysis. Digitization allows the construction and deconstruction of environments through drawings. It also promotes a greater understanding by architects and designers of vernacular built form as a common visual language.

The digital world cannot replace indigenous knowledge. But our paper examines how digital and narrative research can assist

in the discovery of scientific principals in built form and the integrated meaning of home through structural analysis. These factors can connect the fragile links of real spaces with the overwhelming outside forces of change to a vernacular environment. Through our fieldwork and research we seek a deeper understanding and regeneration of vernacular built environments that will promote preservation of *kath-khuni* architecture as a sustainable and viable living tradition.

THE CONSTRUCT OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AS A PEDAGOGIC OBJECT OF CLIMATIC DESIGN

Vandana Baweja

Treatises on sustainable architecture frequently view vernacular architecture as a pedagogic object that can teach us about climate responsiveness, passive technologies, and how to build in harmony with nature. In this paper, I examine the prehistory of sustainable architecture. I argue that in the mid-twentieth century, British architects began to represent vernacular architecture as a pedagogic object through the discourse of tropical architecture. I then trace how and why the practice of representing vernacular architecture as a repository of climatic responsiveness developed in the mid-twentieth century.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, tropical architecture, as a genre of climate-responsive design, developed as a body-centric discourse circulated through colonial hygiene manuals. The primary concern of the manuals was the physiological well-being of the European body under tropical conditions. The correlation between climate and architecture, and architecture's role in protecting the body from tropical diseases, was one of the foundational tenets of tropical hygiene. These manuals prescribed techniques of ventilation, lighting, sewage disposal, water supply, sanitation, and construction as preventive techniques to circumvent the spread of disease. They also wrote of vernacular architecture in pejorative terms. Produced by sanitary engineers and medical personnel, they saw little value in the cumulative knowledge, which vernacular architecture represented. Sanitary engineers criticized vernacular architecture for its bad design and viewed it as an object in need of colonial intervention and improvement.

After World War II, tropical design shifted from sanitary engineering to what ought to have been its natural disciplinary home, architecture. While sanitary engineers considered the unhygienic qualities of vernacular architecture as symptomatic of ignorance, architects looked at the vernacular as a repository of knowledge on climate responsiveness. The shift in attitude coincided with the shift after World War II in attitudes among the European architectural community, as even CIAM began to express an increasing interest in vernacular architecture.

In the 1950s, tropical architects began to view vernacular architecture as a pedagogic tool from which they could draw ethnographic knowledge on climatic design, construction practices, and resource conservation. In the early 1950s, journals in

the U.K. published extensively on architecture in the tropics. The architectural travelogues about vernacular architecture were largely ethnoscientific observations on climatic design, calling for accurate documentation, scientific interpretation, and a globalization of indigenous knowledge on climatic design.

These publications documented and circulated two extreme genres of tropical architecture: the new modern tropical architecture by British architects, and precolonial vernacular architecture. And they constructed discursive continuities between modernist architecture and vernacular architecture to legitimize modernist architecture. This neocolonial discourse on vernacular architecture also served as a critique of apathy in the 1950s in Europe and America to energy consumption in the field of architecture.

C.10 OPERATIONALIZING TRADITION, REGENERATING HERITAGE

REGENERATION: DISCOVERING TRADITION THROUGH CROSS-CULTURAL DESIGN EDUCATION

Donald Watts

Kansas State University, U.S.A.

ENCOMPASSING TRADITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY LIVING ENVIRONMENT

Aida Azmin

International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia

TRADITIONAL BUILDING: RETRO STYLE OR FUTURE HERITAGE?

Tom Jefferies

Manchester Metropolitan University, U.K.

OPERATIVE TRADITION: THE TYPOLOGICAL PROCESS OF AN URBAN SETTLEMENT IN NANJING, CHINA

Fei Chen and Ombretta Romice

University of Strathclyde, U.K.

REGENERATION: DISCOVERING TRADITION THROUGH CROSS-CULTURAL DESIGN EDUCATION

Donald Watts

Since its inception in 1964, Afghanistan's Kabul University has served in the frontlines of contested ideologies as well as civil war. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the life of the campus was open to the interactions of different groups with different values. Many Afghan leaders fiercely argued their philosophies as students here before engaging in life-and-death struggles for control of the country in more recent decades.

Kabul University underwent physical and pedagogical restructuring during the era of Soviet domination in the early 1980s, and then during the Taliban regime. Within this battleground of history, it is today undergoing its latest transformation with the financial assistance of numerous Western nations. This paper is a critical appraisal of a collaborative design studio of fifth-year architecture students of Kabul University and an American school of architecture to design a new College of Architecture at the university.

The primary objective of the project is not to create blueprints for a building, but rather to engage in a process of inquiry concerning the confluence of global forces and concerning Afghan disorientation as a consequence of decades of war. An underlying hypothesis is that both Afghan and American students and faculty may learn about themselves through thoughtful reflection about their differences from one another. It is through the

identification of primary differences in values that discovery of tradition, in the present discourse, can be identified. Tradition is not seen as some latent unified subconscious past but a field of values, beliefs and aspirations that must appear in today's dialogue as evidence of tradition's continuity and validity.

This is the culminating educational studio for both the Afghan and American architecture students. It encompasses a comprehensive synthesis of the students' previous architectural education, and also simulates an actual professional commission for the new college. The first semester of this year-long project was devoted to architectural programming. Collaboration of Afghan and American students and faculty resulted in a list of principal design criteria and a project brief that identified the goals and objectives for the new college based on a recently revised curriculum.

The second-semester design investigation involved the collaborative studio teaching by Afghan and American architecture faculty. Internet connections at Kabul University allowed Afghan and American students to exchange ideas and information during the design semester. Because the Afghan academic calendar begins in late March, this author will join the Afghan design studio in Kabul for the last half of their semester.

This cross-cultural, collaborative studio is intended to serve as an incubator for reflection on the interactions of indigenous traditions and global culture. The critical appraisal of alternative design propositions identifies key social, cultural and environmental forces operating within Afghanistan. Ultimately, the design project hopes to promote Afghan reflection on their cultural identity and on the pedagogical implications of architectural education in Afghanistan.

ENCOMPASSING TRADITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY LIVING ENVIRONMENT

Aida Azmin

The paper highlights the necessity to maintain quality in the living environment through sustaining the cultural meanings of a diverse society. The living environment is a manifestation of people's ways of living. Housing policies that impose homogeneity on multicultural societies with a wealth of indigenous resources prevent people from sustaining their cultural identities. Housing designs should be guided by cultural meanings as manifested by indigenous dwelling architectures. The paper identifies several domains that should serve as components of quality for future housing design and planning policy. Its recommendations are intended to help distinguish a unifying architectural identity, ensuring a community's sense of belonging.

TRADITIONAL BUILDING: RETRO STYLE OR FUTURE HERITAGE?

Tom Jefferies

"Place" and "heritage" have recently been identified as desirable characteristics for British urban space. Recognition of these attributes is now being written into planning policy for new devel-

opments and being supported by a raft of advisory guidance. This approach often assumes that an agreed version of good place will somehow embody shared views of civic conduct. But the desire to make “place” has also coincided with the rise of surveillance as a means of social control. This is now manifest both through security-oriented design guidance and new forms of voyeuristic entertainment, as when CCTV coverage is edited for mass television consumption.

Heritage is assumed to refer to an authentic past as a valuable cultural articulation of history. But Britain is currently suffering from heritage glut. Areas of urban shrinkage are overloaded with the “wrong” type of heritage, and its preservation is hampering the innovation and change necessary to produce livable urbanity. Is this heritage obesity? In a society that demands heritage, perhaps it is necessary to construct the future according to a more balanced heritage diet — one that can facilitate a variety of forms, cope with unpredictability, and accept the possibility of shrinkage as well as growth.

Public consultation with community and user groups has been seen as a tool to inform design decisions to ensure a good fit between development and the community it intends to serve. However, how much does style inform function, and how can this be assessed? The question remains as to how advisory documents, political will, and lifestyle desires can be formalized in design terms. Assuming this process is possible, what are the skills that professionals need to assess whether a new place will be good or bad?

This paper discusses the relevance of tradition, style and heritage in contemporary “place”-based urban design. It explores a number of contemporary place-based schemes, asking, “if place is unique, why do these all look the same?” The aesthetic of place is discussed with specific reference to the perceived threat of crime, exploring how traditional urban space deforms to meet defensive design criteria. It discusses the representation of place in the contemporary media, analyzing how this informs design decisions at a number of levels, including urban branding, urban design, and urban heritage. How is quality defined, quantified, and implemented?

The paper used Citylab/Maccreanor Lavington’s international-award-winning project for the Whitefield regeneration in Nelson, Lancashire, U.K., a case study to explore the above issues. Located in “. . . a unique mix of 19th century terraced mill workers’ housing, industrial and community buildings, . . . once the subject of wide-ranging demolition proposals,” and rescued following intervention by HRH Prince Charles, the scheme responds to the increasing desires for both mobility and place. A new urban public realm provides social space in an urban figure that originally provided none, and advanced architectural concepts deliver a future-heritage-intense, carbon-neutral built fabric. A twenty-first-century future liberates a nineteenth-century past by establishing a dialogue between traditional building and future heritage, while avoiding retro style.

OPERATIVE TRADITION: THE TYPOLOGICAL PROCESS OF AN URBAN SETTLEMENT IN NANJING, CHINA

Fei Chen and Ombretta Romice

In the case of the historical development of an urban settlement named “Eastern Gate” in Nanjing, China, tradition is neither a superficial cultural image in the era of architectural production and consumption, nor a retrogressive nostalgia. This paper will examine the transformation of the blocks, plots, building arrangements, and individual houses in the settlement from the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) to the present to reveal typological urban form types characteristic of each period in the neighborhood’s history. On the one hand, it is acknowledged that “type” carries abundant information of previous spatial experience in collective memory and the characteristics, structural principles, and essences of urban artifacts. On the other, the process of typological formation indicates the progressive relationship between urban form at various scales and the history of development in the neighborhood.

Tradition, as embodied in types of material settlement, is inherited and passed on to succeeding generations through a typological process. In the case of Eastern Gate in Nanjing, different episodes of the typological processes at different scales from urban blocks to houses can be observed. Both the construction work of single houses conducted by the residents themselves and the impact of government planning are restricted into these types.

In order to resist globalization and maintain the cultural identity of this area, these types and typological processes provide design suggestions for future design and regeneration, which will help new designs fit the existing context harmoniously. Therefore, the conclusion is that tradition can become an operative factor in urban development and urban design.

A.11 SOVEREIGNTY AND SEGREGATION: GEOGRAPHIES OF BELONGING

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN TERRAINS OF CONTESTATION: SPACE, IDEOLOGY, AND PRACTICE IN BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN

Sadiq Toffa

University of Cape Town, South Africa

A POLITICIZED AESTHETIC: RROMA NEOVERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA

Elena Tomlinson

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

MOMENTS OF OPPORTUNITY OR NOT? THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BEIRUT'S SOUTHERN SUBURBS AND NAHR AL BARED REFUGEE CAMP

Sofia Shwayri

St. Antony's College, U.K.

HOUSING, SANITATION, AND THE COMPETING DISCOURSES OF A "CIVILIZING SOCIETY" IN COLONIAL HONG KONG

Cecilia Chu

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

LOCAL/TRANSNATIONAL IMAGININGS OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN NORTHERN UGANDA

Julie Shackford-Bradley

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

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN TERRAINS OF CONTESTATION: SPACE, IDEOLOGY, AND PRACTICE IN BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN

Sadiq Toffa

Bo-Kaap is a historic, working-class residential neighborhood on the periphery of the inner city of Cape Town. It is the only minority ethnic enclave within the central city to have survived the social engineering of Apartheid, a political doctrine of the mid-twentieth century that espoused a manufactured isolation of ethnographic identities. The preservationist and Orientalist rhetoric of this discourse artificially constructed a temporal stasis within Bo-Kaap throughout the modernist period, which caused the idiosyncratic conservation of this traditional environment. Since the late twentieth century, a post-Apartheid political landscape has given rise to a dialectical tension between a dominant political model of laissez-faire economic libertarianism and a theoretical social model predicated on socio-spatial and economic equity. This has generated both speculative economic revitalization related to processes of

globalization and gentrification and community mobilization related to socio-cultural regeneration and practice.

This paper will advance three dimensions of regenerative traditional practice in Bo-Kaap in relation to cultured space and everyday experience: contestation, expansion, and hybridization. These three dimensions negotiate economic utilitarian modes of spatial production with traditional public culture and social practice. The paper will attempt to convey an emergent, rearticulated and localized urban sensibility by identifying iterative examples of transformative practice in multiple sites within Bo-Kaap. These sites will be located within liturgical, domestic and commercial space to articulate an emergent local paradigm through iterative developmental processes.

The epistemology of these contemporary processes are located as "hidden" spatializations of a cultured subaltern narrative occurring within the colonial city. It was at the margins of colonial society that marginal cultural practice found operative reflexivity. However, these practices necessarily developed a highly sophisticated and nuanced spatial grammar in response to a center-dominant colonial discourse. Within the private sphere, an interiorization of ritual delineated a secure space of transgression from accepted public norms. Within the public sphere of socialization and economy, informal practice within indeterminate spaces of interstice and liminality enabled a threshold of open association where difference could be encountered and negotiated.

This inquiry of historiography to critically identify the spatial consequences of previously neglected sources has been particularly problematical in territories like Bo-Kaap for two reasons. First, its formal architectural image reflects the authority of the dominant colonial narrative. Second, institutional Apartheid constructed a privileged nonaffiliated authorship reflective of this narrative.

The paper will attempt to identify and illustrate an emergent iterative traditional practice through expanding a field of subaltern urban study that has been historically neglected in South Africa. Further, it hopes to develop a case for more community-specific urban regeneration rooted in transformative local practices. Lastly, it hopes to shift the urban conservation policy discourse in South Africa, grounded in a theoretical frame of postmodern material structuralism, to consider the social and cultural dimensions of heritage resource management practices, as well as to recognize the important interface of the formal and informal city.

A POLITICIZED AESTHETIC: RROMA NEOVERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA

Elena Tomlinson

Can a people be "truly European" if Europeans don't recognize them as such?

—*Ian Hancock (2001)*

This rhetorical question aptly captures the predicament of the European Roma — disparagingly referred to as Gypsies. Trapped at the fringes of European society, Roma migrants have recently

created visible changes in the urban landscape of the E.U. While Western Europe is having to grapple with Eastern European Roma migrant camps on the outskirts of major cities, the once homogenous socio-spatial geography of the post-communist East is also being transformed by growing economic and ethnic segregation. As the Roma are forging a new cultural identity and political position, they are also deepening boundaries between themselves and mainstream society.

The intersection of these conflicting factors is finding expression today in a controversial architectural phenomenon emerging at the margins of post-Communist Romanian cities. Here, former Roma nomads, now settled and relatively prosperous, are creating an unprecedented form of neovernacular palace, a trend that is quickly spreading to the rest of Eastern Europe. The production of such structures marks a turning point in the history of the nomadic Romanian Roma, who had no tradition of building or homeownership prior to the fall of the country's Communist regime.

The Roma neovernacular is both an embodiment and a reaction to Romania's politics of integration. However, the media has cast the so-called palaces as an onslaught against Romanian culture, a "Gypsyfication" of Romanian cities. The palaces exhibit an international repertoire marked by caricatured opulence and a dissonant mixture of historicist elements. Baroque ornament, Hindu temple decoration, and Japanese pagodas are just a few of the elements that individualize these extravagant structures. The juxtaposition of historical references is seemingly unlimited. The structures also assimilate diverse symbols of a public and urban life the Roma never had, but which they perhaps encountered in their travels.

The paper will examine the ways in which the Roma neovernacular has become the physical site where competing forces of identity politics intersect. To date, the presence of the Roma in cities has always been either transitory or confined to the margins. How does one reflect on these historicist structures as they are emerging within the constitutive core? How are these practices changing the urban-landscape of Eastern Europe, where the Roma are regarded by definition as an "image problem"? Could the Roma neovernacular be read as an articulation of their desire to overcome marginality?

I argue that while the hybrid mansions may be an embodiment of the Roma's adoption of a middle-class lifestyle, they are also a reaction to the values of mainstream society and its efforts to integrate them. The architecture of this community in transition must be located at a confluence of such competing factors, and also within a historical understanding of a country such as Romania, which is itself undergoing transition.

MOMENTS OF OPPORTUNITY OR NOT? THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BEIRUT'S SOUTHERN SUBURBS AND NAHR AL BARED REFUGEE CAMP

Sofia Shwayri

Beirut's southern suburbs and the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr Al-Bared recently experienced large-scale destruction — the former during the war with Israel in 2006, the latter in the aftermath of

that war in 2007. Originally, the expansion of both areas occurred largely outside the rule of Lebanese law. Indeed, they became known by some Lebanese as "security squares," or *muraba'at amniya*.

The end of a war usually brings a phase of reconstruction, but in these areas the nature of the cessation of hostilities in 2006 only led to more conflict — though this time it was mainly political in nature. The antagonists were a coalition of pro-Syrian parties including Hizballah ("The Opposition") and the Lebanese government. Fearing change and displacement, Hizballah, on its own, embarked on the rebuilding of what was destroyed. It saw this as a way to maintain control over territory in the southern suburbs through the preservation of the existing way of life and the social fabric of the local community.

Displaced yet again as a result of the 2007 summer war, the Palestinian refugees were not only anxious about the destruction of their homes and communities, developed over six decades, but about their inability to return to those homes. The camps were placed under the control of the Lebanese army at the end of the fighting, a situation which the Lebanese government used not only to control the physical reconstruction but also to extend its sovereignty over areas that had long operated outside its control.

Based on newspaper accounts, this paper will examine these two cases of reconstruction and the competing visions by the various factions over this moment of destruction. It is especially concerned with how physical reconstruction has been used as a tool by government and political parties alike to consolidate control.

HOUSING, SANITATION, AND THE COMPETING DISCOURSES OF A "CIVILIZING SOCIETY" IN COLONIAL HONG KONG

Cecilia Chu

Since the early days of British occupation in Hong Kong, sanitation had been a major concern of the colonial authority. As in other rapidly expanding treaty ports in the nineteenth century, the frequent outbreak of diseases among the crowded native quarters generated much anxiety for Europeans. Their persistent sense of insecurity reinforced the perception that the peripheries of the empire were dangerous places, where the Europeans were surrounded by "less developed" natives who had yet to learn the "civilized" habits of living. These beliefs led the Hong Kong government to implement racial segregation and other legislation to regulate Chinese dwellings, most notably in regard to provisions for light, ventilation and drainage — housing standards reminiscent of those that had been implemented in Britain itself.

Recent scholarship has shown that, despite the widespread approbation of the "civilizing mission" in the early writings of British historians, the effort to combat disease and regulate the native environment in the colonies largely failed in practice. In Hong Kong, not only were the building regulations constantly resisted by the inhabitants, but they were also hampered by corruption and a host of other strategies to manipulate the system.

Such contention around housing and sanitary standards widened the perceived cultural divide. While the Europeans contin-

ued to blame the Chinese for “uncivilized practices,” the Chinese complained that the Europeans were devaluing their cultural system, which belonged to a long tradition of equal or even superior value to that of the West. The persistent emphasis on the Chinese ability to take care of themselves also invoked lasting anti-colonial sentiments, which paradoxically continued to lend support to colonial discourse highlighting a duality between “East” and “West.”

This paper examines the complex processes at work in the shaping of this dominant “East versus West” narrative. By exploring some of the ideas of urban living developed by the Hong Kong Chinese in the 1920s and 30s, it will elucidate the ongoing mediation between competing discourses in the formation of civil society under colonial rule. Although the imposition of housing and sanitary standards often instigated intense conflicts, the Chinese also appropriated many imported ideas concerning the improvement of health and the environment. An examination of the writings in the local popular press, for example, shows a startling level of obsession with the concept of well-being in every realm of social life. Drawing on ideas from different traditions, these materials also produced a host of new discourses about a civilized, modernizing Chinese society that consciously differentiated itself not only against “Western others,” but against other places in China under Chinese Republican rule.

By tracing the development of these narratives, and connecting them with shifting imperialist ideologies and the ongoing impact of colonial capitalist expansion, this paper seeks to illuminate the ways in which social consensus was enabled in a colonial context underscored with racial tensions and profound social inequalities.

LOCAL/TRANSNATIONAL IMAGININGS OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN NORTHERN UGANDA

Julie Shackford-Bradley

This paper examines current debates regarding the role of traditional or local forms of conflict and postconflict resolution in northern Uganda, in response to a 23-year conflict between the government and rebel groups. Occurring within a transnational discourse on conflict resolution, human rights, and justice for war crimes, these debates are intricately linked to changing configurations of space and the geopolitics of globalization and “the local.” As such, they raise questions regarding the definitions of “tradition” and “local culture” and how these relate to national sovereignty and the viability of universal applications of rights and justice.

The call for a “return to tradition” recalls postcolonial discourse in that it emphasizes the patronizing aspect of Western justice and the intranslatability of Western mediation methods into local contexts. It is frequently argued that the emphases on neutrality and rationality in the Western practice of mediation make it ineffective in communities bound by a spiritual connection to elders and ancestors. Moreover, the application of Western-style punitive justice from above, reminiscent of colonial practices, is seen to undermine community relationships.

As alternatives to Western methods, the *matu oput* and other practices of restorative justice in Uganda are rooted within, and respectful of, community and spiritual contexts. Successful stories circulate of reconciliation among combatants and victims and between child soldiers with their families.

Skeptics of the “return to tradition” worry that individual human rights — specifically the rights of women and victims — can be jeopardized in traditionally patriarchal conflict-resolution processes. More at issue are questions of whether traditional approaches can address the complex spatial dynamics of local conflicts. These include international war crimes, “realist” support by international and regional leaders of various participants, the cross-border movement of perpetrators and victims, the use of paramilitaries and child soldiers, and the marginalization and economic deprivation of victims within the nation-state.

Currently, mediators, human-rights activists, and local and national leaders are constructing transitional justice strategies under emergency conditions as victims of the conflict persevere in IDP camps. In contact with the IDPs, activists are piecing together strategies for justice and the restoration of community, drawing from different spatial scales to address the different needs and purposes of combatants and victims. These imaginings of transitional justice suggest the fluidity of “tradition” as a category. However, questions remain about whether they form a productive middle ground among best practices of the “Western” and “traditional,” or a mirage within transnational discourse that idealizes local/global integration while overlooking unintended consequences on the ground level.

B.11 CULTURAL CAPITAL AND THE REINVENTION OF HERITAGE

THE THEMING OF ARABIA: CULTURAL CAPITALISM AND THE REINVENTION OF TRADITION IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Khaled Adham

United Arab Emirates University, U.A.E.

REGENERATING URBAN TRADITIONS IN BAHRAIN: LEARNING FROM BAB AL-BAHRAIN, THE AUTHENTIC FAKE

Ali Alraouf

University of Bahrain, Bahrain

TRADITION OF CONSUMPTION, CONSUMPTION OF TRADITION

Catherine Sckerl

Independent Scholar, U.S.A.

CREATED TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF THE ESTRADA REAL, A CULTURAL ROUTE IN BRAZIL

Leonardo Castriota

Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil

THE FUTURE OF THE *BAYT ARABI*: PRESERVING OR RE-CREATING A SYRIAN TRADITION

Faedah Totah

Virginia Commonwealth University, U.S.A.

THE THEMING OF ARABIA: CULTURAL CAPITALISM AND THE REINVENTION OF TRADITION IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Khaled Adham

In the past decade the Persian Gulf has witnessed a building frenzy that has expanded existing cities in all directions. Such rapid urbanization has brought the rise of skyscrapers, the appearance of scores of themed malls and gated residential communities, the importation of sea water inland, the creation of artificial lakes and islands, and even the construction of underground and underwater amenities. In these fast-emerging cityscapes, many developers and architects seem to have resorted to the theming of the environment as a placemaking strategy.

During the past few years, entire sections of Gulf cities have evolved in response to the impulse to synthetically re-create environments that borrow architectural characteristics from other places and times. This theming strategy, which was once limited to specific entertainment spaces, is now spreading from tourist and entertainment venues to everything from chain restaurants to malls to housing developments. In its basic form, theming consists of the application of an external narrative to institutions or locations. Themed environments, therefore, can be seen as entire

built-up spaces controlled by overarching symbolic motifs, which are unrelated in terms of space, time, sphere, or any combination of these sources. One theme that has spread prominently throughout the Gulf region relies on local or regional architectural heritage — or Arab fantasy, to use the words of Mark Gottdeiner.

In this essay, I will map these emerging Arab fantasy spaces both geographically and theoretically. Geographically, I will identify themed environments that are reinventing local heritage in two Persian Gulf cities, Doha and Dubai. I will briefly describe their magnitude and impact as well as examine and categorize the various ways in which local traditional environments have been reinvented. In this broad review of themed heritage, two selected cases will be given greater weight: Souk Waqif in Doha, and El-Bastakiyya in Dubai. Both projects exploit architectural heritage and a claim to history to promote a sense of national identity and to generate commercial profit.

Theoretically, I will argue that we cannot understand the emerging economies of these two cities and their accompanying phantasmagorical architectural forms without mapping them in relation to the global economic regime of late capitalism. To describe how Doha and Dubai are illustrative of the contemporary workings of global capital, I will put forward one specific discourse, which I contend represents a viable attempt to frame, interpret and compare the dynamics of reinventing heritage. This is the rise of cultural capitalism, or the realization of capital through the commodification of culture, heritage or tradition. Several scholarly works and theories, as well as concrete examples from Doha and Dubai, will be used as backdrop for developing this discourse.

REGENERATING URBAN TRADITIONS IN BAHRAIN: LEARNING FROM BAB AL-BAHRAIN, THE AUTHENTIC FAKE

Ali Alraouf

Gulf cities are determined to diversify their economies in an attempt to face the new realities resulting from the post-oil paradigm. Knowing that its oil resources are about to dry up, Bahrain in particular is being forced to bank on other activities in order to develop.

For Bahrain today, development means diversification into the financial and tourism sectors. This has led to the tangible exploitation of the visual scenery of culture and history. The goal of this strategy is to create dreams, fantasies and models that will attract tourists, travelers and visitors who are ready and prepared to consume the authentic heritage of traditional cities. Construction of such an image of the past — a persona — is part of what Baudrillard has called “reality by proxy,” a stimulated environment.

This paper will use Bab Al-Bahrain as a case study of the hyper-reality and hyper-traditions which have emerged as a result of globalization. As a hyper-tradition, it can be understood as having emerged within the birthplace of that which it is attempting to simulate. As such, it provides a case study of what Umberto Eco has called “the authentic fake.”

The necessity to diversify Bahrain’s economy has caused the island nation to attempt to reinvent itself as the financial, com-

mercial and recreational hub of the Gulf. Historically, Bab-al-Bahrain (Bahrain Gate) once faced the city's port and served as was the main entrance to Manama *souq*; however, land reclamation has removed it from the water's edge. The paper will focus on the area of Bab Al-Bahrain and its urban and architectural adjacencies to illustrate Bahrain's efforts to promote its historical and cultural heritage as a vehicle for tourist development.

Two major new projects are aiming to help Bab Al-Bahrain regaining its historic importance. These are the new waterfront development, Bahrain Financial Harbor, and the renovation of the old market, Souq Al-Manama. Because these are located on opposite sides of the gate, they construct poles of development in this unique context. The two case studies will be juxtaposed and analyzed.

The paper will also investigate the legitimacy and the complex dynamism of transforming historical heritage into a hyper-tradition, a sort of "authentic fake," in order to facilitate tourist consumption of Bahraini culture. It argues that tourism has changed the host community and influenced the process of creating fake authenticity.

TRADITION OF CONSUMPTION, CONSUMPTION OF TRADITION

Catherine Sckerl

This essay investigates the question, "What impact does the tradition of consumption have on the definition of tradition as it relates to the making of traditional goods, services and environments?" The paper first explores the role of consumption in the everyday. It explains that consumption has expanded beyond economic definitions to inform the logic within everyday life. The paper goes on to propose that everyday consumer contexts emerge as places where the definition of tradition is most fluid, as both producers and consumers reciprocally inscribe tradition's definition when products are manufactured, marketed and consumed. The paper preliminarily identifies an example of an everyday consumer context, a new-town development in the United States, which illustrates the negotiations that occur between producers and consumers as new traditions are formed.

CREATED TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF THE ESTRADA REAL, A CULTURAL ROUTE IN BRAZIL

Leonardo Castriota

Cultural routes constitute a new and highly innovative field within the theoretical framework of cultural heritage conservation. The concept inextricably combines material and immaterial aspects of culture that have previously only been considered separately. Toward this end, the Council of Europe launched, in 1987, the Cultural Routes program, intended to visibly demonstrate, by means of a journey through space and time, how different countries in Europe share a common cultural heritage. The "Routes" project implemented by UNESCO is similar, aiming to promote mutual knowledge among civilizations, cultures and religions

through an enhanced presentation of their mutual interactions and influences.

This paper will examine this important idea, which can perfectly exemplify the dialectical process of identifying/creating tradition. It will show how a cultural route is, in many cases, a created tradition, a mental image that is fabricated to unify disparate historic facts, places, and cultural traditions. At the same time, it will demonstrate that this very simulation can become the reality itself, creating a refashioned tradition, and serving perfectly to assert specific economic and cultural policies.

As a case study, the paper examines the Estrada Real (King's Road), a cultural route in Brazil. Dating to the seventeenth century, this was originally a 900-mile road for moving gold and diamonds from Minas Gerais to Brazil's ports and then on to Portugal. Rediscovered recently, it has been an object of great attention by the government and civil society which wish to establish it as a cultural route to promote tourism in the region.

The paper will also discuss the influence of the pop mystic and Brazilian homeboy Paulo Coelho's best-selling book about the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, which has led Brazilians to compare the Estrada Real to Spain's religious path.

THE FUTURE OF THE *BAYT ARABI*: PRESERVING OR RE-CREATING A SYRIAN TRADITION

Faedah Totah

The increase in heritage tourism around the world has led investors in Damascus to reimagine the *bayt arabi*, the vernacular courtyard dwelling, as an "authentic" tradition, not only for its specific architecture but for the history it has come to embody. Although other forms of traditional dwelling exist in Damascus, the *bayt arabi* has recently become a focus of opportunity in the intramural Old City. *Bayt arabi* continue to be habitable, but they have long been considered inferior to modern apartments as a place of residence. But this is not an obstacle to investors, who want to render them as heritage, and therefore unsuitable for modern living. Official policies, which protect the Old City from extensive modernization and promote it as a tourist destination also encourage viewing the *bayt arabi* as tradition. As a result, in some cases the preservation of *bayt arabi* has resulted in nonresidential use, as the houses are transformed into tourist establishments, either as restaurants and/or hotels.

This paper will elaborate on how investors have refurbished courtyard houses into tourist establishments. This is a process that, in their opinion, preserves a vernacular tradition for future generations. At the same time, it generates profit and removes the *bayt arabi* from the local to the global context. The conversion to nonresidential use also raises questions as to what is being preserved and for whom.

Through a description of the historical architectural features of the *bayt arabi*, I will illustrate how a dwelling form of a certain historical period has come to stand for an entire local tradition. I will describe the conversion process of the *bayt arabi* into a restau-

rant or hotel — both by the removal of additions and constructions by former residents that once allowed it to be used as a home, and by the insertion of specific architectural elements that make it heritage. Through interviews conducted with investors, I demonstrate how their financial interest reinforces the idea of the *bayt arabi* as unsuitable for modern living, and how it should rather be treated as heritage.

This reification of the *bayt arabi* is manifested in different preservation practices, in which the use of traditional materials becomes significant. The use of traditional material not only celebrates the ingenuity of traditional techniques but also separates social actors who value heritage from those who do not. Since the use of traditional material incurs annual maintenance costs, which that can be quite high depending on the size of the house, it further reinforces the value of the homes as profit-generating investments.

Tradition and commodification come together in the *bayt arabi*. Ironically, investors celebrate the social values and way of life in these houses when they were inhabited; yet they want them emptied of residents. The *bayt arabi* removed from its original function and use is more valuable to them. I will conclude by explaining how these new attitudes toward the *bayt arabi* are closely linked to globalization and are redefining life in the Old City of Damascus.

C.11 TRANSLATING AND TRANSMITTING ARCHITECTURAL IDEAS

COMBINATORY ARCHITECTURE: A TOOL FOR THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC CITIES IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION

Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah
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DIGITAL DIFFUSION OF RESEARCH: LIMITS AND POTENTIALS

J. Brooke Harrington and Judith Bing
Temple University and Drexel University, U.S.A

A GENERATIVE COMPUTATIONAL MODEL FOR THE REGENERATION OF MARRAKECH MEDINA

Joao Rocha and Jose P. Duarte
University of Evora and Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal

THE MEANINGS IN TERMS: ((INDIGENOUS) + (ARCHITECTURE))

Anne Burgess
University of Sydney, Australia

COMBINATORY ARCHITECTURE: A TOOL FOR THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC CITIES IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION

Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah

In the African jungle, whenever a deer awakes in the morning it knows it has to run faster than the lion to avoid being caught and killed. The lion, on the other hand, wakes with the intention of running faster than the deer, and getting its meal for the day. This is the typical struggle Islamic cities also have to deal with every day: between the fundamentalist lions and the revivalist deer.

In the past twenty years, running fast has been the driving force behind the prosperity of Islamic cities. And in the years ahead, the modernization of these cities will continue to be the power moving the Middle East forward, both in terms of economic and industrial development and the long struggle with fundamentalism movements. But in their growth, these cities could learn something from combinatory logic.

Combinatory logic is a notation introduced within computer science to eliminate the need for variables, as is the case in mathematical logic. More recently, it has also been used as a theoretical model of computation and as a basis for the design of functional programming languages. It is based on combinators — higher-order functions which define a result solely through the use of lower-order functions and previously defined combinators. It can be viewed as a variant of the lambda calculus, in which lambda expressions (representing functional abstractions) are replaced by a limited set of combinators — primitive functions from which free variables are absent.

Various interpretations of the principles of combinatory logic can also help eliminate the negative forces within traditional environments, and awaken a new vision to guide the revival of Islamic cities. Since architecture involves a composition of suitable functions based on primitive arguments, simple combinatory architecture could suffice to capture the essential mechanism of the built environment.

After more than half a century of riding the modernist bandwagon, professional artists and architects in the Islamic world are beginning to critique its secularized elements. In addition, unlike their predecessors, contemporary architects of the Islamic region are able to articulate the problem and define appropriate solutions. In recent years, some have actively been probing tradition in order to develop a neo-Islamic city for the twenty-first century.

The goal of this paper is to define the main elements that combinatory architecture must eliminate to focus on a neoclassical approach to Islamic modern architecture. The paper will compare two Islamic cities, Cairo and Dubai, describing their history, environment, sociological structure, and technological advances.

DIGITAL DIFFUSION OF RESEARCH: LIMITS AND POTENTIALS

J. Brooke Harrington and Judith Bing

In the study of vernacular architecture, the verification of physical space and understanding of social, cultural and economic contexts are of central importance. Today the challenge is to create new ways to share findings and invite dialogue.

Over the past twenty years, our study of early wooden structures in the Balkans has yielded publications and exhibitions on various regions and building types as well as a large archive of drawings and photographs. However, regionally produced research also exists in native languages on buildings and their sites, some of which have now been erased from the physical landscape. Our goal is to increase exposure to these deteriorating and lost building and cultural environments.

As a counterpoint, in the last few years the Internet has offered an increasing number of sites that contain images of specific buildings that survive or are being restored. Also, a number of preservation institutes and other organizations are developing sites to reveal national or cultural treasures. Within this context, we are working to develop a more appropriate way to provide open access to information across national and cultural borders in the Balkans. In some cases these borders are becoming more rigid as new and existing countries are reinterpreting and restating their cultural heritage and the physical artifacts of that heritage. This shift of presentation media and transformation of historical interpretations demands that we revisit our research material and the way it is presented. The digital world has allowed widespread promulgation of information and misinformation that can be difficult to confirm or refute.

This paper will focus on some of the most egregious examples of misinformation created as revisionist historians begin to redefine the identities of newly formed national entities. In the

Balkans, this includes examples of situations where the destruction of buildings and sites has enabled people to erase the cultural footprints of sizable minorities. Samples of our research will demonstrate how the existence of cultural artifacts have been denied or physically erased. These include historical and contemporary situations where revisionist historians, scholars, politicians and journalists have created a view of the world that is more fantasy than reality. More often than not, these biased views have become the accepted views of history.

Second, we will show our strategies for a Web model that will allow others to view a database with bibliographic notes of Balkan vernacular architectural artifacts from the eighteenth century through the last part of the twentieth century. The website is being developed to show buildings and sites we have visited and studied; to locate these sites geographically; to include an interactive database to allow access to images and information about similar building types across the Balkan peninsula; and to allow others to contribute to the base knowledge.

A GENERATIVE COMPUTATIONAL MODEL FOR THE REGENERATION OF MARRAKECH MEDINA

Joao Rocha and Jose P. Duarte

The research described in this paper is part of a larger, ongoing project to incorporate analytical and computational techniques such as design grammars (Stiny and Gips, 1972) with an existing generative design system based on genetic algorithms (Caldas, 2001). This integration is focused on the creation of new architectural spaces embedded in the traditional heritage of Islamic architecture. It takes the Marrakech medina in Morocco as a model for experimentation.

Previous work on the Zaouiya Lakhdar quarter of the Marrakech medina (Rocha, 1995) has aimed at morphologically and typologically characterizing its the urban and architectural patterns. Unveiling the potentialities of contemporary architecture from the unfolded forms of the city geography is one the aims of the project. Considering the crossover of influences in the medina, it is possible to create something original or something derivative. The paper ultimately explores the notion of communication as the true source for urban and cultural regeneration.

Population increase during the last decades has caused uncontrolled urban growth that has produced urban environments that lack the spatial richness of older historical centers. As a consequence, the socio-cultural identity of local communities has been reshaped. Previous projects carried out by architects, such as Jean François Zevaco's courtyard houses at Agadir (1963–65) and Serge Santelli's Andalous residence in Sousse (1975–80), represent two examples of how contemporary architecture can embody traditional spatial and typological features within a new context.

This paper describes research carried out to create the basis for a design system that could capture some features of the existing urban fabric and apply them in contemporary architectural design. The methodology used can be described as encompassing

four stages: 1) performing initial historical analysis to reveal the evolutionary growth of the medina; 2) understanding city morphology in relation to family structures and Islamic law; 3) identifying spatial compositional rules; and 4) encoding the complexity of urban preexistences (rules) into architectural (logical) code.

This research intends to provide a computational framework that can assist designers and urban planners in the design of urban environments that maintain traditional spatial and compositional principles while satisfying other orders of social interaction. Visual, symbolic and tagged computer implementations are briefly discussed, and novel urban and housing proposals are generated and presented.

THE MEANINGS IN TERMS: (INDIGENOUS) + (ARCHITECTURE) Anne Burgess

Definition: [*a. OF. de-, def, diffinicion (also definison), also in MSS. diff*], *n. of action from d f n re: see DEFINE. Cf. Pr. diff, deffinico, Sp. definicion, It. difinizione.*] 1. The setting of bounds or limits; limitation, restriction. *Obs. rare.*

Architecture: [*a. F. architecture (? or It. architettura), ad. L. architect ra, f. architect-us: see ARCHITECT n. and -URE.*] 1. The art or science of building or constructing edifices of any kind for human use. Regarded in this wide application, architecture is divided into civil, ecclesiastical, naval, military, which deal respectively with houses and other buildings (such as bridges) of ordinary utility, churches, ships, fortification. But architecture is sometimes regarded solely as a fine art, and then has the narrower meaning explained in quotes. 1849, 1879 below.

Architect: [*? a. F. architecte or It. architetto, ad. L. architectus, (see ARCHI-) + builder, craftsman. Several of the derivatives are formed as if on L. tect-us from teg re; e.g. architectivae, -tor, -ture.*]

Words cannot be separated from meanings, as meanings cannot be separated from intents. Definition, as described by Johnson, is “*de finire*,” “to end.” However, if this attitude is applied to architecture, definition will bring the end of architecture — sacred, and boxed. This paper proposes, instead, to interrogate and uncover the deeper layers of meaning in architectural terms. This will be approached with particular reference to colonization and its contemporary impact on Indigenous living environments in Australia.

Etymologically, the word “architecture” is derivative of the Greek “arch” (the head, or highest) and “technic” (a technical skill) — the head builder. But language is a living, moving continuum; words are redefined, absorbed and reabsorbed to suit their currency. Architecture can thus be used to describe stylistic form, such as “the architecture of the Italian Renaissance” or the “vernacular architecture of Sao Paolo.” Architecture can also describe outcomes of architectural practice, or perhaps just a few select works of esteemed architects.

The term and its derivatives are also legally protected in many countries, and by law cannot be used to describe work unless it is produced by a registered architect. If architecture alone is so difficult “*de finire*,” how much more difficult is it to understand the added meanings of vernacular, indigenous and ethno-architecture. These terms have no tacit meaning to indigenous tradition, and remain a symbol, a creation of the “other,” colonizing the indigenous built environment and rendering it acceptable to European standards of terminology.

In Australia, British traditions were imported and transposed into structural form in an alien environment. As Georgian sandstone buildings, they were built alongside *gunyahs*, *mia mias*, and *wurleys*. The tensions this created, cross-cultural conflicts of antipodean philosophies, outcomes of unwanted colonial trysts, have descended into the conflicted history of architecture for Indigenous Australians today. As architecture for Indigenous peoples in Australia struggles for definition, the terms reverberate with the same tensions of contrasting outcomes of architecture and ethno-architecture. Can these terms have relevance and agency in this postcolonial terrain?



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In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.¹

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

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

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

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

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