TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

Contents

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Dualchas Building Design, Barden House, Coll, Isle of Lewis, Outer Hebrides, 1998.
Photo courtesy of Dualchas Building Design.

Editor's Note

With this issue, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* enters its twenty-first year of publication. Throughout these years, we have tried to maintain disciplinary balance in editorial selection as well as interdisciplinarity in what we expect of our authors. In my opinion, this has been the secret of *TDSR*'s success and longevity.

Following our recent conference theme, this issue interrogates traditions and their attendant epistemologies. It begins with a reflection by David Moffat, *TDSR*'s longtime managing editor, on "IASTE at Twenty." He tracks the gradual evolution of interest within the association from a relatively unproblematized reverence for traditional design and building processes to a more nuanced understanding of tradition as a multivalent dis-course for valuing environmental qualities, and he calls for a reconnection between this powerful awareness and new practice initiatives.

Moffat's conference report is followed by four feature articles. First is Mark Gillem's examination of emergent "lifestyle centers," themed shopping venues that re-create and reimagine the American Main Street while also promoting spatial exclusion and isolation. These centers use the trope of the small town while rejecting its traditional geography. At a more human scale, we then present Charlie Hailey's historical analysis of the tradition of sleeping in the open air. By tracing the evolution from exterior sleeping porches and various other contraptions to air-conditioned bedrooms, he reveals changing concepts of modernity, health, and the value of fresh air. Tradition, in this case, has come to be defined epistemologically, no longer empirically. Next comes Daniel Maudlin's expansive examination of the complex elements of identity in Scottish residential architecture. Based on his 2008 Jeffrey Cook-award winning conference paper, the article deconstructs myths and misconceptions regarding heritage and tradition, and shows how Scotland's particular histories conflict with current planning policy. In our last article, Kate Jordan also interrogates the relationship between heritage and tradition. Her study of the Bruce Grove area of North London shows how heritage conservation may provide a powerful but shaky foundation upon which to negotiate realities of multiculturalism, gentrification, and migration.

I would like to take this opportunity to announce that the next IASTE conference will take place in Beirut, Lebanon, in December 2010, hosted by the American University of Beirut. I would also like to announce important changes to IASTE's governance structure, approved by the IASTE Advisory Council following the Oxford Conference. Although IASTE and *TDSR* will continue to be based at UC Berkeley, starting in January 2010, I will step down as IASTE director to assume the post of IASTE president. Mark Gillem of the University of Oregon, will take over as IASTE director, aided by an IASTE executive commit-tee composed of Hesham Abdelfattah of Cairo University, Heba Farouk Ahmed of Cairo University, Duanfang Lu of the University of Sydney, Mina Rajagopalan of New York University, Ipek Tureli of Brown University, and Montira Unakul of UNESCO, Bangkok. The IASTE Advisory Council, consisting of many senior scholars, will continue to advise the IASTE president. It is my sincere hope this new structure will help pass the baton to a new generation within the association, who may push it in new directions as it enters its third decade.

Nezar AlSayyad

Conference Report

Reflections on IASTE at Twenty

DAVID MOFFAT

For twenty years the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments has provided a point of contact for scholars interested in the broader social and political forces shaping the built environment. Formed at an international symposium at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1988, its original purpose was to pull together the many strands of inquiry about architecture and settlement form that have escaped the privileged lens of Western art-historical scholarship.

The association has relied on the notion of "tradition" to unify this diverse project. Early on, this implied examining the rich informal and vernacular practices of non-Western or preindustrial cultures. But in the last ten years the scope has expanded to include critical engagement with the notion of tradition, itself, and the way it is commonly deployed to value to certain modes of building over others.

Central to the work of IASTE have been its biennial conferences. Three of the first five were held in Berkeley, where the association is headquartered. But, beginning in 1998, they have been staged in locales (Bangkok, Dubai, Hong Kong, Trani, and Cairo) where attendees have also been invited to visit heritage sites and new developments which implicate discourses of tradition.

The 2008 conference, December 12–15 in Oxford, England, was no exception. Hosted by Oxford Brookes University, it featured some 140 presentations, several impressive keynote panels, bus tours of the London King's Cross redevelopment and the towns and landscapes of the Cotswold region, and walking tours of classic and modern university buildings in Oxford itself.

The connection between Oxford Brookes and IASTE is longstanding. Students and faculty from the university, and particularly its International Vernacular Architecture Unit, headed by the 2008 local conference director Marcel Vellinga, have been regular contributors to past IASTE conferences. The Oxford Brookes' professor Paul Oliver was also one of the founding members of the association, and has participated in nearly all of its gatherings.[1]

David Moffat *is the Managing Editor of* Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review.

"INTERROGATING" TRADITION

The eleventh IASTE conference also marked something of a transition within the organization. Its principal co-founder and director, Nezar AlSayyad, a professor of architecture and city and regional planning at Berkeley, is stepping down in favor of an executive panel headed by Mark Gillem, a professor of architecture at the University of Oregon. The executive committee is also to include Mina Rajagopalan of New York University, Ipek Tureli of Brown University, Heba Farouk Ahmed of Cairo University, Montira Unakul of UNESCO Bangkok, Duanfang Lu of the University of Sydney, and Hesham Abdelfattah of Cairo University. All have been students of AlSayyad and are longtime IASTE members. The official transition will happen January 1, 2010.

For years, AlSayyad has been a driving force behind IASTE, and the themes of its various conferences have been inspired by his desire to push its investigations beyond the dichotomy of "traditional" and "modern" design. This first became explicit at the 1998 conference, "Manufacturing Heritage/Consuming Tradition," which examined the popularization of heritage narratives as an element of a global tourism industry. It developed through the 2000 conference, "The End of Tradition?" which questioned the continuing value of authenticity as an attribute of tradition. More recently, the 2004 conference, "Post-Traditional Environments in a Post-Global World," and the 2006 conference, "Hyper-Traditions," have examined the appropriation of traditional forms to create deliberately fake environments that trade on symbolic associations with historic sites and building styles.[2]

The decision to include the word "interrogating" in the title of the 2008 conference ("Interrogating Tradition: Epistemologies, Fundamentalisms, Regeneration and Practices") reflected AlSayyad's interest in moving IASTE research in a deliberately political direction. The conference call for abstracts specifically invited respondents to question the motives behind discourses of tradition in the built environment. Since tradition "has become a keyword in modern global practices, . . . interrogation becomes essential in understanding the social and political contexts in which it is mobilized. Examining the intersecting discourses of tradition and the politics of its organization . . . [is] critical in identifying how socio-political identities and differences are pursued."

In particular, "the invocation of tradition has . . . become instrumental in various nationalisms, regionalisms, and fundamentalisms." To reveal these connections, interrogation involves "the epistemic exercise of understanding, framing and questioning the rationalities of tradition, their constructions of authoritative knowledges, and the contingent practices and politics through which spaces and subjectivities are constituted in the 21st century."

In stressing the need to move beyond "orthodox" and "apolitical" views of tradition, the most provocative conference subtheme involved the link between traditionalism and various forms of market and religious fundamentalism. Fundamentalist epistemologies frequently attempt to codify the ordinarily fluid processes of tradition to bolster economic self-interest, militant ideologies, or threatened cultural identities.

The conference call continued: "In examining the convergencies between fundamentalism and tradition in the context of globalization, papers can investigate how traditional knowledge is formulated and deployed in the political sphere, including the post-conflict 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."

A RANGE OF INTERESTS AND APPROACHES

As usual with IASTE conferences, the statement of theme yielded a range of responses — some tied directly to it, others to older concerns within the association. The conference also yielded work situated in a wide array of geographic locales, reflecting a spectrum of disciplinary perspectives. Since its founding, IASTE has been greatly aided by its cross-cultural stance. The view of one culture from another can be of great use in uncovering hidden and often unquestioned attitudes toward building. The interdisciplinary nature of the organization has also helped members deemphasize proprietary jargon and present their research in more accessible forms.

Two plenary panels at the 2008 conference gave a good sense of the current range of interests within the association. The first, "Fundamentalisms and Tradition," sought to demonstrate how larger social and political currents effect the shape of built environments. Its first speaker, Derek Gregory, of the University of British Columbia, examined what he called a "reenchantment" with warfare in the West, based on an ideological and moral divide between "our" war — hypermodern, using smart weapons, and motivated by humanitarianism; and "their" war — practiced with improvised weapons against civilians in the interest of a identity politics. He argued that tropes of terror, tradition and tribalism related to these ideas — in particular, as articulated in the development of U.S. counterinsurgency strategies in Iraq and Afghanistan — have altered views of the built environment, to the point of creating a "counter-city," a place of stark ethnic, religious and political division.

The second speaker, Brigitte Piquard, from Oxford Brookes, examined various ways that traditionalism has reemerged in urban contexts worldwide as a popular strategy for coping with natural disaster, social conflict, warfare, bad governance, or acts of terror. She outlined how fundamental traditionalism stresses social values; formal traditionalism stresses familiar modes of expression; and a traditionalism of resistance uses well-known symbols to oppose unpopular government policies. A fourth form, "pseudo-traditionalism," may appear in heavily disrupted societies, Piquard said,

"where newly made expressions of perceived traditions are reinvented to constitute a foundation on which forms of social linkage may be built." She presented examples of each as modes of resilience among refugees and other traumatized populations struggling to inhabit marginal or war-torn spaces.

The second plenary panel, featuring Howard Davis and Kingston Heath, both of the University of Oregon, concentrated on the "regeneration" of vernacular building processes, a longstanding concern of the association because of its ties to political self-determination and independent cultural identity. Davis argued that tradition needs to be rediscovered as a mode of practice, rather than a source of imagery. He claimed that new technologies such as global positioning systems and computer fabrication now make this possible, and offer ways to increase local control over building production — an essential characteristic of vernacular design. To capitalize on these opportunities, however, architects need to become more concerned with systems of production than final building form.

Heath argued that regional distinctiveness is the key attribute of vernacular design, rather than defined formal or historical characteristics. It emerges from a dynamic process of adaptation to situated climatic and cultural factors. In presenting examples at different scales, he showed how new ideas may be continually introduced to a given area, as technologies and populations shift, but that they must be tested against local conditions. In the end, strategies of accommodation based on substance rather than image collectively define the particularities of place.

The range of present concerns within the association was further evident in the five papers chosen as finalists for the Jeffrey Cook award, given in honor of the late University of Arizona professor and founding IASTE member.[3] These papers will be published in this and subsequent issues of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*.

"The Future Tradition of Nature," by Amy Murphy of the University of Southern California, investigated the relation between Japanese anime films and various discourses on ecology.

"The Legend of Brigadoon: Architecture, Identity and Choice in the Scottish Highlands," by Daniel Maudlin of the University of Plymouth, examined the mismatch between image and reality in the stereotyping of highland house types.

"Bruce Grove Transferred: The Role of Diverse Traditions in Historic Conservation," by Kate Jordan of the University of Portsmouth, documented the difficulties of heritage-redevelopment strategies in a culturally mixed area of London.

"From Sleeping Porch to Sleeping Machine: Inverting Traditions of Fresh Air in North America," by Charlie Hailey of the University of Florida, traced changing notions of healthy sleeping in American domestic architecture.

And "Stealth Gentrification: Camouflage and Commerce on the Lower East Side," by Lara Belkind of Harvard University, probed the deliberately obscure, hip-cultural transformation of a formerly low-income area of New York City.

SHIFTS OF FOCUS

As an interdisciplinary organization, IASTE has long engaged in soul-searching as to its purpose. This has largely reflected shifts in the way the discourse of tradition has been organized in relation to the notion of modernism. One of IASTE's original points of departure was that the handing down of traditions from one generation to the next was central to the development of a rich kaleidoscope of cultural symbolisms and the craft skills needed to execute them. This was interrupted by modernism, which proposed uniform standards of design to be developed and deployed across cultures.

As several speakers at the 2008 conference noted, however, scholars of the built environment only started talking about tradition as an alternative value system when modernity's failures were becoming widely proclaimed. As understanding of modernity has changed and adapted, splintered and reformed, and as the dynamics of tradition have been reexamined, this concern has yielded to a more complex, nuanced view.

The formation of a built territory remains central to every culture. And, even in the modern era, this involves forces and practices that purport to be beyond question. Authoritative narratives based on "the way things have always been done" are usually created to maintain the predominance of certain social or perceptual constructs. In vernacular settings, this can be seen as relatively benign, a response to a basic need to create value and meaning through a common sense of artistry. But it can also be interpreted through a more political prism as a way to order the built world to reinforce the interests of certain groups over others.

Within IASTE, the latter emphasis has led to many studies of how design practice has been used to dominate and reorganize the territory of non-Western peoples. Over the years, papers have dealt with the formation of cities as instruments of European colonial domination. Others have targeted how "native" traditions have become integral to the ways of the colonizers. Still others have examined the struggle of postcolonial societies to reckon with their mixed heritages.

In this regard, IASTE research has also shown how — nativist and essentialist claims to the contrary — all cultures are to some extent hybrid. And it has revealed how traditions migrate and change over time and distance, as societies adapt building elements from one another, deal with shifting economies and environmental crises, and endure cultural and political conflict and restructuring.

The most recent evidence of these processes has been the rise of an integrated, worldwide consumer economy. "Traditional" design elements from hundreds of cultures are now freely deployed to add value and appeal to the developments of a global real estate industry. The way these meanings are constituted offers a rich vein of scholarship, exposing how "hyper" traditions now employ elements whose value as displaced signs may far exceed their original

function or cultural significance. Likewise, IASTE has become increasingly concerned with the dislocation of heritage value, exposing how invocations of traditional building practices may sometimes be used to displace the very people who devised and once practiced them.

QUESTIONS OF PURPOSE

In a final plenary session at the 2008 conference, Greig Crysler of the University of California, Berkeley, Dianne Harris of the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, and Mark Jarzombek of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology were assigned to reflect on some of these issues, summarize the content of four days of presentations, and speculate on the future of the association.

Crysler noted how IASTE's focus on the value of tradition has migrated from what James Clifford called the "ethnographic pastoral" to critical engagement with the commodification of traditional forms and sites. He argued that the uneven development and seizure of emblematic heritage assets in a globalized economy may actually increase the marginalization of disadvantaged groups. By contrast, benign and emancipatory epistemologies of tradition are "conjugated in terms of community," and resist the branded notions of cultural authenticity needed to market traditions to a global audience. IASTE's job is to understand and communicate the difference.

Harris pointed out that children learn early how appeals to tradition can justify almost any desire, and that this can lead to outright fabrications of the sense of authenticity. On the other hand, the discovery and repetition of this narrative in every cultural context may constitute a conceptual and theoretical dead end because it narrows the scope of interpretation. She argued that what makes the interdisciplinary work of IASTE special is its fine-grained analysis of the built environment and its reflections on how building may be used to assert many kinds of identity.

Jarzombek began wryly by observing, "Tradition ain't what it used to be." The shift of views in the last two decades is nowhere more evident, he said, than in the fact the association is no longer championing tradition, supporting it, or even weeping over its loss — instead, it is interrogating it. Not everyone has arrived at the same point, however: some may still be lamenting tradition's loss; others may only be discovering the means of its fabrication. Nevertheless, as a mode of resistance, tradition can no longer be deployed against the evils of modernism and commodification because it has been subsumed within that world. As a result, scholars must interrogate their own motives at the same time they interrogate traditions themselves.

This theme of self-awareness came up repeatedly in subsequent comments from the floor and by panel members. Several speakers noted how one person's exercise of tradition

may be another's experience of oppression. They observed that researchers must always be aware of whose heritage is being privileged, for what purpose, and to whose benefit.

Others, however, pointed out that tradition provides a powerful tool of common understanding, especially when wielded in cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary manner. In this regard, Gillem noted that the interdisciplinary nature of the organization would remain central to its mission.

Marcel Vellinga also argued that there is a profound lack of direction in the shaping of contemporary built environments. While understanding of the processes of tradition may have moved beyond a dichotomy with modernity, many populations remain profoundly disconnected from the worlds in which they live. A regeneration of traditional building practices might also have the more immediate effect of helping to address global problems such as climate change.

It was left to Dell Upton of UCLA to challenge such relatively sanguine views. As a discussant in the first plenary session he had noted that formulations of tradition may be highly sophisticated but culturally naïve. Following Paul Bourdieu, he suggested it is perhaps better to understand culture as a set of constantly changing principles. Academic discourse tends to reify this diffuse and heterogeneous reality. This may be one reason for the continuing disappointment of those who view tradition as a form of enduring cultural capital that can be used to resist or assist economic development and political change.

As a group, he said, IASTE members are still in the habit of talking about tradition as if it were a coherent structure instead of a complex strategy in a complex world. The sense that much IASTE research is telling the same story over and over may derive from the fact that it is a fairly uniform group that has invested itself in only one interpretative paradigm. In reality, tradition is never the same thing.

LOOKING AHEAD

As IASTE enters its third decade, it can only be strengthened by such questionings of purpose. Several members noted how they were originally attracted to the association because it embraced an "uncanon" of architectural scholarship. Others noted that IASTE has long tried to make room for the quirky and improvident as well as the normative and well-to-do. As Crysler also pointed out, the association has tried to upset categories and definitions and resist the development of a stable, bounded intellectual domain.

In this effort it has been remarkably successful. Much of this has been based on the flexible definition of tradition provided by AlSayyad: "Tradition is a dynamic project for the interpretation of a past in the service of a particular position in the present and for the purposes of a specific imagined future."

Based on this definition, IASTE now provides a platform for understanding the situated nature of building practices

— be they vernacular, modern or popular. And many of its criticisms have been absorbed within other organizations such as the Society of Architectural Historians and the Vernacular Architecture Forum.

But the time may have come to ask whether criticism is enough. If the association's principal concern is ethics, as Harris suggested, this may require new modes of engagement with a world in crisis. The link between criticism and practice is never direct. But perhaps now that IASTE has interpreted and interrogated the uses of tradition, it is time to ask what has been learned. What proposals can be made with respect to the production of new built environments for the twenty-first century?

NOTES

1. IVAU also played a major role in coordinating work on the *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, edited by Oliver. Its complementary volume, *The Atlas of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, by Oliver, Vellinga, and cartographer Alexander Bridge, was published by Routledge in 2007.
2. Three edited books have emerged from IASTE conferences. They are Nezar AlSayyad and Jean-Paul Bourdier, eds., *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition: Cross Cultural Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988); Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism* (London: Routledge, 2001); and Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *The End of Tradition?* (London: Routledge, 2004).
3. The award is given to the two best papers submitted in advance to the conference. This year's winners were Amy Murphy and Daniel Maudlin.

Make-Believe Main Streets:
Hyperreality and the Lifestyle Center

MARK GILLEM

This article examines a new type of shopping venue known as the lifestyle center — an open-air retail mall that borrows and distorts elements of the traditional American Main Street. The article recaps the popular notion of Main Street as a place and an image, examines the character of the lifestyle center and its present commercial success, and provides a detailed look at its residential component. It then analyzes three recently completed projects. Unlike traditional Main Streets, these new shopping complexes are built far from the center of any existing town, and rather than integrating with older areas of urban fabric, they tend to rely on conditions of social and spatial isolation.

> *Main Street, U.S.A., is America at the turn of the century — the crossroads of an era. The gas lamps and the electric lamps, the horse drawn car and the auto car. Main Street is everyone's home town . . . the heartland of America.*
>
> — Walt Disney[1]

On August 24, 2006, another chapter began in America's long experimentation with shopping center design. Ten thousand residents of the Dayton, Ohio, area had their first chance to "go for The Greene," a new retail center modeled on a traditional American Main Street.[2] As the crowds streamed in, they had little way of knowing that just two days before, the place had looked more like a war zone than a shopping center. Broken glass had littered the sidewalks; dumpsters had overflowed with construction debris; and bits of paper and cardboard had danced in the breeze. The transformation completed by opening day was amazing: visitors gawked at an immaculately cleaned and manicured landscape containing a small village green, half a million square feet of high-end shops, a fourteen-screen movie theater, and fifteen restaurants.[3]

By all accounts it was an impressive event. While a number of shops and the upscale apartments were not yet completed, most stores and restaurants were open as scheduled. Guests easily endured two-hour waits at the restaurants; but with their vibrating pagers, they

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FIGURE 1. *Sanctifying the shopping mall. (Left to right) Father James Bartlett, Pastor Doug Roe, Yaromir Steiner, Brother Tarif Hourani, and Rabbi Emeritus Samuel Fox at the "blessing" held during The Greene's groundbreaking ceremony on April 6, 2004. Source: www.steiner.com.*

could continue shopping until their tables were ready. The most popular public attraction was the dry-deck fountain in the middle of the green, where kids of all ages ran in an out of random bursts of water, screaming and laughing. Meanwhile, television cameras recorded the festivities, and newspaper reporters roamed the crowd looking for colorful quotes.

Over the course of the next year, the developer, Yaromir Steiner, anticipated the project would receive 18 million visitors.[4] Given the area's population of less than 700,000, this meant that every local resident might be expected to visit The Greene twenty-five times in the coming year.[5] As "The Saints Go Marching In" was played by the Dayton Jazz Orchestra, the crowd marched into the shops and restaurants with their credit cards and checkbooks at the ready. Such religious references were hardly out of character with the center's marketing strategy. After all, at the center's ground-breaking two

years earlier, Steiner had surrounded himself with an ecumenical group of distinguished local clergy (FIG.1).

The Greene is just one of many lifestyle centers across the country that now incorporate places to shop, live, work and play in faux Main Street settings. This article traces the origins of this phenomenon in nostalgia for the traditional American shopping street, beginning with Disneyland's Main Street, U.S.A. It then focuses on three cases: Bay Street in Emeryville, California; Santana Row in San Jose, California; and The Greene in Dayton, Ohio. These projects demonstrate the power of private capital in an era of municipal decline. All three were built using "innovative" public-private partnerships that forced the public to underwrite private gain. They also typify a new retailing model that leverages tradition by seeking to re-create a streetscape abandoned a generation ago by public agencies, and destroyed by the very companies now seeking to profit from its revival.

The article suggests that these new Main Streets are simulacra — make-believe, hyperreal manifestations of a world that has largely disappeared. Patrons of lifestyle centers inhabit a spatial dimension that has little to do with an accurate reproduction of older Main Streets. Rather, their reality is that of the shopping mall, with a focus on consumption over community.

THE TRADITIONAL MAIN STREET

Across America, towns, both large and small, historically anchored their commercial centers on what in many cases was simply called "Main Street" (FIG.2). As the name implies, this was a place central to the function and image of the town. It accommodated both vehicles and pedestrians; hosted parades, fairs, and other civic events; and was lined by commercial,

FIGURE 2. *A traditional Main Street in McPherson, Kansas (founded in 1872). McPherson's Main Street is one of 22 in Kansas and 1,200 nationwide participating in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street program.*

civic, and residential structures. Because such Main Streets are the prototype for today's lifestyle centers, it is important to understand their design and use — both real and imagined.

In most American towns, including Walt Disney's hometown of Marceline, Missouri, Main Street, as it emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was typically part of a simple street pattern. As historian Richard Francaviglia has pointed out, its "rectilinear layout may be unimaginative, but its straight lines and its predictability reflected the street's straightforward function — commerce."[6] Simplicity was no doubt valued because it sped the process of design and construction, which resulted in quicker building occupancies. In addition, the central location of the street and the parallel configuration of its buildings helped spatially define a commercial zone for newly established towns. With usually just enough space for an ample sidewalk out front, the buildings formed a continuous "wall" that provided a sense of enclosure and urbanity.

Within the public realm, other design features contributed to the prototypical Main Street. These included on-street parking, regularly spaced street trees, and distinctive street furniture; more parking might be found behind the buildings in surface lots. Many Main Streets also provided civic open space, providing a setting for parades and other civic events. And in many towns, Main Street terminated in or incorporated a civic square or green — as part of an urban design strategy in which city halls, courthouses and churches anchored key intersections, terminated important vistas, or surrounded the town square.

Main Street typically supported three primary uses: commercial, civic and residential.[7] Structures were commonly two and three stories tall, with shops on the ground floor and residential and office uses above. According to historian Richard Longstreth, the inclusion of housing above retail was a key attribute of Main Street.[8] The design vocabulary of these mixed-use buildings also created a unified image. Connected buildings formed a continuous row along the street; large ground floor storefronts advertised products for sale; smaller windows punctuated the floors above; and low-sloped or flat roofs were hidden behind sometimes elaborate parapets.

Main Streets began to decline following World War II, as their retail and commercial tenants relocated to suburban shopping centers and office parks. These new developments were financed by government-backed loans for returning veterans, accessed by a growing network of federally funded highways, and supported by local real estate interests eager to benefit from a new land boom.[9]

The final blow to Main Street came with the rise of the enclosed shopping mall, the brainchild of architect Victor Gruen. Gruen had hoped the mall would help strengthen communities and benefit businesses and consumers by concentrating complementary shops. Instead, malls led to the demise of Main Streets as the social and economic hubs of towns across the United States.[10]

RISE OF THE LIFESTYLE CENTER

Despite its loss of centrality in many towns, the emotional and aesthetic appeal of Main Street — as a place where a community could gather, shop, and do business — lives on as a symbol, immortalized in films and romanticized in songs.[11] Typical of this nostalgia is Main Street, U.S.A., the scaled reproduction at the entrance to Disneyland, modeled on the Main Streets Walt Disney remembered from his Midwestern boyhood.

The image of Main Street has now also become the model for the latest fad in retailing — the lifestyle center. The irony here, according to community advocate Stacey Mitchell, is that "developers and retail chains have taken the very thing they destroyed, Main Street, and are selling it back to people in the form of the lifestyle center."[12]

In the ever-evolving world of retail, development is driven by a continuing, elusive struggle for market share. Just when a position seems secure, it will slip away as a new model appears. In the latest move in this game of one-upmanship, high-end shops are relocating from the shopping malls of the 1980s and 1990s to lifestyle centers — places devoid of traditional anchor stores and enclosed pedestrian spaces. These new venues are designed to mimic the traditional and much-loved Main Streets. It is this nostalgic image that the marketeers for Ann Taylor, Banana Republic, and the Gap are counting on to lure a new generation of customers.

The enclosed mall is dead — replaced by the street. But this is no longer a public street; it is a private world patrolled by rent-a-cops and subject to closing times. In this respect, the lifestyle center is more similar to Disney's diminutive Main Street than the real thing. However, unlike the scaled-down version in Disneyland, developers have scaled-up these spaces to meet a demand for economies of scale. Large retail floorplates, parking areas sized for complete auto-dependency, and monotonous rows of stacked flats are the new reality. Nor are these streets "Main" anymore. They are disconnected from the surrounding urban fabric and turn a blank wall to the public realm.

This new model for retail design is becoming widespread. The International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC) defines a lifestyle center as any open-air shopping mall with at least 50,000 square feet of upscale, specialty retail space.[13] ICSC numbers show these centers are fast replacing enclosed shopping malls. In 2006, developers built one enclosed mall. By contrast, they built more than sixty lifestyle centers in 2005 and 2006.[14]

According to Michael Southworth, the reason for the surge in demand for such places is that "people are experiencing mall saturation or 'mall fatigue' and have become bored with the inwardly focused, disconnected and placeless suburban shopping center."[15] He has also suggested that "developers have come to realize there is something about Main Street that people want, and if malls are going to survive,

they are going to have to have some of the features of Main Street."[16] These features, however, will not be the small-scale, local businesses once at the heart of most Main Streets. Nor will they include the public places that once occupied prominent positions on many Main Streets; libraries, city halls, and churches are not part of the pro-forma. Rather, developers are trying to capitalize on image — to use imageability to capture market share.

Today's lifestyle centers are simulacra — in the sense developed by social theorist Jean Baudrillard.[17] They are not simple copies of bygone Main Streets; nor are they fantasies without a prototype. Rather, they are hyperreal manifestations that consume the prototype they are meant to emulate. The reproduction has become the new reality.

Richard Francaviglia has argued that the traditional Main Street presumed high levels of income and "a spatially focused population indoctrinated in the virtues of consumption."[18] But products and services are not the only things being consumed along the new Main Streets — so is the image of Main Street as a place of refuge and delight. In today's "overcrowded marketplace," Margaret Crawford has argued, "imagery has become increasingly critical as a way of attracting particular shops and facilitating acts of consumption."[19] The image of Main Street sells, and developers are using it to tap the $2 trillion that Americans spend each year at shopping malls.[20]

Lifestyle centers also employ the superficial symbols of Main Street to conceal a new set of social relations based on consumption. In arguing for his concept of simulacra, Baudrillard wrote that contemporary society has replaced reality with signs: lived experience is reality simulated rather than actual reality.[21] The forms of communication a society employs, he also wrote, determine its social relations. In this sense, the lifestyle center is a form of communication that privileges consumption in hyperreal settings.

The notion of "lifestyle" is key to this reality. The lifestyle center is popular because it simulates a more complete urban experience. But the life these centers are responding to is one of pressure, multitasking, lack of time, and a consequent desire for convenience. According to Yaromir Steiner, developer of The Greene, this creates a demand for an integrated experience that collocates shopping, dining, entertainment, and even housing.[22]

In competition with older enclosed malls, lifestyle centers also present more basic economic advantages. For instance, common area maintenance (CAM) charges at Bayer Property's lifestyle centers average less than half the norm for enclosed malls ($6 per square foot vs. $15 per square foot).[23] There are many reasons for the savings: exterior asphalt paving is less expensive to maintain than interior tiled floors; HVAC systems are only needed for leasable space; and high maintenance roofs are not needed for common spaces.

Construction costs are also lower. After all, paving a street with asphalt is less expensive than tiling a pedestrian mall. And developers can place lifestyle centers in smaller

areas than regional malls, making them suitable to urban brownfields as well as suburban greenfields.[24] Moreover, sales per square foot are typically higher at lifestyle centers ($298 vs. $242).[25] At the most popular centers, like Easton Town Center outside of Columbus, Ohio, this rate can easily top $550 per square foot.[26] Apparently, the "experience" of the lifestyle center is attractive to affluent buyers who can afford $100 ties and $300 handbags at specialty outlets like Gucci and Banana Republic.

Developers David Scholl and Robert Williams have argued that lifestyle centers modeled after "Main Street, U.S.A." can evoke a sense of place by offering a complete experience that includes places to shop, dine and play.[27] Pedestrian-scaled streets, fountains, village-like parks, and quaint sidewalk cafes contribute substantially to this experience. These settings can be built rather economically out of asphalt, concrete, stucco-clad frame buildings, simulated historical details, and canvas awnings. Missing, however, are the attributes that once made Main Street a center of community — public buildings, plazas, parks and churches. Traditional Main Streets were never simply places to shop.

The most striking difference between many lifestyle centers and older shopping malls is the housing the former may include. While pod-like apartment complexes have long grown up around shopping malls, they reflect the view that housing and commerce should be completely separate. They are also frequently divided from one another by multilane arterial roads with few places for pedestrians to cross. Even if pedestrians can cross these wide streets, they have to navigate a maze of parked cars to reach the front doors.

The addition of housing to the "product mix" of a lifestyle center is a quality-of-life issue, Yaromir Steiner has argued. "People want places to sit out and eat lunch, and offices in walking distance and residences nearby. The mixed-use approach leans toward this lifestyle."[28] With low vacancies and high rents, housing in lifestyle centers is proving extremely profitable. According to Steiner: "Single-use retail environments, whether malls, power centers, lifestyle centers or neighborhood centers will soon be the exception rather than the rule."[29]

The effort has also been praised as an innovative effort to achieve suburban densification. Advocates of The New Urbanism have long argued for denser suburbs and town centers as a way to mitigate the effects of sprawl.[30] Now developers of lifestyle centers are responding, building flats, lofts, townhouses and condominiums above their stores.

In many urban settings, residential densities at a lifestyle center may reach a respectable twenty to thirty dwelling units per acre. However, in suburban settings, their densities of two to three units per acre are not much different from a typical subdivision.[31] Nevertheless, the units provide a new option in environments that have historically offered little choice. Until lifestyle centers emerged, most suburban residents could choose either a single-family subdi-

FIGURE 3. *Bay Street runs north-south and terminates in the sixteen-screen AMC theater. The narrow site is bounded by Interstate 80 to the west and several active railroad tracks to the east. The north half of the development has two mixed-use buildings on both sides of Bay Street. The south half has the theater, bookstore, and second-level food court. Source: Google Earth.*

FIGURE 4. *The site of Santana Row is roughly bounded by Stevens Creek Boulevard on the north, Winchester Boulevard on the west, Olsen Drive on the south, and Hatton Street on the east. Santana Row runs north-south down the center of the site. Parking garages face most of Winchester Boulevard and parking lots face Hatton Street. The movie theater (B) is south of Olsen Drive and Park Valencia (A) is west of the hotel. Source: Google Earth.*

vision or a multifamily apartment complex. Now residential units in the mixed-use buildings of lifestyle centers are in high demand and command substantial premiums over typical multifamily settings **(FIGS.3,4).**

    The isolated locations of lifestyle centers clearly still distinguish them from traditional Main Streets. But their open-air environment is a far more appealing destination than the hermetically sealed world of the shopping mall. Patrons can park in convenient rear garages instead of massive open lots. And, perhaps most significantly, the featured spaces in a lifestyle center are for gathering rather than shopping. Lifestyle centers rarely depend on typical anchor department stores. Macy's, Dillard's, and J.C. Penney are no longer the draw. Rather, according to Mike Duffey of Steiner and

Associates, "The anchors (in lifestyle centers) are the more traditional things that you used to see in towns — a large bookstore, a cluster of restaurants, a movie theater, a town square."[32]

Nathan Fishkin of Federal Realty Investment Trust, developer of Santana Row, has argued that "The place itself is the anchor."[33] Yaromir Steiner has gone further. He has suggested that his town centers are anchored by "authentic public spaces, consisting of streets and sidewalks, plazas and squares, fountains and parks — all the places available for both public enjoyment and civic functions."[34]

Successful developers seem to have learned the lesson of Manhattan's Central Park and Philadelphia's Rittenhouse

Square: urban open space can add value to adjacent private development.[35]

BAY STREET: THE "ANTI-MALL"?

Built on what was once heavily polluted industrial land, Bay Street in Emeryville, California, is a 1,200-foot-long, three-block version of Main Street that includes two to four levels of housing on top of ground-floor retail (FIGS.5,6). Its developer calls its constituent form the "neotraditional Main Street block."[36]
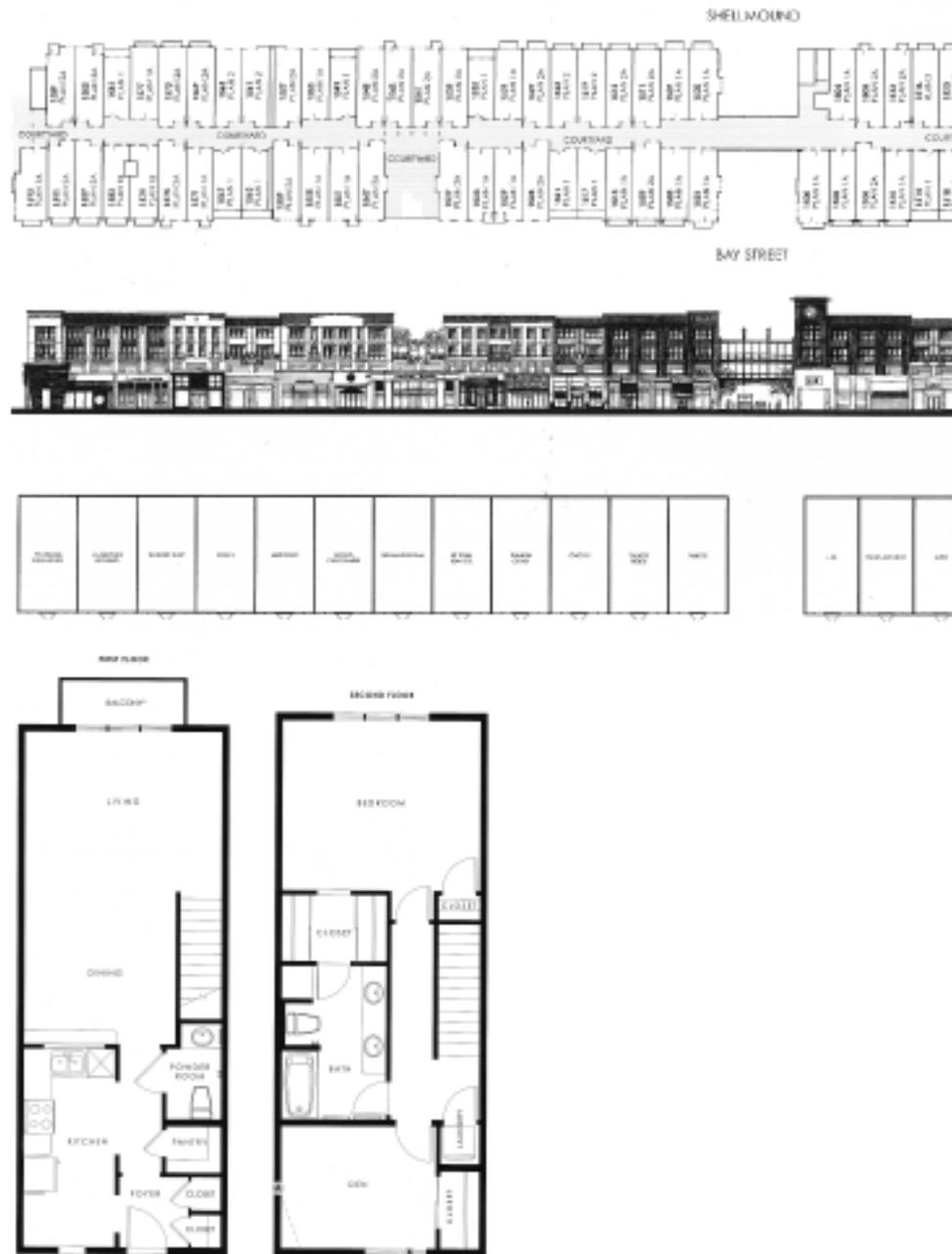
FIGURE 5. *Mixing uses along Bay Street. A parking garage is sandwiched between two-level townhouses (plan top) and ground floor retail (plan bottom). The continuous building has elevations that imply differently. Source: Bay Street One, Emeryville, California.*

FIGURE 6. *Townhouse plan, Bay Street. This one-bedroom, 1.5-bathroom unit has a den and balcony. Units facing west have a view of the Golden Gate Bridge. The entry opens to a pedestrian walk on the garage podium. Source: Bay Street One, Emeryville, California.*

FIGURE 7. *Bay Street's private side. Although a bit more cramped than a traditional Main Street, Bay Street has many of its elements, including mixed-use buildings with ground-floor retail below housing and on-street parking. Bay Street, however, is a private street and shuts down when the stores close.*

FIGURE 8. *Bay Street's public side. The project's west elevation turns a blank wall to the existing public realm. Without sidewalks or storefront windows, pedestrians are clearly discouraged from spending time on public land. The garage fenestration is visible below the townhouse balconies.*

Bay Street's 400,000 square feet of retail space and 379 housing units occupy a narrow strip of land between Interstate 80 and a heavily used railroad corridor. Along its interior street, on-street parking, storefront windows, and detailed facades provide a carefully controlled image (**FIG.7**). But it turns a blank face to the outside (**FIG.8**). One reason is that nearly two thousand parking spaces are placed either behind the retail buildings or sandwiched between the retail and residential floors.

Like other lifestyle centers, Bay Street offers an array of brand-name outlets (Ann Taylor Loft, Banana Republic, Gap, J. Jill, Pottery Barn, Victoria's Secret, etc.), a movie theater (sixteen screens), a bookstore (two-level Barnes and Noble), and eleven restaurants (including the staple of many lifestyle centers, P.F. Chang's China Bistro). But in an odd departure from other lifestyle centers, many of the restaurants cluster around a second-level outdoor food court that feels more like a shopping mall than a Main Street.

The Jerde Partnership, which designed this multilevel imitation Main Street, is no stranger to this type of project. Jon Jerde and his firm have designed dozens of large retail complexes, including San Diego's Horton Plaza and Minnesota's Mall of America. According to the firm's promotional materials:

> *Jerde Placemaking reinvents the authentic urban experience that has often been lost by modern planning. The world's great cities evolved naturally over centuries, their town squares, streets, and public marketplaces serving as commercial and social centers. The organizations and forms of early cities organically grew out of the natural pedestrian paths people used to move into, about and through them, and these patterns informed the cities' distinct characters, particular forms and mix of uses.[37]*

An authentic urban experience is clearly more than a trip to an open-air shopping mall. On the other hand, when the intended sense of authenticity is itself deliberately fake,

the designers just have to work harder. In this regard, the main problem in Emeryville was that a pedestrian experience had to be "reinvented" where it had never before existed.

Emeryville never had a traditional, walkable commercial center; it was an industrial town. Easy access to all modes of transportation helped make it one of the longest-operating industrial areas in the San Francisco Bay Area. However, as older industries became obsolete, this gritty city's central location — across the Bay Bridge from San Francisco, north of Oakland, and south of Berkeley — made it ideal for redevelopment. In the 1990s, power centers, strip malls, and enormous destination retail outlets became Emeryville's chosen new industry. In 2002, condominiums and lofts also began replacing paint factories and other fading industrial uses. Bay Street merely followed these trends.

The sequence of events leading to Bay Street's construction offers important lessons. The City of Emeryville initially spent more than $36 million to acquire the five parcels that make up the project area (in some cases using its power of eminent domain). It then arranged for the area to be cleaned of toxic chemicals before any developers even showed interest in it.[38]

According to Ignacio Dayrit, a redevelopment specialist for the city, the soil on site was contaminated with arsenic, pesticides, and petroleum products.[39] It had at various times been used by the makers of paints, insecticides, and sulfur. Yet, according to Emeryville's economic development director, Pat O'Keefe, the city "could not advance the retail concept any further without getting control of the site and clearing it."[40]

The Bay Street case indicates how a legacy of poorly regulated private industry eventually became a public burden. While the paint companies and pesticide makers used and polluted the land for decades, they were never held accountable. Instead, taxpayers assumed responsibility for cleaning up the mess — in order to transfer the site to another private enterprise.[41] In effect, this externalized long-term costs to the public and internalized profits to the private sector.

After the clean-up, Madison Marquette acquired the property with plans to develop it as a lifestyle center. According to P. Eric Hohmann, Madison Marquette's vice president for acquisitions and development: "This is the antimall. We would like to think that Bay Street is currently the next thing in the evolution of the shopping center."[42] Judging by the numbers, Hohmann is correct. He is also correct in labeling Bay Street a shopping center, because that is what it is, despite its heavy-handed effort to include housing above the stores.

Nevertheless, according to Hohmann: "Our goal is to make it look like a public street. If you think it's a private street, we've failed in our design intent."[43] But if one scans the informational kiosks, the list of rules and regulations makes it clear this is not true public space. There are curfews, dress codes, and behavior standards — the new face of "public" space.

For its part, the City of Emeryville was not interested in building a network of attractive streets and open spaces. Instead, its planners and politicians turned the task over to the private sector. In return, the city was relieved of having to fund, build, maintain and secure a real public realm.

SANTANA ROW: IN SEARCH OF A "WORLD-CLASS MAIN STREET"

Imagine walking along a classic Main Street, under an arcade, past engaging displays in tastefully designed storefronts, around a green filled with parents and children out for a sunny afternoon, to a small square with oak trees shading sidewalk cafes and small fountains. Today, however, you do not have to travel to a medieval Italian town such as Pordenone or Bologna to have this experience; you can have it at Santana Row, a lifestyle center about three miles west of downtown San Jose, California (FIGS.9,10). This ambitious, 1,500-foot-long, three-block development lies perpendicular to Stevens Creek Boulevard — an eight-lane arterial that par-

allels Interstate 280. It features seventy shops, twenty restaurants, five spas, a 213-room boutique hotel, and 1,200 apartments and condominiums above the shops.

Like other lifestyle centers, Santana Row includes all the usual lifestyle retail outlets. But it also includes some decidedly lower-end big-box stores — Best Buy and Crate and Barrel. These hug the little-used sidewalk along auto-dominated Stevens Creek Boulevard. Otherwise, blank walls, parking lots, and garages conceal Santana Row's pedestrian-oriented interior from the outside.

In other ways, however — in terms of its length, building typologies, and open spaces — Santana Row mimics a Main Street of a century ago (updated to include a more upscale, European sensibility). This is no surprise, since it was designed by Street-Works, an urban design and development firm based in Virginia. Its projects frequently emphasize a Main Street theme.[44] And at Santana Row, the designers used their experience to convert a failing open-air shopping center, Town and Country Village, built in the 1960s, into an urban village.

Santana Row was one of the first West Coast lifestyle centers to combine living and shopping. According to Federal Realty Investment Trust, the developer, the site offered the opportunity to build "an architecturally stunning new neighborhood combining residential and retail space where people could live, work, shop, dine, and enjoy time together."[45] The approach included using "the best of European and American town design to create a beautiful, world-class shopping/living district in the heart of Silicon Valley, combining old-world features and high-tech comfort into a charming ambiance."[46] This even involved reconstructing a nineteenth-century French chapel (now a flower shop) and incorporating seventeen fountains, some built with materials collected in Europe.[47]

In Santana Row, Federal Realty deliberately tried to recapture the allure of urban life. "Every city relies on

FIGURE 9. (LEFT) *As with Bay Street, four- and five-story mixed-use buildings frame Santana Row's heavily landscaped main street.*
FIGURE 10. (RIGHT) *Park Valencia, Santana Row. This 100-foot-by-150-foot area, framed by a hotel and mixed-use building, looks like a public park but is controlled by the private developers.*

vibrant neighborhoods," according to the company's promotional material. "For most, this means a place to relax, shop or meet a friend for coffee and a stroll along a sunny, tree-lined street. Our mission is to create urban spaces that are not just shopping centers, but dynamic, people- and pedestrian-oriented places that locals can look forward to visiting again and again."[48] At Santana Row, the avowed goal was also to create a "world-class Main Street, perhaps a new urban paradigm for America."[49]

Despite the promotional material, Federal Realty's experience has soured it to the concept of mixed-use Main Streets — in part because of unforeseen problems. After a disastrous fire at Santana Row in August 2002 (two months before its opening) and difficulty leasing its retail areas, its CEO, Steve Guttman, was forced to resign. Later that year the company officially announced that it would stop the risky practice of building mixed-use projects.[50] According to the current CEO, Don Wood, "building an instant city is considerably harder than a standard development. Santana Row took seven years to complete."[51]

Nevertheless, Santana Row benefits from one of the nation's most dynamic economies. The average household income within a four-mile radius is a stunning $112,000 — 2.6 times the national average.[52] And while the dot-com and housing busts have hurt Silicon Valley, the area remains an attractive market, and retailers can depend on a high "threshold demand."[53] Indeed, many of these residents can be seen cruising Santana Row's Main Street in Ferraris, Jaguars and Mercedes.

Despite the developer hype surrounding Santana Row, critics have attacked its staged aesthetic. John King of the *San Francisco Chronicle* called it "cubic zirconia of the highest grade . . . a make-believe Main Street filled with $285 scarves and $3,300 a month lofts."[54] He wryly noted that the new Main Street retail concept is little more than a shopping center with housing on top.[55] Meanwhile, Thaddeus Herrick of the *Wall Street Journal* called such places "faux downtowns."[56]

Metroactive's Traci Vogel wrote that "Strolling around Santana Row . . . certainly doesn't feel like walking around in a mall. It feels more like walking around on a movie set. . . ."[57]

These are harsh words for what developers know is a popular "product." Yet they reflect its essential characteristics. In these hyperreal Main Streets, high-end apartments and perfectly proportioned streetscapes are not designed for lasting communities, but for hyperconsumption. Architect Victor Gruen learned much the same lesson in the 1960s. While he hoped his shopping malls would promote an American ideal and build community, they in fact produced settings where corporate capitalism could overpower local businesses.[58]

THE GREENE: A NEW TOWN FOR AN OLD SUBURB

Like other lifestyle centers, The Greene has housing, shops, restaurants, a movie theater, and a multilevel bookstore all designed around a Main Street theme (**FIG.11**). And like other centers, it is insulated from the surrounding context by parking lots and garages (**FIG.12**). Located on a 72-acre parcel in the affluent suburb of Beavercreek, the 800,000-square-foot center hopes to capitalize on what its developer, Steiner and Associates, called an "under-retailed and under-restauranted" area. How did the developer know the area was under-retailed? By comparing its retail square footage per capita (5.2) with the national average (6.3). This helped make the case that the area's 500,000 people would support a new "town center."

The Greene, however, may not be such a win-win project for Beavercreek. At the 1.1-million-square-foot Mall at Fairfield Commons just two miles north, signs of retail decay are already becoming evident: several big-box stores sit vacant, and numerous other smaller shops are underperforming.

In the cannibalistic world of shopping malls, Fairfield Commons superceded the Dayton Mall, two miles south of where The Greene has been built. And ten years ago it was

FIGURE 11. *Three levels of apartments sit atop The Greene's ground-floor retail. With its "village green," historical lamps, on-street parking, and wide sidewalks, the development provides a "public" realm in a city built without one.*

FIGURE 12. *The Greene's public face. Like Bay Street, the perimeter of this development is less than welcoming to its neighbors (a Tudor-style apartment complex can be seen in the background). Two parking garages (one shown above) and several surface lots form its defensive perimeter.*

Fairfield Commons that was making headlines. Since 1993, however, the hardwood forest where it was built has been transformed into a traffic-choked series of supercenters and parking lots. Meanwhile, the Dayton Mall has declined into a second-class venue with failing pavement in mostly empty parking lots, vacant shops, cracked floor tiles, and abandoned storefronts. The Greene may pose a similar threat for Fairfield Commons.

Like many other lifestyle centers, The Greene received public subsidies to support its $186 million construction cost — in this case $14.8 million in city-backed loans and special assessments to defray a portion of its infrastructure expenses.[59] This subsidy was not without critics. A local advocacy group, Citizens to Protect Taxpayers, formed to challenge the funding, and eventually collected 2,311 signatures to bring the matter to a public vote. However, in March of 2005, Beavercreek's city attorney, Stephen McHugh, invalidated the 199-sheet petition on a technicality: the group did not submit certified copies of city ordinances passed in support of the project with their petitions.

Following this decision, residents packed a city council meeting to protest the transfer of their tax dollars to a profitable developer. But it appeared the fix was in for Steiner and Associates; a little democracy was not going to slow the project. Flo Thompson, chairwoman of the citizens group said she did not know about the requirement to submit copies of the city's own ordinances with the petition, and the city did nothing to inform her of it.[60] And at the council meeting, Paula Baker, one of the petition-gatherers, compared developers to a swarm of locusts. "They come in and get the money and they are gone and we are left with what remains."[61]

Countering this sentiment were comments by Greene County Administrator Howard Poston, who argued that the development could have a $392 million economic impact. "It's a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for this area," he said. "If Greene County doesn't embrace this, other developers won't be as inclined to come to this area."[62] He could have added that The Greene's developer would likely have abandoned the project if not for the incentives.[63]

Eric Davis, a local business owner and opponent of the project made clear the connection between politicians and developers. "When I was starting my companies," he said, "I only wish I could have convinced city officials that it needed to fund my start-ups. The taxpayers just keep handing out blank checks, via their elected officials."[64]

During the project's planning-approval phase, the projected economic impact, calculated by consultants hired by the developer, also came under fire. "The developer is poaching local establishments, instead of bringing in new stores as promised," claimed Beavercreek resident Richard Docken.[65]

Complicating matters was that the City of Beavercreek collects no sales taxes; indeed, this is one reason why two of the area's three shopping malls were located there. The only revenue the city receives from these mammoth projects is property tax payments funneled to it through the county.

Residents were thus further upset when they heard that the agreement granted the developer a 15 percent property tax reduction over a 25-year period. The proceeds would pay off bonds issued to pay for the infrastructure.

Beavercreek resident Victor Presutti explained the benefit to the developer. Although called a loan, $2.5 million (17 percent) would be repaid by the federal government, and $6.3 million (43 percent) would be repaid through tax-increment financing (diversion of a portion of the new property tax generated by the development). "Suppose you were offered a loan and didn't have to repay 17 percent because the American taxpayer was paying part of the loan," he said. "Then, another 43 percent would be forgiven because your property tax payments would be considered payment on the loan. Wouldn't you think you were getting a gift?"[66]

"It will be business as usual for Greene County, which never gives back any benefits or sales tax revenue to Beavercreek," said Thompson.[67] She added that although "they call it a town center or whatever they want, it's still a mall."[68]

Not all local residents were opposed to the project, however. Chris Walsh said he believed the new town center would "give the area more of a 'big city feel.'"[69]

With its mixed-use, multistory buildings and town square, The Greene does feel more urban than the Mall at Fairfield Commons. It is just this feel that has attracted retail tenants. "We had nosed around Dayton before," said Tim Hobart, franchise owner of BD's Mongolian Barbeque, "but this just made sense." He claimed that the developer's "Main Street-style developments have proven popular destinations for shoppers, diners, and entertainment seekers."[70]

The tenants also apparently believe the developer's claim that the "small-town setting with community gatherings (and) free events year-round, sets it apart." "People will stay at The Greene longer than anywhere else," said Steiner's Mike Duffey. "You don't say, 'Let's go out to dinner at the mall.' This is an experience where you can get white tablecloth dining, alfresco dining on a patio, or spend a significant amount of time relaxing."[71] And if shopping is involved, "that's great. It offers a full day of experience. You can go have lunch, do a movie, some shopping, and stay into the evening. You can even live there."[72]

Of course, this is exactly the aspect of a lifestyle center that a developer can market to prospective tenants. The longer patrons stay, the more money they are likely to spend. This is one reason lifestyle centers have higher sales per square foot than traditional shopping malls.

Steiner has developed other open-air lifestyle centers, but with its 136 apartments, The Greene is the first to incorporate a residential component. In terms of overall density, at 1.9 dwelling units/acre, however, its residential density is similar to that of the sprawling single-family subdivisions throughout Beavercreek.

Dave Brown of the South Beavercreek Neighborhood Association claimed that The Greene has been sold as urban-

FIGURES 13 AND 14. *Watching the new "public" realm. Private security guards patrol The Greene on its opening day (left). Local reporters, operating with permission of the owner, also showed up to document its opening.*

ism, but it is really sprawl. "This may indeed be sprawl," countered Beavercreek resident George Schumacher, "but until center cities can be made desirable for a majority of families, then we should be concerned with developing the right kind of sprawl, rather than condemning it, carte blanche."[73]

This raises two important questions. First, at such a low residential density, can The Greene be considered the "right kind" of sprawl — if there is such a thing? Second, who decides what is "right" in today's privatized economy? The Greene does include some housing on top of its shops. And it does provide places to gather in a city that has never before had them (apart from parking lots). However, at the same time that its developers crow about the environmental benefits of walkable communities, they market The Greene to retailers based on its regional location — a location that forces most visitors to arrive by car. Moreover, its "public" space is actually regulated private property.

The implication of this last distinction became clear opening day. As visitors jammed The Greene's stores, and its restaurants warned of two-hour waits — longer for seating outside in the sidewalk cafes — several members of Citizens to Protect Taxpayers staged a demonstration on the project's town green (FIG.13,14). They carried placards that lambasted Steiner and Associates for "paving paradise," and for "Corporate Greede."

As a crowd began to materialize around the protestors, security guards moved in and told the demonstrators to leave. The audacity of this demand surprised the group — after all, the new town green had been advertised as a public space. They soon learned, however, that, despite appearances, nothing in The Greene was public — not its parking lots, not its streets, and certainly not its town green. The protestors stood firm, and one of the guards reached across a protestor's shoulder to grab her sign away. The commotion aroused the interest of the assembled media, and they began to snake through the crowd with their bulky cameras, lights, and microphones. However, alert to the prospect of negative

publicity, Yaromir Steiner, himself, stepped in to diffuse the situation. He called off the guards and told the protestors they could stay.

This is the new reality of public space in America. While local governments see public space as a liability (operations and maintenance expenses are apparently hard to justify), private-sector developers see it as an opportunity. "We really see The Greene operating as a civic center where community events can occur," said Steiner's Mike Duffy.[74]

Regardless of who pays, people desire gathering spaces, and, in places like The Greene, they will pay for the privilege of accessing them through their purchases and dinner tabs. But it remains troubling that such spaces are actually private, and may be closed to debate as a matter of policy, or on the whim of an owner.

"PUBLIC" OR "PRIVATE": WHAT ROLE FOR *CIVITAS*?

Like the climate-controlled "streets" of enclosed shopping malls, the Main Streets and town greens of today's lifestyle centers are privately controlled stage sets that mask frenzied consumption in a nostalgic veneer of familiarity and community. Developers build ground-floor retail below several floors of apartments; they set these mixed-use buildings along a narrow three- or four-block street; they include parallel parking, street trees, and wide sidewalks; and they add "public" spaces like plazas and greens as the new anchors. But they do all of this to enhance the retail experience and boost profits, not create *civitas*.

A simulacrum, according to Baudrillard, is a reality in its own right, not a mere reproduction of the real. He argued that the simulacrum is therefore hyperreal, with little relation to the reality it mimics. Lifestyle centers are hyperreal manifestations of the traditional American Main Street. In their case, the underlying socioeconomic justification for the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Main Street —

FIGURE 15. *The typical tenants at today's lifestyle centers: high-end clothes, moderne furniture, and franchised food.*

small-scale, localized capitalism — has been replaced by globalized brand-name merchandizing (FIG.15). Thus, the simulacrum does have a prototype, the traditional Main Street, but it bears very little resemblance to its foundational reality. In particular, it is divorced from the socio-spatial conditions that once supported these traditional centers.

Although the image of Main Street may remain in the lifestyle center, the economic system, spatial location, contextual linkages, and architectural types are all different. For example, the public and institutional buildings that were once woven into the fabric of a traditional Main Street are nowhere to be seen. And the public parks and town squares that integrated with traditional Main Streets have been replaced by privately controlled outdoor plazas and wide sidewalks designed to support cafe seating and window-shopping, but not public gathering.

While developers hope to capitalize on the popularity of the model, the ensuing privatization of formerly public space is a degradation of the historic Main Street model. Developers are using their resources to build new town centers in places abandoned by real towns. They are building parks and plazas as public gathering places for paying customers only, and they are regulating these places to ward off the ill effects of public life — from skateboarders to parked cars (FIGS.16,17). They can do this because these streets are private enclaves designed only with the needs and comforts of the residents and shoppers in mind.

Like Disney's Main Street, U.S.A., lifestyle centers segregate themselves from the larger community. They withdraw from the real public realm — from its congested arterials, isolated land use zones, and inadequate public spaces. On large parcels at the suburban fringe or next to Interstate highways, they create a fantasy shopping experience, insulated by parking lots, garages, and blank walls.

In the present era of municipal decline, cities have largely given up making real town centers. Their parks are an undue maintenance burden, and their streets are too expensive to build and maintain. With cities abandoning their role to create a public realm, developers have stepped in to fill it. But the lifestyle centers they are building are based less on the Main Streets whose imagery they are borrowing than on the shopping malls they are fast replacing.

FIGURES 16 AND 17. *Regulating the new "public" realm.*

REFERENCE NOTES

1. From http://allears.net/dlr/tp/dl/main.htm (accessed November 18, 2008). Walt Disney modeled Disneyland's Main Street after his hometown of Marceline, Missouri. In his version, he not only distorted the scale but also simplified the ownership and tenant mix. Instead of multiple local owners selling a wide assortment of goods and services, which was typical along the traditional Main Street, Disney's version has one corporate owner that sells a limited selection of products. In this regard, his Main Street can be considered a precursor to today's lifestyle centers.

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All photos are by the author unless otherwise noted.

From Sleeping Porch to Sleeping Machine: Inverting Traditions of Fresh Air in North America

C H A R L I E   H A I L E Y

This article examines how the meaning of a particular tradition — sleeping in the open air — has changed over time. The research focuses on the development and use of the sleeping porch and related constructs in the United States from the end of the nineteenth century to the start of World War II. During this time, arguments related to nature, health and modernity reframed the sleeping porch's traditions, which in turn recast knowledge of the body's relation to fresh air and nature. The article concludes that the development of the sleeping porch spurred a transition from an empirically defined tradition to one that was epistemologically driven — setting up modernist and mid-century arguments for new, conditioned relationships with fresh air, and between the inside and outside of the American house.

In the opening years of the twentieth century, physicians, politicians and architects exhorted the public to sleep outside on open porches. Outdoor sleeping was not new, as some architects contended; but the argument that laws of human health remained the same across diverse climatic and geographic contexts reframed the sleeping porch's traditions, which in turn recast knowledge of the body's relation to nature. This article examines the negotiation of climatic imperatives and the politics of health in the sleeping porch and related constructs to understand how both populist and avant-garde attitudes about air and about the broader relation between body and nature have shaped domestic space. 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."

Traditional practices of outdoor sleeping vary widely and, for the most part, are regional responses to particular climatic conditions. Thus, in the southern United States, architects and builders included sleeping porches in late-nineteenth-century designs, and homeowners appended open-air extensions to their sleeping quarters throughout the

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early part of the twentieth century. The open porches were constructed so as to capture the slightest available breeze and increase sleeping comfort in the hot, humid climate. Typically, they extended from second-floor corners or rear facades to admit the greatest amount of wind yet provide a degree of privacy, despite their unavoidable exposure and sometimes precarious position.[1]

Outside of North America, outdoor sleeping has been practiced both in other hot, humid climates and in arid regions in which diurnal temperature swings create cool nighttime conditions. Thus, in Iran, families have traditionally slept on the roofs of apartments and other urban dwellings to avoid interior spaces that remain hot into the evening because of the thermal lag created by day-long exposure of buildings to the sun. Shielded for privacy and from wind by tapestries hung from rooftop frameworks, sleepers could experience a cool — sometimes almost too cold — environment on clear nights with low relative humidity.[2]

Within the wider range of regional practices such as these, this article focuses on particular constructions that changed the way physicians, homeowners, designers, builders and inventors in the United States approached the domestic provision of fresh air. The discussion begins with the tent, a practical, archetypal dwelling, whose use was common particularly on the North American frontier. It then examines the idea of the sleeping porch and, more generally, the idea of open-air sleeping from the mid-nineteenth century through the end of World War II. During this time, sleeping in the open air occurred on porches, next to open windows, within "bed tents" and outdoor rooms, inside (or alongside) the California bungalow, and in association with some early-Modern houses. These constructs register various arguments and reveal how the meaning of "fresh air" and the traditional relation of air to dwelling were transformed at the start of the twentieth century and during the decades that immediately followed.

Making room for sleeping porches and related attachments or additions involved recollection, refutation, and, in some cases, reaffirmation of traditions of fresh air and sleeping outside. The article examines how these changing attitudes inverted customs, traditional practices, and regionalist influences to ultimately allow a movement from sleeping porch to sleeping machine.

The research draws on the full range of what "invert" means. In one sense, inversion brought a reversal, a "turning upside down," of traditional approaches. In another, counterarguments deployed in discussions of health and "modern" living inverted tradition by opposing new and old practices. With modernism, these exchanges resulted in the idea of fresh air, so that inverting implied a translation from readily accessible meanings to more metaphorical ones. Finally, inversion highlighted a "turning in" to a hermetic idea of the outdoors, framed through the glazed envelope and held within the highly conditioned air of the interior domestic spaces that became

widespread in North America after World War II. For example, the article covers the transformation of sleeping environments that came about under the aegis of environmental reform that played against traditional views of the environment and preconceptions about health. Along these lines, the concomitant generation of an idea of tradition opens up a displaced regionalism — a concept complicated by climatic variation and by universally defined concepts of fresh air.

With this understanding of "inversion" as an agent of change, the article seeks to answer two questions. How does the meaning of a particular tradition (in this case, sleeping in the open-air) change over time, and what forces cause it to change? And how did changing knowledge about the human body, and its relation to nature and air, influence traditions of sleeping outside?

To answer these questions, the article draws from examples found within popular journals, magazines, house-plan books, patent applications, and medical periodicals from the time. Within journals, in particular, the sleeping porch testimonial formed a kind of subgenre that provides a record of contemporary discussions (though, of course, not without being inflected by the views of magazine publishers, healthcare factions, and homebuilder associations). In some cases, literature of the time also provides detail about what these spaces were like and how they functioned.

ON THE FRONTIER AND BACK TO NATURE: THE NORTH AMERICAN TENT

> *This frame, so tightly clad, was a sort of crystallization around me, and reacted on the builder. . . . I did not need to go outdoors to take the air, for the atmosphere within had lost none of its freshness. It was not so much within doors as behind a door where I sat, even in the rainiest weather.*
> — H.D. Thoreau[3]

> *Nature intended us to sleep in the open air. . . .*
> — C.M. D'Enville[4]

The relation of American dwelling to nature and frontier provides veins of tradition that serve as background to changing attitudes about household air. Henry David Thoreau, who would have agreed it was nature's intention for us to sleep in the open air, outlined the naked primitiveness afforded by the tent. Its crystallization of home paralleled his mid-nineteenth-century shelter at Walden. For Thoreau, the tent linked its inhabitant to fresh air, and in the section of *Walden* quoted above he made a case for the dwelling's direct connection between inside and outside. Prior to this passage, he had discussed the tent as a kind of archetypal equipment for dwelling.[5]

This idea of tent as permanent American home has parallels in the frontier narrative that defined the nation's early

FIGURE I. *Backyard tent: "If you prefer it, a simple tent in the back yard is excellent." Source: C.M. D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health: Outdoor Sleeping for the Well Man,"* Country Life in America, *May 1909.*

identity. Frederick Jackson Turner, chronicler of the American frontier, solidified the tent as a precedent (perhaps even a prototype) for the sleeping porch when he pitched one on the back porch of a Cambridge house during his teaching tenure at Harvard University. This collision of frontier and exposure to the open air — and by extension the link to the open spaces of the American West — defined a domestic life on the margins between outside and inside, nature and architecture, open air and conditioned environment (FIG.1).

Where Thoreau invoked transcendentalist experience from the earlier necessities of tent life, a turn-of-the-century vacationing public sought the luxurious delights of fresh air. A 1906 article in the *New York Times* confirmed this American "devotion to tent life," describing it hyperbolically as "delightfully informal." In particular, it related how tents served as outdoor sleeping rooms for guests at the prestigious Saranac Inn in upstate New York. The article can also be read as promotional copy for the Inn; for example, it heralded how tent life was a "delightful feature" of Upper Saranac Lake, and how the tent colony's fresh-air context was the setting for social gatherings and "impromptu card parties."[6] But three years later, in May 1909, an article in *Country Life in America* by Mabel Criswell Wymond identified the "favorably located" outdoor room as a convenient substitute for an expensive summer vacation — the domestic frontier offering the "full share of enjoyment, close to nature." In another section of her article, Wymond spoke poetically of the fresh-air experience and the sight of "rosy morn" from her sleeping porch.[7]

In a sleeping porch testimonial in the same issue of *Country Life in America*, Julian Burroughs proclaimed open-air sleeping to be a way of connecting with nature. Although spending his entire work day in the open air, the farmer began the practice to "see what effect it would have on my health." But he mainly wanted to "study the sounds of night." In this regard, the sleeping porch afforded proximate access to nature and the activities of his neighbors. He heard the trapper checking his catch and sometimes smelled the trapped skunk. He catalogued the birds that he heard with precise scientific terminology and learned the habits of a gray fox trying to access the hen house. Burroughs summarized this link to his natural context: "It has proved a delightful revelation to me in every way; I am stronger, can do more work, and have had no colds; further, I feel that I have come closer to nature and have won some priceless memories. A person who works all day has neither the time nor the strength to be prowling around at night studying nature. Sleeping out of doors brings nature to you."[8]

FROM NIGHT AIR TO GOOD AIR: THE SCREENED DWELLING

Two phases of what can be generally called "environmental reform" influenced the air in which nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Americans slept. Paralleling what is also known as the fresh-air movement, each phase can be linked with a growing recognition of the sources and prevention of disease.

Throughout the nineteenth century, one impediment to practices of living out of doors, or at least close to nature — both claimed as American traditions — was the fear of night air. So-called "miasmatic" theories linked moisture-laden night air with maladies and death. Those who slept unprotected in the open air were thus thought to be susceptible to malaria and yellow fever. Neither disease was linked to mosquitoes until the late 1890s and 1900s. As a result, throughout the nineteenth century an anxious sleeping public understood "mal-aria" literally, as derived from the Italian word for "bad air."[9]

The invention of woven mesh insect screening, however, allowed the fresh-air and back-to-nature movements (and their invocations of tradition) to better integrate themselves with the dwelling. Insect screening originated in the U.S. with the Gilbert and Bennett Manufacturing Company (now Belleville Wire Cloth Company) of Georgetown, Connecticut, which in the 1830s produced iron-wire sieves derived from earlier horse-hair ones. In the early 1860s, the Civil War forced the closure of the company's southern plants, leaving a surplus of woven iron-wire cloth. This led the company to apply gray paint to the cloth and introduce an early version of "insect wire screening."[10]

In spite of its mass production, quality netting remained expensive in the 1860s (as much as $16 for a canopy bed covering), and it was not until after 1870 that improvements in quality paralleled price reductions. But other versions of window screening soon followed, and Gilbert and Bennett exhibited many of its inventions (including those for wire fencing and galvanized poultry netting) at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. From the 1860s to the 1910s, production of iron-wire cloth increased by nearly one hundred times, from 5 million square feet to 350 million square feet.[11]

FIGURE 2. *Outdoor bedroom of Mr. A.G. Paine, Jr., on the roof of the extension of his New York residence. "The bedroom is of regular greenhouse construction." Source: H.S. Adams, "Pretty Nearly Sleeping Outdoors,"* Country Life in America, *Homebuilder's Supplement, March 1911.*
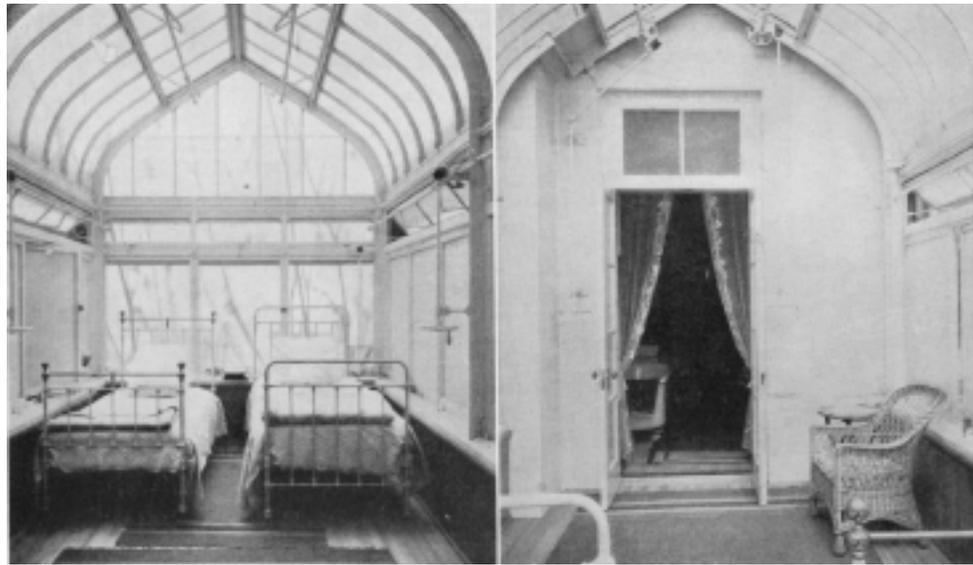
The realization that malaria was spread by mosquitoes and the increasing availability of quality window screening liberated nature-loving sleepers. It also helped provide a curative (and subsequently preventative) environment for those affected by tuberculosis. Other discoveries were also made at the turn of the century concerning the science of air, as attempts were made to define and quantify environmental influences on human behavior.

Raymond Arsenault has identified a scholarly tendency among geographers and sociologists in the first three decades of the twentieth century to link climate and culture in a cause-effect relationship.[12] One example was geographer Andrew Palmer's broad 1917 survey of climate and American architecture: "Only within recent years, however, has a new emphasis been placed upon climate in that it has been studied from the point of view of its influence upon man himself. In approaching the element of climate as an influence on man, his immediate environment and his daily activities, a new and interesting vista is presented to view."[13]

Arsenault's own conclusion was that "climate may not be the key to human history, but climate does matter."[14] Indeed, this view helps frame the argument in this article that climate holds multiple traditions. Ironically, however, it was Palmer, who provided a more open framework by which to rethink the roots of this climatic tradition: "From time immemorial man has been interested in the weather, primarily because of its influence upon those things which support and sustain him, his field-crops, his fruit-trees and his cattle."[15]

It is the idea of a curative environment for health and good living, rather than the more problematic overarching claims for behavior, that I will follow in the next section. Eventually, the former evolved into a full-fledged effort toward environmental reform (and related transformations of the North American dwelling), while the latter displaced aca-demic discussions about nature and habitation well into the second half of the twentieth century (FIG.2).

FROM FOUL AIR TO FRESH AIR: THE OPEN WINDOW

The Window was open . . . and I, who was an invalid and afraid of the Air in the night (blowing upon me), shut it close. Oh! says Franklin don't shut the Window. We shall be suffocated. I answered I was afraid of the Evening Air. Dr. Franklin replied, the Air within this Chamber will soon be, and indeed is now worse than that without Doors: come! open the Window and come to bed, and I will convince you: I believe you are not acquainted with my Theory of Colds.

— John Adams[16]

With this eighteenth-century "theory," Benjamin Franklin began an early refutation of the argument that night air was bad air, and he foreshadowed later determinations that fresh air provided a curative, healthy environment for sleep. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, with miasmatic theories in full force, popular journals echoed Franklin's call for the opening of windows. In 1850, Harriet Martineau wrote a "mock-serious" article for *Harper's Monthly* in which she instructed the reader how to make an unhealthy bedroom. Instructions included the following directive: "Cover the fireplace up so foul air cannot escape during the night; likewise shut the window."[17]

In 1884, an anonymous writer for *Ladies' Home Journal* dramatized the benefits of opening the window to admit fresh air into her children's bedroom, with its smoldering fireplace: "Up went that sash to its highest limit for a brief half hour, and as the snow and deliciously pure air came

rushing in and the impurities out, my little people snuggled contentedly under their blankets, and as they fell asleep, I thought it is one step gained toward a future, pure, chaste life, when a child has learned to detect even in his sleep, a vile atmosphere."[18] Though at the same time cautioning against foul night air, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Florence Nightingale offered similar advice in their respective publications, *An American Woman's Home, or Principles of Domestic Science* (1869) and *Notes on Nursing* (1898).[19]

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the open window was firmly entrenched as the preferred method of ensuring healthy bedrooms. Kate Upson Clark, writing in *Ladies' Home Journal*, stated unequivocally: "Windows in sleeping-rooms should be kept wide open as much of the time as possible when the apartments are unoccupied; and, while other chamber work should be done as soon as it can be managed after breakfast, beds should be left to air several hours, if they can be conveniently allowed. The air in bedrooms is often obscurely foul, because the bed does not get proper airing."[20]

Physicians, politicians and architects all urged the public to sleep outside at the beginning of the twentieth century. Prominent within Irving Fisher's 1915 treatise *How to Live* was the argument that night air was good air. In the decades preceding this publication, physicians had begun to prescribe fresh air for tuberculosis patients and to recommend outdoor sleeping as a preventative practice. Sanatoria across the globe employed open windows and sleeping porches to provide fresh-air recuperative, and sometimes curative, environments for tuberculosis patients. In the two decades that would follow, a generation of Californians spent their nights

on sleeping porches. In addition to being a remedy for diagnoses of tuberculosis, "outdoor treatment" was also recommended for ambiguous afflictions such as "grippe" and "throat affections."[21]

Whether or not the open window can be understood to approximate the parted tent flap, various health regimens also appropriated and transformed the tent as a vehicle for recuperation. A 1904 article cited as beneficial the choice by the Austrian army in Hungary in 1854 of tents instead of readily available permanent hospitals as a way to treat patients from early spring until late fall. The Boston City Hospital, from the turn of the century, followed a similar model to increase by sixty the number of beds for patients during the nonwinter seasons. The 1904 article professed the benefits of the open-air environment: ". . . there is an especial air of cheerfulness pervading this department, showing the beneficence of sunshine and pure air. Among the patients an air of comfort prevails . . . [and] surgical cases have proved anew the old doctrine that pure air is required for the prompt healing of wounds."[22]

In some cases, perceived novelty prevented recognition of long-held regional practices of sleeping outside. "But what do the doctors think of it?" asked C.M. D'Enville. "The answer is that outdoor sleeping is too new and revolutionary to be taken up generally by medical men without cumulative proof."[23] In this same article, however, D'Enville quoted physicians who were advocates of outdoor sleeping, including Dr. Livingston Farrand (Executive Secretary of the National Association for Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis). Farrand also emphasized the sleeping porch's significant role in the prevention movement, the growth of which "in all parts of the country, is very rapid" (**FIG.3**). Likewise,

FIGURE 3. *Interior view where a conventional bed chamber serves as a "desirable adjunct" for dressing. Source: C.M. D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health: Outdoor Sleeping for the Well Man,"* Country Life in America, *May 1909.*

Philadelphia's Dr. Lawrence F. Flick stated decisively that houses of the near future "will be built with the idea of making outdoor life possible at least at night, if not in daytime."

Other, more skeptical, physicians such as Dr. John B. Hawes saw the practice as a "fad" — although one that was "very excellent."[24] However, writing in *Scientific American* in December 1909, Katherine Louise Smith seemed to respond to this contention: "Fresh air at night and plenty of it is the cry that is going up among those who are determined to subdue the 'Great White Plague,' and with these persons it has become more than a fad, a necessity."[25]

When former President William Taft wrote in the Foreword to Fisher's 1915 treatise that the provision of fresh air would be fundamental to the country's public health, he was reinventing a preexisting American tradition. By 1911, practices of sleeping out of doors had been presented as an "established custom." An article by A.W. Henderson in *Country Life in America* looked specifically at Colorado Springs, a popular destination for those recuperating from pulmonary disease, where at least 40 percent of the houses had sleeping porches **(FIG.4)**. The author traced recognition of the health benefits of sleeping outdoors to overland travelers on the Santa Fe Trail the century before. During these journeys, "attention was first drawn to the advantages of sleeping in the open air, when it was noticed that members of the party who left the East in poor health began to pick up in health and spirit as a result of the outdoor life."[26] Harkening back to combinations of frontier and nature, Henderson also attributed the growth of Colorado Springs' sleeping porches — an outgrowth of this open-trail custom — to "pioneer physicians" there who began encouraging patients to sleep outdoors in the early 1880s.

Henderson's account also provides an indication of the rapid mechanization and domestication of the porch. His article outlined a genealogy from makeshift beginnings to a

more technically proficient and planned construction. "At first a cot was moved out on the porch every night, and beside it was erected a wind-break. From this has been evolved the present-day sleeping porch, equipped with electric lights and electric bed-warming pans, made comfortable with the best furniture, easily accessible to the bath or dressing-room, and fitted with roller curtains which may be adjusted after going to bed."[27]

The perfection of the open window and the evolution of the sleeping porch reinvented the tent and the dwelling's indoor-outdoor connections; but, for some, these practices also suggested a better living standard. In his 1909 testimonial, physician Luther H. Gulick argued that sleeping with fresh outdoor air "increases not only the power to resist disease, but *raises the level of living itself.*" Appearing to invoke John Dewey and a related pragmatist position, Gulick ended his essay by describing open-air sleeping as the "highest level of most vivid living, thinking, feeling and doing."[28]

FROM OPEN WINDOW TO PATENTED SLEEPING PORCH: THE INDOOR BED TENT

With your lungs outside when your body is inside.
— L.H. Gulick[29]

Practitioners of outdoor-sleeping soon sought alternatives to the expense and complication of the $20 sleeping bag. In the transition between warm room and exposed porch, on the way to climbing into the bag's cocoon of warmth, many "fresh-air enthusiasts" found that they lost all body heat and "caught cold." As a result, devices were invented to allow only the head to be exposed to the fresh air while the bed could be "adjusted in such a way that undressing and passing to the bed could be conducted in a warm room."[30]

Within the larger heading of "indoor bed tent," Katherine Louise Smith divided these inventions into two categories: one in which the sleeper's head stuck out the window, and another inverting the tent's awnings to project into the bedroom space **(FIG.5)**. In the first design, an ordinary hospital bed, with legs adjusted 18 inches back from the head and set at a height to bring the frame directly over the window sill, was rolled over to an open window. The window's lower sash was then raised to correspond to the closure provided by a frame and awning that was pulled over the sleeper's head. An exterior awning, projecting outside the building envelope, protected the sleeper from inclement weather, and strips of felt sealed the window frame's edges to keep the bedroom's interior as climatically controlled as possible. Two aspects of this design proved problematic, however: the sleeper's vertiginous feeling, particularly within second-floor bedrooms, and the visibility of the bed tent from the exterior. As a result, the second design, in which the fresh-air tent was folded entirely within the bedroom space,

Storm awning raised, showing the sleeper in the indoor bed tent.

The storm awning outside the window.

The window sleeping tent in use.

Sleeping hood to protect the head from cold.
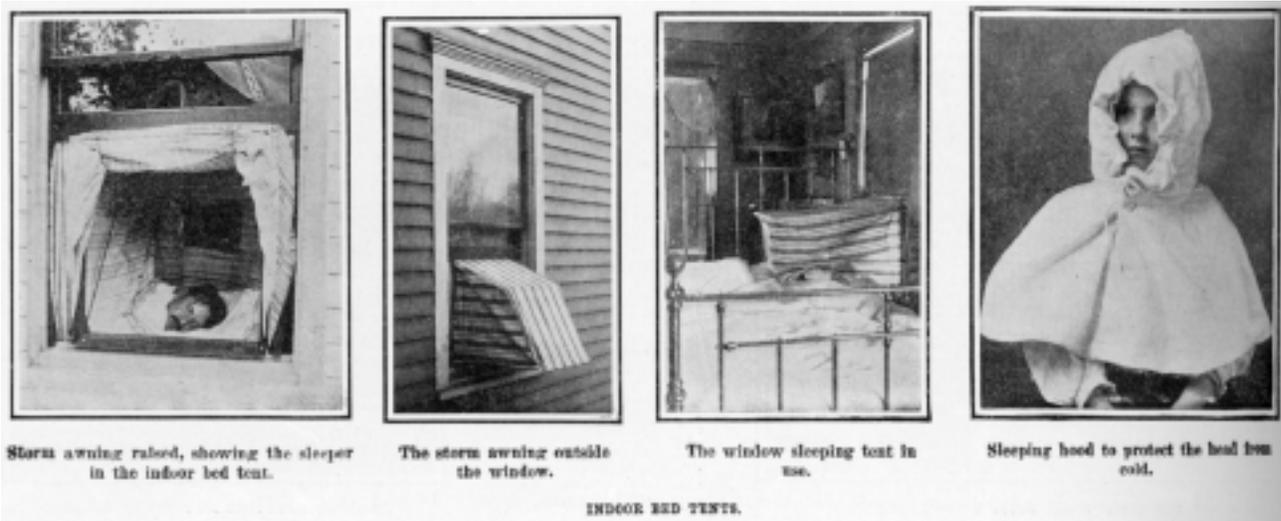
INDOOR BED TENTS.

FIGURE 5. *Illustration of indoor bed tents and sleeping attire in 1909. Source: Katherine Louise Smith, "Indoor Bed Tents,"* Scientific American, *n.s. 101, December 1909.*

gained popularity. With this less conspicuous version, the side of the bed was placed next to the open window, and a heavy canvas awning was placed over the sleeper's head and tucked under the pillow. The awning frame's depth allowed greater distance (up to three feet) from the exterior envelope, if wind and extreme cold proved uncomfortable. And a small "celluloid window in the side of the tent next to the room allows the user to look out and to converse with those in the room" or with a bed partner who did not share the fresh-air advocate's conviction.

Smith cited six reasons for using the indoor bed tent: decreased nighttime sweating, alleviated insomnia, increased appetite, strengthened resistance to disease, blood purification, and the prevention of consumption. Smith also supported the "theory of keeping the head in the cold and the body warm" with current physiological principles that the body loses 80 to 90 percent of its heat through the skin by radiation.[31]

The United States Patent Office's archives catalogue a wide range of inventive approaches to the provision of fresh air to the sleeping public (FIG.6). In many cases designs expanded the scale and complexity of the indoor bed tent and open window, including both detailed window treatments and entire sleeping porch constructions. Orlan Vancamp's "Fresh-air Bed," filed in 1915 and patented in 1918, sought to improve on the tent and the sleeping porch with a version of the indoor bed tent that allowed for the rapid conversion from open air to protected bed. Vancamp acknowledged the many previous iterations of tents and sleeping porches for healthful sleeping, but cited his as a more publicly available solution and a more useful alternative in urban conditions where space was limited and rapid deployment essential. Five years later, Henry Charles Trost patented a sleeping
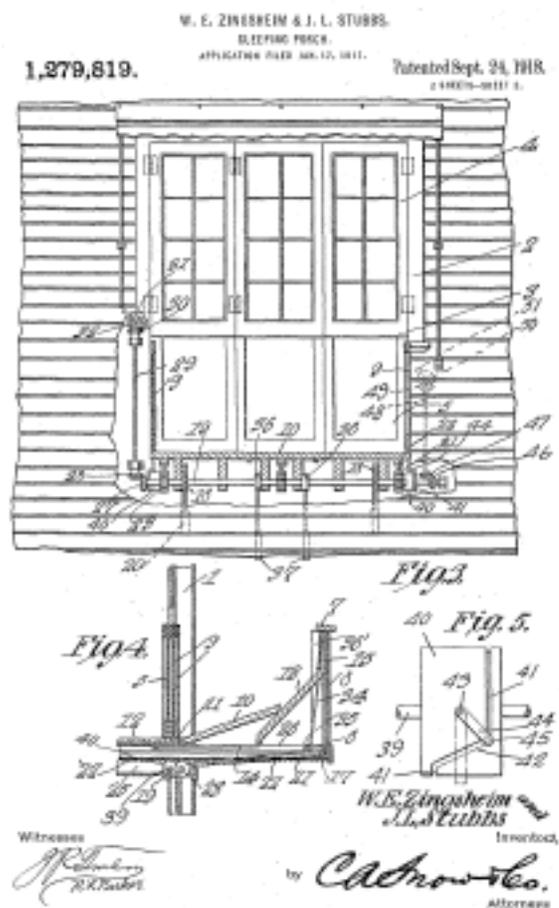
FIGURE 6. *William E. Zingsheim and John L. Stubbs, "Sleeping-Porch," patent applied for in 1917 and granted in 1918. Source: United States Patent and Trademark Office.*
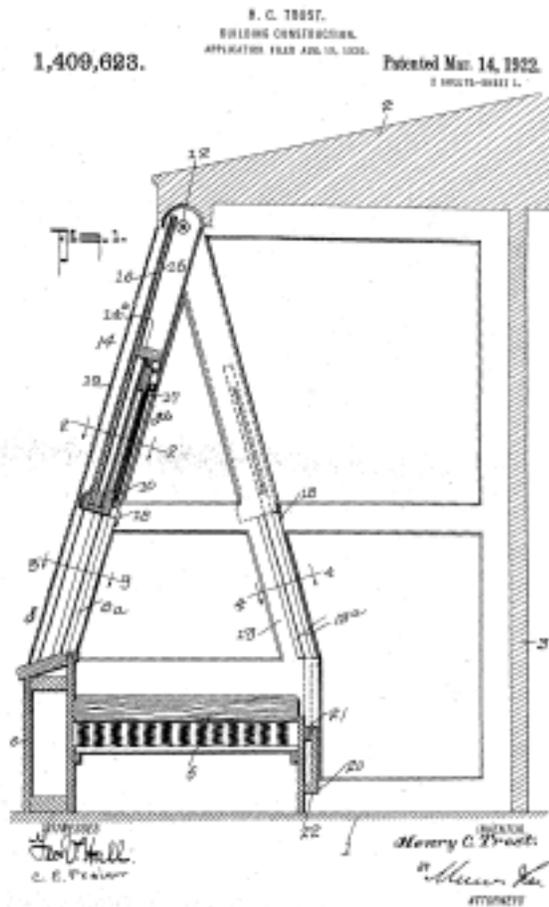
FIGURE 7. *Henry C. Trost, "Building Construction," patent applied for in 1920 and granted in 1922. Source: United States Patent and Trademark Office.*

porch that mobilized the window wall to form a bed integrated with a parapet (**FIG.7**). His patent, titled "Building Construction" (1922), did not make the same sweeping claims for public availability, but the invention did facilitate the indoor-outdoor connection of sleeping porches.

The technical fine-tuning of sleeping porches, sleeping rooms, and bed tents continued well into the 1920s, with many patent applications filed before World War II. In 1925, Ernest T. Heinson filed a patent that was indicative of the continued interest in improving open-air sleep. Heinson sought to combine closure with openness and to gain greater privacy without sacrificing air flow and the provision of fresh air. He summarized the project: "This invention aims to provide a novel means whereby the occupants of different compartments in a sleeping porch may obtain privacy and protect themselves against undesirable weather conditions, it being possible to maintain all of the advantages of an open air sleeping porch." The invention's novelty lay mainly in the multiple degrees of privacy it afforded by a variety of screening devices, including two rolling screens, two opaque clo-

sure panels, and a standard window screen. Heinson also promoted his invention, structured by the conventions of the house window, as a universal solution to resolve fresh air with privacy, one that "may be employed wherever desired."[32]

OPEN-AIR FOR ALL: THE COLLISION OF SLEEPING PORCH AND BUNGALOW

The combination of bungalow and sleeping porch proved to be an effective model for populist living, interweaving two traditional approaches to housing. This was true both in California's mild climate and burgeoning development and in the Midwest's expanding suburban districts. The fusion of bungalow and sleeping porch linked similar traditions amidst a rhetoric of old and new promulgated by architects, builders, and fresh-air advocates. This integration also expanded the popularity of outdoor sleeping and promoted the rapid geographic dispersion of the sleeping porch.

Where the sleeping porch originated from myths and practices of outdoor life as well as health mandates, the bungalow emerged from the popularization of a British colonial building type and the demand for inexpensive houses for migrants to California's mild climate. Clay Lancaster has claimed that the term "bungalow" was first derived by the English in India to describe the association between their cottage dwellings and the Bengali *bānglā*, which were "low house[s] with galleries or porches all around."[33] The recessed veranda that was typically found at the rear of the *bānglā*, also called *dāk-bungalow*, can be compared to bungalow plans found in *Authentic Small Houses* and other bungalow monographs.[34] In these early-twentieth-century designs, screened porches, sleeping areas, or extensions for cooking activities assimilated outdoor rooms within the bungalow's simple volume. Its straightforward footprint, relatively small domestic scale, and the programmatic flexibility of its spaces made the bungalow a suitable receptor for incorporating fresh air and outdoor life.

Though less specific in terms of historical derivation, Henry Wilson described the "California Bungalow" as a "direct descendant of the original attempts at architecture" in the region, and by 1910 it had become a house type "known and talked about the world over."[35] At the same time, Wilson defined this permutation of the bungalow as a "radical departure from the older style of cottage, not only in outward appearance, but in inside arrangement."[36] In plan No. 476, Wilson created a bungalow with an 18-foot by 18-foot courtyard flanked by the kitchen on one side and a "sleeping room" on the other. Wilson described the resulting airiness in this one-and-a-half-story dwelling, and playfully hinted at his clients' zealous penchant for openness and ventilation: "The most enthusiastic fresh-air crank would be delighted by the result of this court plan, giving windows on three sides of the kitchen and screen sleeping-room; the hall is benefited by the window inserted upon the court."[37]

In other designs, Wilson pointed toward the easy integration and suitability of the outdoor sleeping spaces within the typically rectangular footprint of the bungalow. The low-slung No.483 managed to bring a roof-level "screen sleeping room" into the plan by capturing attic space under the rear gable above the plate line. As a result, the house retained Wilson's simple footprint (50 feet by 40 feet) while still accommodating a "good sized" sleeping porch.[38] The sleeping porch also meshed with the bungalow's scale and economic use of space. No.636 included a relatively large "screen room" (12 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 6 inches). But, unlike No.483, the room provided connection to the exterior through one wall of screening, and thus provided more of a fifth bedroom than an open-air, well-ventilated option for sleeping.[39]

In another plan with a rear corner dormer (No.657) Wilson carved out roof space for the sleeping room, accessed by a winding stair at the center of the plan (**FIG.8**). Wilson used this particular plan to promote the California bungalow as a broad North American type — "equally at home among date palms and banana trees" as "under the sheltering branches of maple or oak." It also demonstrated the bungalow's "cosmopolitan nature" and appropriateness for many climates: the "widely projecting roof of this bungalow would lose none of its inviting appearance, even though it may be covered with snow."[40]

The sleeping porch's spaces in the bungalow also accommodated a wide range of programmatic uses — a breadth and flexibility soon found in California's early-Modern projects. In some of Wilson's plans, the "screen sleeping room" aligned and worked directly with the rear first-floor bedroom both in its formal configuration and through two French doors.[41] Also on the first floor's rear corner and in alignment with a rear bedroom, plan No.720's screen room provided a large sleeping space measuring 12 feet 6 inches by 16 feet. Here, Wilson catalogued the programmatic range allowed by the large floor area and closet: "gymnasium-nursery," conservatory, singular bedroom, and adjunct to conventional bedroom.[42] Similarly, the first floor plan of No.728 includes a screen bedroom that "by reason of its relation to kitchen and living-room, would serve equally well as a breakfast-room."[43]

Henry H. Saylor chronicled the bungalow's eastern migration. Although he drew bungalow examples from across the United States, and although his classification system included a range of uses from temporary to permanent and from leisure to primary residence, he wrote from an eastern perspective, thus giving a sense of how sleeping porches were understood outside of California in 1911.[44] In the porch section of the chapter devoted to the bungalow "plan," Saylor wrote: "Then too, do not forget the sleeping-porch. It would be a very easy matter indeed to arrange for a sleeping porch in conjunction with almost any of the bedroom wings shown among these illustrations of plans."[45]

Saylor also identified the tent-house as an auxiliary version of the bungalow — in his classification system, the
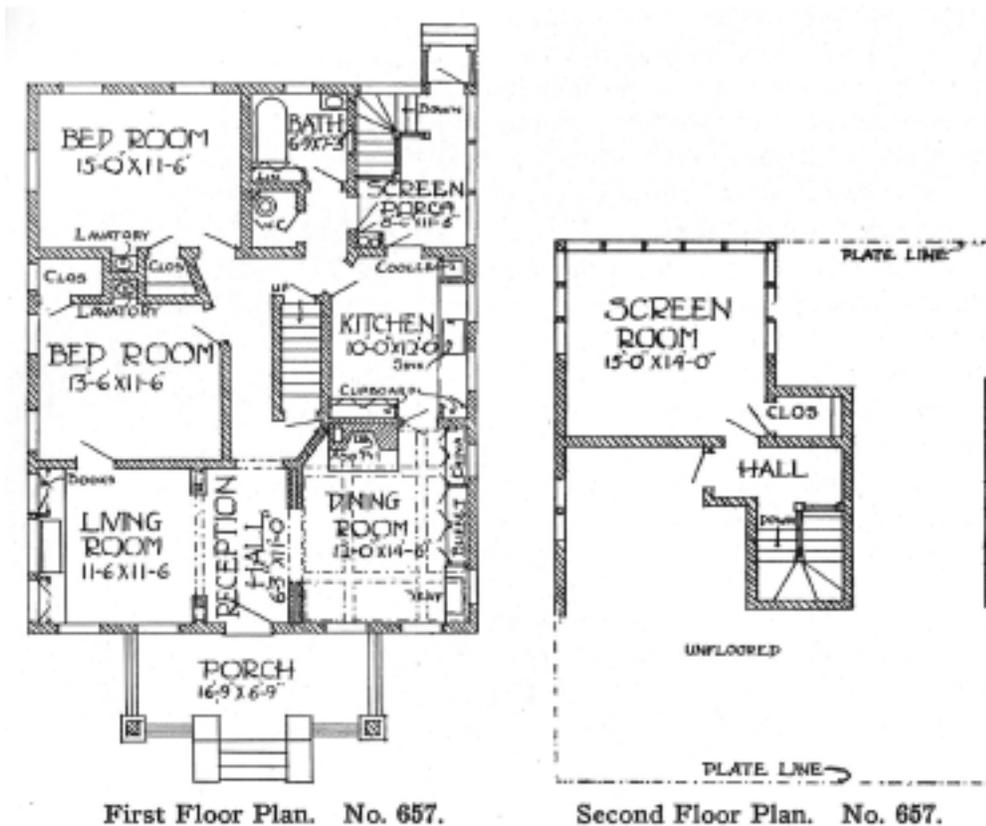
FIGURE 8. *Henry L. Wilson, Bungalow Plan No.657 with screened sleeping area. Source:* The Bungalow Book, *Chicago, 1910.*

First Floor Plan. No. 657.   Second Floor Plan. No. 657.

fourth of ten types — as a "small shack intended only for temporary use." In southern California, this type had side walls made of frame-stretched canvas.[46] Saylor had noted earlier that the California bungalow was "used chiefly as a permanent home, but on account of the ideal climate of that section of the country the permanent home does not have to be so snugly built as the permanent home of the East."[47]

But by the end of the next decade, in 1929, Robert T. Jones saw an easier transition from tent to cottage to permanent bungalow in his *Small Homes of Architectural Distinction*. A house plan titled "A Bungalow Today, a Cottage Formerly" translated the summer cottage house type into a permanent, year-round dwelling. With a "sun and sleeping porch" (measuring 9 feet by 11 feet) on its rear corner, the house's interior confirmed the programmatic flexibility of the outdoor spaces: "From the hall opens one large bedroom, bathroom, linen closet, and a combination sun and sleeping porch. This last is generously supplied with windows on two sides, making it possible to convert it into a more or less open porch in summer and a sleeping porch for night use. A large closet and a closet bed make provision for this purpose, affording in this way two complete bedrooms."[48] Such flexibility, and the possible conversion of the sleeping porch, allowed Jones to promote its exceedingly small floor area (770 square feet) as a two-bedroom house.

In other cases, a more overtly stated stylistic adaptation characterized the sleeping porch's appearance in a wide variety of house types and plans. A house plan titled "Reminiscent of the English Cottage: With a plan, however, distinctly American throughout" demonstrated a disconnect between external image and interior function and programming, an aspect confirmed by the plan's subtitle, "the modern five-room home." The "spirit of the style" came in the plan's irregularity and the large window openings. But the sleeping porch added a bedroom without conspicuously adding space or increasing the number of rooms: "Besides the two bedrooms there is a sleeping porch generous enough for two beds, thus making the house practically one of six rooms."[49] Here the sleeping porch was essentially a dormer space over the main porch roof.

Other stylistic permutations provoked a degree of irony from the plan sourcebook writers. For a plan labeled "With Front Porch and Sleeping Porch: in spite of the long, sloping roof there are two full stories," Jones began with the following: "If no one will take it seriously, we will call this a Dutch Colonial home. No other way of describing it will do so well. Even so, it isn't Dutch and it isn't Colonial, but is clearly modern American."[50] The sleeping porch (measuring 13 feet by 8 feet) was included on the rear, second-floor corner. In addition to the house's three conventional bedrooms, it was "large enough to accommodate four or five standard cots." Sinclair Lewis perhaps imagined his character Babbitt living and sleeping on a similar porch, a hermetic space of introspection, frame for real estate speculation (as he surveys the Midwestern town Zenith's building stock), and a conformist's gendered escape from domestic life.[51]

As early as 1909, houses not directly linked with the bungalow form but with provisions to sleep outdoors were promoted for all climates and seasons. An article in *Country Life in America* by W.K. Shilling signaled this geographic dispersal. It described "A model house at a moderate cost, which includes open-air features adaptable to cold as well as warm climates" (FIG.9). The interior of this house was inspired by Arts and Crafts and California bungalow treatments, but it was built of reinforced concrete. Named "Country Home with Outdoor Sleeping, Living, and Dining Rooms," it had three outdoor sleeping rooms that connected directly to bathrooms and conventional bed chambers, "which later may be used as dressing-rooms . . . as the occupant may desire."[52] The article described how canvas shields could be used to replace insect screens for the winter months in cold climates — in this case likely to be that of architect Shilling's home state of Ohio.

Such articles indicate how regional and climatic difference was flattened by perceived necessities of dwelling, health and comfort as the bungalow migrated eastward and was integrated with suburban growth. They also indicate how many of the "modern" attributes of providing fresh air and healthy living had already been framed and deployed in popular housing patterns just after the turn of the century.

FRESH AIR AND OPEN PLANS: SLEEPING MACHINES AND THE MODERN HOUSE

> *The usual open window creates a current of air through the room which does not efficiently affect the layers of air above the level of its lintel, below the level of its sill, and in the corners of the room.*
> — Rudolph Schindler[53]

> *Each individual will want a private room to gain a background for his life. He will sleep in the open.*
> — Rudolph Schindler[54]

Writing about health and architecture in 1926, the architect Rudolph Schindler called for greater connection between interior and exterior. In doing so, he reinvented a tradition that already existed. He also upended the traditionally marginalized bedroom so that, as the outdoor sleeping room, it might become a flexible site of modern domestic life.

These concepts were not new, and, indeed, had already been popularly presented, even if they were not already publicly well known or widely accepted. Well-circulated journals contained rhetorical information such as the following from *Country Life in America* (May 1909): "'What difference does it make whether I sleep out of doors on some roof or porch, or have my window open? The result must be the same.' Well,
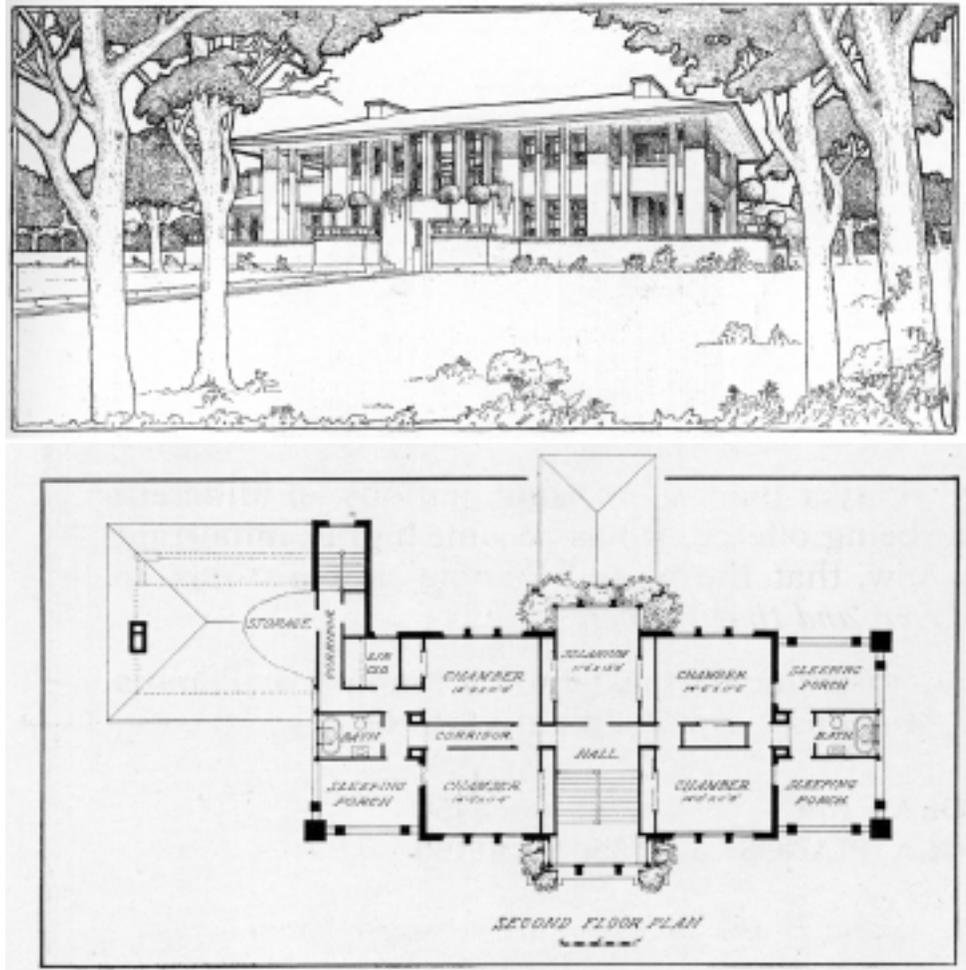
it isn't the same, for a number of very good reasons. No number of open windows will give the same uniform supply of pure air as the outside atmosphere. Inside air is dead unless the wind blows."[55]

Just as the sleeping porch later afforded programmatic flexibility in the bungalow and related house types, the outdoor sleeping room was a multifunctional space that preceded Schindler's early-Modern call for flexibility. Perhaps a function of its open-air conditioning, Dr. Henry A. Cooke's sleeping porch allowed for dining, sleeping, and other activities: "I have slept on this porch for about a year. It serves not only as sleeping-room, but as a general living-room whenever the weather permits. Meals are taken there practically all the spring, summer, and fall. It is also a general lounging-room, writing-room, and playroom for the children — in short a genuine outdoor living-room."[56]

For the architects Greene and Greene, the sleeping porch's possibilities exceeded the confines of the bungalow's modest envelope. In the Gamble House (1908), minor program became main living space, and the porous open-porch elements became the formal anchor for planning the house.

This dramatic spatial planning reflected a trend across the country for conventional bedrooms to become closets and dressing rooms; and for sleeping porches, no longer thought of as adjuncts to the house, to become the primary sleeping areas.[57] The Gamble House's porches, through their large scale, drew attention to and came to symbolize, quite polemically, the provision of fresh air.

At a far humbler scale, an article by C.G. Hoag in May 1909 presented an amateur designer's homemade "sleeping machine" and provided a summary of attitudes toward traditional open-air domestic living and sleeping. Hoag began by arguing against the "piazza," the traditional open-air court found in southwestern, Spanish-derived typologies. He noted that the piazza would work well for outdoor sleeping "if only it offered the requisite privacy," protection from insects, and access to breezes. He next took on the tent, critiquing the necessity to put it up and take it down, its vulnerability to high winds, its trapping of heat, and its openness to flies and mosquitoes. Hoag then described the design and construction of a "sleeping machine" that served as an "adjunct" to his permanent summer cottage in New England (FIG.10).

FIGURE 10. *C.G. Hoag's design for a "sleeping machine" that "possesses all the good qualities of a tent, with none of the drawbacks." Source:* Country Life in America, *May 1909.*

Named for its quality of producing "sleep in wholesale quantities," the eight-foot by five-foot covered platform of planed-lumber construction cost less than $20. Its variably sized, movable panels captured east winds while also blocking direct morning sun. The west exposure was partially fixed to allow for privacy and to engage infrequent, but welcomed, breezes from that direction. The south wall was completely hinged for maximum shading and light intake, and the north wall was fixed to protect from cold winds and to provide areas for storage. Hoag stopped short of proposing the unit for year-round use, but he did hint at other seasonal functions while emphasizing its flexibility: "It stays 'put'; it is tight in any thunder shower; it will outlast three or four tents; it can be screened most conveniently; it is perfect in respect to breeze and morning sun; it is movable; and it is very inexpensive."[58]

Schindler also reinterpreted the tent to design a site for "modern living" and outdoor sleeping. His Kings Road house, completed in 1922, included three-inch-wide vertical slots that approximated the parted flap of a tent. A camping trip to Yosemite National Park a few months before breaking ground inspired not only this formal structure but also an archetypal way of living. Schindler modeled Kings Road's indoor-outdoor living spaces on the protected back, open front, and centralizing fire of the campsite. Each of the house's two sleeping porches (also known as sleeping "baskets") was elevated above the otherwise one-story building.

Schindler included sleeping porches in other house designs, but the sleeping porches for the Lovell Beach House (completed 1926) exemplified his beliefs and approach and at the same time confirmed the difficulties with the modern provision of fresh air (FIG.11). His client, Dr. Philip Lovell, who also commissioned Schindler to write a series of 1926 news articles on the "Care of the Body," sought to live naturally and exercise in the open. The Beach House's most prominent feature, apart from its five structurally imposing concrete frames, was a continuous gallery on its third-level that formed a projecting sleeping porch. Each of the four bedrooms opened out onto this north-facing porch.

In this design, Schindler concretized his vision that ancient customs must be reframed, and that in the modern house distinctions "between the indoors and the out-of-doors will disappear. The walls will be few, thin, and removable."[59] Nevertheless, by the 1930s the Lovells had glazed the sleeping

FIGURE 11. *Rudolph Schindler, Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, California, 1926. Photograph taken in 1968, showing the enclosed third-floor sleeping porch. Source: Historic American Buildings Survey. Photo by Marvin Rand.*

gallery, citing drainage problems, but perhaps also influenced by the high degree of exposure to the coastal elements. In spite of Schindler's vision, along with its innovations and advances, the sleeping porch's relatively uncontrolled environment could not sustain (or counter) the parallel transformations in mechanical conditioning and the altered expectations of comfort and domestic control over the interior climate.

FROM OPEN-HOUSE AIRINESS TO THE OPEN PLAN'S TRANSPARENCY

It's common sense, that's all. We can get up earlier every morning and feel thoroughly refreshed, which would not be the case if we slept in closed or poorly ventilated rooms. Nature intended us to sleep in the open air, and if her behests were more universally followed there would be less sickness.
— C.M. D'Enville[60]

Some times in all places, and all times in some places, the modern reversion to the primitive idea of sleeping out of doors is far more beautiful in theory than in practice.
— H.S. Adams[61]

Never mind if you are no longer young — this will rejuvenate you; and never mind your climate — whatever it is, you have the same air indoors as out, plus a quantity of air which has been used over and over again.
— M.C. Wymond[62]

At the turn of the century, open-air sleeping grew as a common-sense — and what seemed to be an unavoidably universal — practice for healthy living. It emerged from the nineteenth-century transformation of traditionally accepted concepts of air. At the same time, the sleeping porch affirmed historically documented customs, and the health community advocated fresh air for its curative and preventative properties.

In his 1909 article, D'Enville presented the testimonial of two Woman's College medical students who decided to sleep on the roof of their apartment. His text, as quoted in the first epigraph to this section, reflected one strain of logic found in the sequence of sleeping porch development: a pragmatic approach, with many past permutations, that afforded a promise of wellness to the "modern dweller" and elicited from "open air" a universal cure for disease. But with its modern applications, the provision of fresh air became more rhetorical and emblematic. The title of a May 1909 article in *Country Life in America* proved prophetic and indicative of this transformation: "Sleeping outdoors for health: A phase of modern living that science demands and that is bound to become universal."

Displaced by the science of health and promulgated by commentary in the rapidly growing print media, the "modern reversion to the primitive idea" of open-air sleeping moved the practice away from its climatic and geographic roots. Initially meant to amplify the qualitative (even poetic) experiences of fresh air, experimentation with the sleeping porch spurred the transition from traditional practices of sleeping outside to the climate-controlled hermeticism of the typical present-day North American house.[63] Thus, the invention of systems to manufacture and regulate interior air quality supplanted the immediacy of fresh air and the benefits proven by the science of the time, replacing cross-ventilation with calculated air exchanges. These technologies also inverted the relation between inside and outside; while window screens maintained and allowed for openness, mechanical conditioning called for closure.

But internalization of domestic life was not simply the result of air conditioning systems. Innovations tied to sleeping porches and open windows in the 1910s and 1920s had provided a deeper influence: they taught people to temper air and consequently prepared the way for indoor life's new climate. Fortified with an understanding of air as both phenomenon and idea, inventors and architects sought to perfect the body's positioning on the margins of the house — simultaneously inside and outside. In many of these designs, features of the sleeping porch could be manipulated by the user so that he or she could respond to interior and exterior climatic and environmental conditions. With control of nature as the inflection point, the sleeping porch harnessed fresh air, but also blocked air flow. The science of hygiene corroborated with the science of sleep to absorb the sleeping porch into a technical apparatus that most efficiently delivered the best and healthiest slumber. The sleeping porch soon became a machine for sleeping — emblematic of the larger project of the climate-controlled house.

Driven by the politics of health, the impetus to reinvent traditions of being outside, and the universal promises of modernism, "environmental reform" fused healthful imperative with the efficacy of both human-made and naturally defined environments, and moved beyond climatic awareness to invoke control. The development of the sleeping porch thus moved rapidly from empirically defined forms and processes, drawn from traditional and customary practice, to the idea that climate could be controlled for a society of mass consumers.

Modern architecture's interpretation of the sleeping porch exemplified one strain of this latter epistemological position. At the 1936 World's Fair in New York City, the demonstration House of Glass no.4 combined bedroom and sleeping porch to promote the production of clear, multifunctional glazing by its sponsor, Pittsburgh Glass. In this permutation, the sleeping porch was transformed into a glass box.[64] Through expansive areas of glazing, the inhabitant could see the exterior context, and the transparent envelope admitted visible sunlight while blocking invisible air. In this design, the glass porch offered a fully "conditioned" relation to air and a visually proscribed connection between in and out.

As a result of the collision of pragmatic climatic response and healthy-living epistemologies in the sleeping porch, traditional connections between climate and health were displaced, reconfigured, appropriated and confirmed. The recasting of knowledge about the dwelling's relation to nature opened up the capacity to manage climate to control its effect on the body — at first accessing and then tempering the air Americans breathed at home. This inversion — as a "turning upside-down" — resulted in a relatively new, and yet ironically old, problem. Interior air can be bad air, and the limitation of air exchanges to five cubic feet per minute with the 1973 oil embargo contributed to what came to be known as "sick-building syndrome" (SBS) and "building-related illness" (BRI). In 2004, the American Society of Heating, Refrigerating and Air-Conditioning Engineers (ASHRAE) recommended air exchanges of fifteen cubic feet per minute, a return to rates typical of the 1950s.

To illustrate continuing concerns about indoor air quality, recent advertisements draw from outdoor sleeping practices and thus conflate the lingering circumstances of the sleeping porch — sleep, relaxation, natural ventilation, and hybrid programs (here, living and working) — with the modern anxiety about volatile organic compounds (VOC). In one advertisement for USG ceiling panels, a man dressed in short sleeves reclines on a hammock strung between two mature trees **(FIG.12)**.[65] Cast against a lightly clouded sky and sheltered by a canopy of leaves interspersed with manufactured ceiling panel sections, the prone figure appears to sleep peacefully while luxuriantly inhaling the
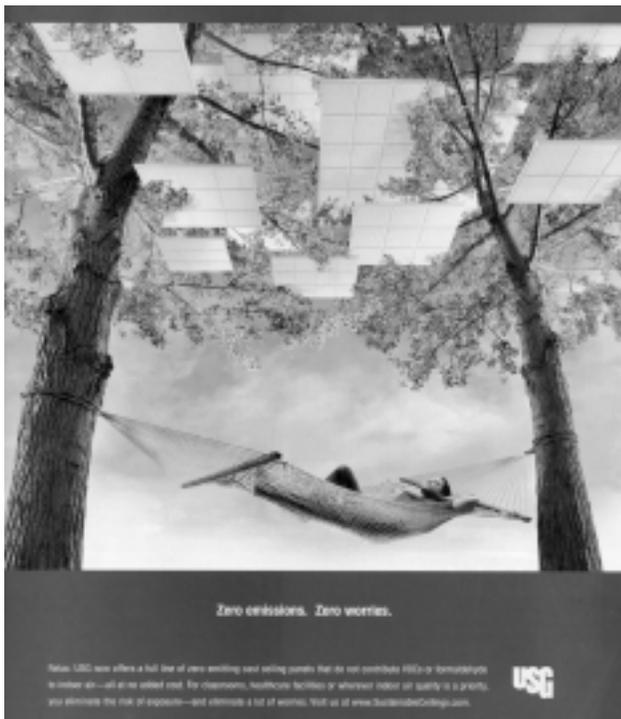
scene's fresh air. Here, the domesticated space of sleep provides the site for dispelling fears of bad air ("Zero emissions. Zero worries.") and for suggesting that the closure of a sealed building can approximate not only the fresh air but also the sense of openness found in time-honored traditions of relaxation and repose.[66]

A further legacy of the sleeping porch lies in the ideas of fresh air and sleeping outside framed within the provisional out-of-door experience and twenty-first-century rhetoric of environmentalism and green building. Like the USG advertisement, recent architectural projects reinterpret traditions and conditions of being outside.

Next door to Rudolph Schindler's Kings Road house, architect Lorcan O'Herlihy has designed Habitat 825, a cluster of townhouses with elevated exterior spaces. The development's adjacency to the earlier Kings Road project underscores the ironies of marketing these units as "new forms for a new lifestyle."[67] Schematic plans include areas labeled "private outdoor space" on the periphery of each townhouse. These indistinct zones diagrammatically hint at the provision of fresh air and outdoor living, but contrast with the rest of the floor plan's more thorough rendering — and, perhaps more starkly, with the richly detailed sleeping baskets of Schindler's neighboring project. In O'Herlihy's resolution of these ideas, each unit's outdoor space folds seamlessly out from the broken plane of the envelope, and successfully "incises natural light into living spaces in unexpected moments" **(FIG.13)**.[68] But the lifestyle suggested by the project's marketing is not new; and

FIGURE 12. *Advertisement for USG ceiling panels. Source:* Architectural Record*, March 2008.*

FIGURE 13. *Habitat 825. Lorcan O'Herlihy, architect. Photo by Lawrence Anderson.*

FIGURE 14. *Curtain Wall House. Shigeru Ban Architects. Photo by Hiroyuki Hirai.*

FIGURE 15. *Naked House. Shigeru Ban Architects. Photo by Hiroyuki Hirai.*

the outdoor uses of its external spaces, although well-lit, remain primarily in concept (the *idea* of air and openness) — in opposition to the highly programmed experiences of earlier porch traditions and their early-modernist interpretations.

An argument can also be made that the work of Shigeru Ban Architects demonstrates a "turning in" of the sleeping porch, in which the ideas of air and of sleeping outside are obscured by an ironic turn. Two examples of this play on words and building systems are designs for a Curtain Wall House and a Naked House (FIGS.14,15). In the former, the entire house can be radically converted from open urban pavilion to hermetic dwelling by closing the glazed wall panels — transforming airiness (comparable to the sleeping porch's provision of fresh air) to monumental transparency.

The latter project combines the form of a warehouse with the translucent envelope of a greenhouse. Its short north and south window walls afford natural light, while its fifteen-inch-thick long east and west walls are super-insulated with extruded polyethylene noodles and layers of corrugated fiber-reinforced plastic, vinyl-bubble sheeting, and an internal nylon membrane. Here, exposure to the elements — metaphorically understood as the unclothed body's exposure — occurs *through* a thick, highly insulated skin. Thus, it is *within* this project's essentially hermetic volume that the experiences of nakedness and airiness occurs.

Meanwhile, residents sleep inside wheeled pods that parallel the way sleeping porches and their global variants once afforded private zones simultaneously attached to and detached from primary living spaces. In Shigeru Ban's version, however, the sleeping areas must be rolled onto a terrace at the southern end of the house to engage the natural elements. Otherwise, they remain plugged into air conditioners mounted on the walls, which provide conditioned air to each based on individual requirements for comfort.[69]

This twenty-first-century strategy internalizes and consequently inverts the spaces, the systems, and, for that matter, the social conditions that outdoor sleeping space traditionally exemplified. Symbolized by such aphorisms as "outside is the new inside," the *desire* to sleep outside has replaced the know-how and the ability to do so.[70] More deeply, it has transformed the spatial framework for "sleeping in the open."

REFERENCE NOTES

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1. Rooted in these domestic traditions of the Deep South, literary works recorded the architectonics and the socio-cultural meanings of these indoor-outdoor spaces. Among others, William Faulkner, Walker Percy, Zora Neale Hurston, and Eudora Welty included sleeping porches in their stories.
2. For example, Gertrude Bell described many of these practices of roof-top sleeping in correspondence from her travels to Iran in the 1890s and throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century.
3. H.D. Thoreau, *Walden* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p.57.
4. C.M. D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health: Outdoor Sleeping for the Well Man," *Country Life in America*, 16 (May 1909), p.46.
5. Another example of mid-nineteenth-century back-to-nature literature was Edmund Morris's *Ten Acres Enough: The Small Farm Dream is Possible* (1864).
6. "Devotees of Tent Life: Enjoying the Fresh Air in the Adirondack Mountains," *New York Times*, August 12, 1906. The article documented the events and social interactions among esteemed visitors to the Inn. The article began, "Tent life is one of the delightful features at Saranac Inn, where a score of tents and tent cabins dot the shore of the Upper Saranac Lake and are used as day camps and sleeping rooms by guests at the Inn. Tent life is delightfully informal, and the tent colony entertains its friends with impromptu card parties and 5 o'clock teas."
7. M.C. Wymond, "My Outdoor Living and Sleeping-Room," *Country Life in America*, 16 (May 1909), p.93.
8. J. Burroughs, "Outdoor Sleeping for the Nature Lover," *Country Life in America*, 16 (May 1909), p.92.

9. For an intensive analysis of this transformation, see P.C. Baldwin, "How Night Air Became Good Air, 1776–1930," *Environmental History*, Vol.8 No.3 (July 2003), pp.412–29.
10. For additional information, see Belleville's extensive website http://www.bwire.com, with historical archives.
11. Baldwin, "How Night Air Became Good Air," p.420. Baldwin also cites the reduction in cost for screening a window: from up to $6 in 1869 to as little as $1.25 in 1914. Plastic-coated wire cloth was introduced in 1941, and in late 1950s aluminum screen cloth became available.
12. R. Arsenault, "The End of the Long Hot Summer: The Air Conditioner and Southern Culture," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol.50 No.4 (Nov. 1984), p.598. Arsenault also notes later scholars' rejection of this position as "monocausal climatological determinism."
13. A.H. Palmer, "Climatic Influences on American Architecture," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol.5 No.3 (September 1917), p.270.
14. Arsenault, "The End of the Long Hot Summer," p.599.
15. Palmer, "Climatic Influences on American Architecture," p.270.
16. John Adams, from his autobiography, quoted in Baldwin, "How Night Air Became Good Air," p.412.
17. See H. Martineau, "How to Make Home Un-healthy," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1 (June–November 1850), pp.618–19; quoted in E.C. Cromley, "A History of American Beds and Bedrooms," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 4 (1991), p.183. See also Cromley's "Sleeping Around: A History of American Beds and Bedrooms: The Second Banham Memorial Lecture," *Journal of Design History*, Vol.3 No.1 (1990), pp.1–17.
18. Anonymously written in "The Air of Our Sleeping-Rooms" (by a Journal Sister), *The Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper*, Philadelphia (March 1884), p.3. *The Ladies' Home Journal* itself can be understood as a vehicle of environmental reform; see L.M. Roth, "Getting the Houses to the People: Edward Bok, the Ladies' Home Journal, and the Ideal House," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 4 (1991), p.188.

19. In Stowe's work, see particularly the section titled "Sidenote: Air from the outside. Open your windows, shut your doors."
20. K.U. Clark, "Winter Ventilation of Our Homes," *The Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper* (1884–1889) VI, No. 2 (January 1889), p.2.
21. See the May 1909 issue of *Country Life in America*. For a complete discussion of architecture and tuberculosis outside of North America, see Margaret Campbell, "What Tuberculosis did for Modernism: The Influence of a Curative Environment on Modernist Design and Architecture," *Medical History*, Vol.49 No.4 (October 2005), pp.463–88.
22. I. Washburne, "The Tent System of the Boston City Hospital," *The American Journal of Nursing*, Vol.4 No.8 (May 1904), pp.585–87.
23. D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health," p.44.
24. Ibid., pp.45,46.
25. K.L. Smith, "Indoor Bed Tents," *Scientific American*, n.s. 101 (December 1909), p.410. Outdoor sleeping was not without stigma. In 1907, Butterfield subtitled an article on outdoor sleeping rooms with the following: "the habit of sleeping in the open air is not for invalids alone — it is a luxury to be enjoyed by everyone who wills . . . so closely has the habit become associated with the life of an invalid that one has but to announce his determination to sleep in the open air and he will at once be covertly pitied as a consumptive in the last stages." See O.E. Butterfield, "Outdoor Sleeping Rooms," *Country Life in America*, Homebuilder's Supplement (February 1907), p.lxi.
26. A.W. Henderson, "Outdoor Sleeping the Year Round," *Country Life in America*, January 1911, p.cxc.
27. Ibid., p.cxc.
28. L.H. Gulick, "How I Slept Outdoors," *Country Life in America*, 16 (May 1909), p.91 (italics in original).
29. Ibid., p.91.
30. Smith, "Indoor Bed Tents," p.410. Mabel Criswell Wymond described head covering that could be used in association with the bed tent: "A cap should be made of material agreeable to the wearer. Nun's veil-

ing lined with very thin wash silk can be kept clean and will suit most people; it should fit closely around the face and have a circular cape to come down to the shoulders. Instead of woolen sheets and much covering, I find greater comfort in a muslin gown with a light-weight, all-wool French flannel kimono worn over it" (p.94). Other authors cite smaller nocturnal temperature swing as one of the main benefits of sleeping outside: "Another reason why we must sleep outdoors rather than indoors with windows open is this: our steam-heated bedroom may have a temperature of 70 degrees when we open the windows and retire, and when we awake in the morning, it will be lowered to 40 degrees. This drop of thirty degrees means that bed covering for seventy degrees will be utterly insufficient for forty degrees, and as a consequence we either begin the night too warm or end too cold" (D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health," p.82).

31. Smith, "Indoor Bed Tents," p.423.

32. E.T. Heinson, "Open-Air Sleeping Room," United States Patent Office, application filed December 31, 1925, and patented September 20, 1927; Serial No. 78,616; Patent number 1,643,070. It is interesting to note that the patent lists Heinson's residence as Mountain Iron, Minnesota. Other patents include the following: Joseph A. Conboie's fresh-air "Ventilator" (1942, 1944); Malcolm K. Graham's "Window Ventilator" (1932, 1933); Maggie Milliken McQuarrie's "Canvas Storm Screen" for sleeping porches (1936, 1937); a sleeping porch bed integrated with a parapet wall in Henry Charles Trost's "Building Construction" (1920, 1922); Mary Rutherford Jay's "Sleeping Balcony" that can be added to existing structures (1930, 1932); Orlan S. Vancamp's "Fresh-Air Bed" (1915, 1918); Willard C. James's "Screened Bed Having Vertical Pivots" (1913, 1920); William E. Zingsheim and John L. Stubbs's "Sleeping-Porch" (1917, 1918); Malcolm K. Graham's "Sleeping Porch Curtain" (1932, 1934); Irene Norman's "Sleeping-Porch" (1919, 1920); and Edwin Raymond Culver's "Sleeping-Porch" (1912, 1913).

33. C. Lancaster, *The American Bungalow: 1880–1930* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), p.19. The "bungales" or "hovels" were resting places along roads in colonial era. Materials for the rest-houses, tempo-

rary shelters, or "caravanserais" included unbaked bricks and thatch, with a veranda typically enveloping the rooms. The shelters were also referred to as "dāk-bungalows," in which the prefix means "post" or "relay." Sleeping porches introduced within the bungalow typology are variously labeled "screen porch," "sleeping room," and "screen sleeping room."

34. For comparison, see G.F. Atkinson, "Curry and Rice," *Country Life in America* (February 1911); and R.T. Jones, *Authentic Small Houses of the Twenties: Illustrations and Floor Plans of 254 Characteristic Homes* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), reprint of *Small Homes of Architectural Distinction* (New York: Harper, 1929). See also Lancaster's illustrations, particularly those on page 21. Building on such derivations, a 1908 article in *American Architect and Building News* described the "dāk-bungalow" as "a house for travelers, such as are constructed by the Indian government at intervals of twelve to fifteen miles on the highroads in many parts of India."

35. Henry L. Wilson, *The Bungalow Book: Floor Plans and Photos of 112 Houses*, 1910 (Minneola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006), p.3.

36. Ibid., p.4.

37. Ibid., p.55.

38. Ibid., p.57. Almost a decade later, Henry H. Saylor's publication *Bungalows* (New York: McBride, Winston & Company, 1920) demonstrated similar spatial integration within the bungalow's building envelope. In "A House of Many Windows: Rooms filled with sunshine offer varied comforts and conveniences" (4-B-12), the porch and sleeping porch (9'5" x 8'8") are stacked on the house's rear corner. In the as-built illustration for this design type ("home built from design 4-B-12"), both porches have been "incorporated into the body of the house" (p.26). The description follows: "The upstairs sleeping porch is accessible from both bedrooms, and if it is not required for sleeping will make a charming little sitting room. An upstairs room of this character is extremely cozy and often has greater charm and intimacy than is possible to achieve in the more formal living room." Also, in "A Common Plan Uncommonly Handled." The sleeping porch (11'6" x 10'), with its own closet, is fully integrated within

the rectangular building footprint (p.190).

39. Wilson, *The Bungalow Book*, p.95.

40. Ibid., pp.100–101. In No.496, Wilson stacks the sleeping porch on top of the main level screen porch, both of which read as attachments to an otherwise integrated rectangular plan (p.65). In No.658R, the screened sleeping room extends from the rear corner towards the back and side of the house, capturing breezes for cross-ventilation but at the same time creating a spatial relationship with the front porch and thus adding a degree of public connectivity to the open-air room (p.102). In No.540, a more formally integrated "open-air sleeping room" is paired with a balcony, with the former matching the first-floor kitchen's walls and the latter lining up with a screen porch and small lavatory (p.71).

41. See No.627 on page 88 and No.735 on page 134.

42. Wilson, *The Bungalow Book*, pp.122–23.

43. Ibid., p.129.

44. The full title of Saylor's work is *Bungalows: Their Design, Construction and Furnishing, with Suggestions Also for Camps, Summer Homes and Cottages of Similar Character*.

45. Saylor, *Bungalows*, p.81. Saylor notes that the sleeping porch follows the screened porch's similar movement from west to east, not addressing the sleeping porches of the American South.

46. Ibid., p.31.

37. Ibid., p.19. Saylor continued in a later section, "Needless to say, the tent-house makes an ideal outdoor sleeping-room when arranged for that purpose, but its application to homes intended for other than merely occasional use is necessarily limited" (p.33).

48. Jones, *Small Houses of Architectural Distinction*, 1929, p.20.

49. Ibid., p.49. The porch (7'8" x 10'9") latches onto a side bedroom, its extension into the room forming two flanking closets.

50. Ibid., p.127.

51. Sinclair Lewis's novel *Babbitt* (1922) begins on the sleeping porch, which mirrors the main character's middle-class life: "He seemed prosperous, extremely married and unromantic; and altogether unromantic appeared this sleeping-porch, which looked on one sizable elm, two respectable grass plots, a cement driveway, and a corrugated iron garage." (New York: Penguin, 1996, p.2) For another com-

parison to Babbitt's house, see also "Another Variation of Dutch Colonial" — Design 6-A-75 in Jones's publication.

52. W.K. Shilling, "Country Home with Outdoor Sleeping, Living, and Dining Rooms," *Country Life in America*, 16 (May 1909), pp.71–72.

53. He goes on to compare this stratification to warm and cold ocean currents that sometimes do not mix for thousands of miles ("Care of the Body," *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1926). Note that Schindler is critiquing sources such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and, in a sense, reinventing domestic tradition.

54. Schindler, "Care of the Body," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1926. Before this statement, Schindler invoked meaningful ritual as an antidote to "instigated fashion": "Our own everyday actions much achieve the dignity of the past ceremonials." And then later: "The house will be a form-book with a song, instead of an irrelevant page from a dictionary of dead form dialects. And life will regain its fluidity."

55. D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health," p.46. He also argues that it doesn't matter whether the inhabitant resides in city or country; the goal of fresh air transcends location (p.82).

56. Ibid., p.90.

57. See, for example, Jones's "Brick for the Large Small House" (Design 6-B-9), in which the sleeping porch at 11'6" x 8'3" is larger, or at least better proportioned, than the bedroom (7'10" x 13' and with a single window) from which it extends.

58. C.G. Hoag, "Sleeping Machine," *Country Life in America*, 16 (May 1909), p.102.

59. Schindler, "Care of the Body," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1926. Schindler's viewpoint is framed around a paradox: sleeping out of doors certainly occurred previously, but how it occurred had changed. Many doctors saw the practice as essential to healthy living,

modernists appropriated it as something new, and many in the dwelling public sought closeness to nature. Schindler wrote: "Contrary to the custom of our ancestors, we are more and more aware of the beauty and healthfulness of sleeping out-of-doors. The bedrooms are slowly degenerating into dressing-rooms and our beds are placed on an open porch." ("Care of the Body," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1926.)

60. D'Enville, "Sleeping Outdoors for Health," p.46.

61. H.S. Adams, "Pretty Nearly Sleeping Outdoors," *Country Life in America*, Homebuilder's Supplement, March 1911, pp.373–75.

62. Wymond, "My Outdoor Living and Sleeping-Room," p.95.

63. This process also follows transformations in the inhabitant's relation to the house. Just as the sleeping porch became a multifunctional space, many zones of the "modern" house, particularly the bedroom, became sites for programmatic flexibility. The sleeping porch transformed how early twentieth century home-dwellers thought about living in a house. Does the sleeping porch imply an expansiveness that occurs before a contraction in domestic space?

64. There are many other modernist sleeping porches from this time period, including Robert Mallet-Stevens's and Pierre Chareau's design for the *chambre de plein air* in the Noailles House at Hyères (1923–28).

65. In the Spring and Fall of 2008, the United States Gypsum Company's advertisement ran in many journals including *Architectural Record*, where it appeared facing an article on the Solar Decathlon House (see p.149 of the March 2008 issue).

66. An interesting counterpoint to concerns about sickness generated by sealed buildings is the passive house design first proposed by Wolfgang Feist in the early 1990s.

Subsequent houses associated with Darmstadt's Passivhaus Institut achieve uniformity of air and temperature with a highly efficient heat exchanger, south-facing windows, and minimal loss of air under pressure. Limited to regions without substantial cooling loads, the airtight houses avoid SBS and BRI by way of a sophisticated central ventilation system. In contrast to the traditional sleeping porch's open connection to the environment, the relation between body and external air is mediated by superinsulated glazing, filters, and ventilation systems, and is internalized and translated into a more intimate connection between internal air and body. Along with solar gain and appliances, the occupants themselves contribute to the minimal heat needed to warm the house's internal spaces.

67. The Habitat 825 proposal and marketing description can be found at the website http://www.habitatgroupla.com/habitat825.html. See also the July 2008 issue of *Architectural Record* and the January 10, 2008, *New York Times* article "Remaking the Condo with Light and Air" for a discussion of the completed project.

68. For the complete description and imaging of Habitat 825, please see Lorcan O'Herlihy's website at http://www.loharchitects.com.

69. Here, the client's aspirations for flexibility, openness, and targeted climatic conditioning characterize the house's protected "nakedness." The four, nearly-square mobile sleeping rooms, based on tatami modules, each provide about sixty square feet of living area. With their open ends, the rooms approximate the configuration of the main rectangular volume. The Naked House was completed in 2000.

70. This aphorism appeared on the cover of the January 2008 issue of McGraw Hill's *GreenSource* magazine.

The Legend of Brigadoon: Architecture, Identity and Choice in the Scottish Highlands

DANIEL MAUDLIN

Since the nineteenth century two distinct domestic architectural traditions in the Scottish Highlands have been interpreted in Britain as representative of Highland and Scottish identity. But Scotland's positive national identification with both the indigenous turf-walled and thatched Highland blackhouse and the imposed white, regular forms of the eighteenth-century "improved cottage" and farmhouse have failed to account for the historical relationships between the two architectural traditions and Scottish Gaels, or Highlanders. The aim of this article is to examine these historic relationships, to consider the misinterpretations of romanticism and the folklorists, and to question the Scottish government's current regionalist planning policy.

Through the twentieth century, city dwelling architects, planners, folklorists and academics have sought to define the cultural identity of the Scottish Highlands through its domestic architecture. The region has two architectural traditions: the millennia-old indigenous blackhouse and the imposed Classical farmhouse and cottage. As a consequence of the transformative process of agricultural improvement during the eighteenth century, the latter now dominate the Highland landscape, while the former persisted into the twentieth century only in impoverished coastal crofting communities, and have now largely disappeared.

The historic relationships between these two architectural traditions and Scottish Gaelic culture are complex. The blackhouse is an indigenous, Gaelic, house type promoted by folklorists and architects in the 1930s as a Highland cultural icon. However, by the twentieth century the blackhouse was viewed by Scottish Gaelic society in general as an embarrassing symbol of backwardness. These improved farmhouse emerged in the Highlands as a symbol of Britishness and modernity. The houses were built in the late eighteenth century by tenant farmers whose new wealth was founded upon the mass

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eviction of Scottish Gaels. The improved cottage likewise emerged as a form imposed by landowners — in this case, to rehouse evicted Highlanders in industrial planned villages. Ironically, however, the same eighteenth-century Classicism that typified the imposed farmhouse and cottage became the choice of Scottish Gaels forced to emigrate, and who settled in North America.

Current Scottish regional planning policy stipulates that the design of new domestic architecture references the physical characteristics of regional historic building stocks. This policy claims to reflect and reinforce "local and Scottish identity." However, it does not consider the social contexts of the Highlands' historic building traditions or their relative cultural value within Scottish Gaelic culture. The result is a policy that enforces the eighteenth-century architecture of improvement that dominates the Highland built environment.

THE INDIGENOUS HIGHLAND HOUSE

The term "blackhouse" has been used by English speakers since the mid-nineteenth century to describe the indigenous dwellings of the Scottish Highlands. It is a mistranslation of the Gaelic word *tugadh*, which simply means "thatch," but which is phonetically similar to *tigh dubh*, or "black house." The blackhouse is a longhouse dwelling type adapted to the adverse weather and harsh, treeless environment of the Highland region and the social practices and rituals of Scottish Gaelic, or Highland culture. It was the common dwelling prior to the permanent transformation of the Highland landscape and society through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the early eighteenth century the Scottish Highlands were home to a Gaelic-speaking society based around the social structure of the clan. According to historian Robert Dodgshon, "By its very nature, a kin-based society transformed physical space into a social space, one that was identified through and structured by the groups or clans that occupied it."[1] Below the chief and clan elite, or "fine," the body of the clan consisted of ordinary clansmen and women who were loyal to the chief and lived and farmed on his lands, though they were not necessarily of the same name. However, clanship was not a straightforward economic relationship between a landowner and his tenants; it was a paternalistic, communal culture based upon the concept of *duthchas*, or common heritage, i.e., the land traditionally held by a clan. Historian Tom Devine has explained that *duthchas* was "central to the social cohesion of the clan because it articulated the expectations of the masses that the ruling families had the responsibility to act as their protectors and guarantee secure possession of land in return for allegiance, military service, tribute and rental."[2]

The blackhouse was a semi-permanent dwelling linked to the perambulatory settlement patterns of extended family groups within a clan's lands. Traditional settlements, known as *clachan* or *bailtean*, consisted of small irregular clusters of blackhouses. The Scottish Vernacular Building Group has described blackhouses as "integrated structures within the landscape . . . [whose] form, shape and colour merged naturally with the fields."[3] The external structure, interior space, and site orientation of the blackhouse were developed to minimize the effects of the windy and wet Highland environment and create a warm, dry living space.

The blackhouses of the "Baile Geane" *clachan* re-creation at the Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie, give the clearest indication today of the appearance and experience of a historic blackhouse (**FIG.1**).[4] The walls and roof of the blackhouse enclosed a well-insulated, warm and dry living space. The orientation of the blackhouse also contributed to the warmth of the interior: its rounded, narrow gable end faced the prevailing wind, and any openings, such as the door, were placed on the south-facing side toward the sun. These provisions coincided with the Gaelic proverb, "*An iar's an ear, an dachaigh as 'fhearr — cul ri gaoith, 's aghaidh ri grein,*" or "East to west, the house that's best — back to the wind and face to the sun."[5]

Inside, the long, low, rectangular form of the blackhouse provided a single living space. This was heated by a peat fire in a simple stone hearth in the center of the floor, with the heavy peat smoke escaping slowly through the thatch (**FIG.2**). Functional determinism does not fully explain the form and function of the blackhouse, however. The central hearth was the social heart of Gaelic culture. The Highland *ceilidh*, or gathering, originated in communal storytelling, singing, and music sessions held around the glow of the central hearth through the long, house-bound winter months. Scottish Gaelic culture is principally based upon this intangible heritage, and the central hearth and enclosed space of the blackhouse framed and informed the centripetal social ritual of the *ceilidh*.[6]

FIGURE 1. *Baile Geane, reconstruction of an early eighteenth-century Highland settlement,* clachan *or* bailtean, *Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie, Central Highlands. Photo courtesy of Highland Folk Museum, 2006.*

FIGURE 2. *Interior of reconstructed blackhouse, Highland Folk Museum. Photo by author.*

The blackhouse was a traditional building type common to most ranks of Scottish Gaelic society. The term "traditional" is generally taken to indicate that the form, structure and materials of the blackhouse were a response to the specifics of a place, Highland Scotland, and a people, Scottish Gaels, over time (a shifting dynamic between environment, function and cultural practices).[7] This understanding of "tradition" leads to notions of place and ethnicity (or more broadly national, regional and subregional identities) within settled communities (often but not always rural and peasant in origin). It involves a post-romantic study of folk architecture. In this regard, Alan Colquhoun has written that the study of folk culture "represents an attempt to preserve a regional essence that is seen to be in mortal danger and [its aim is] to uphold the qualities of Kultur against the incursions of a universalizing and rationalizing Zivilzation."[8]

It is this relationship between people and place within prevailing notions of the vernacular that has attracted public policy-makers seeking to reinforce or re-create cultural identities through regional historicist planning regulations. However, advocates of this view in Scotland frequently overlook the fact that the clan system began to collapse in the eighteenth century under economic pressures resulting from the region's contact with early-modern Britain. Across vast areas of the Highlands the blackhouse and *bailtean* were forcibly eradicated by clan chieftains turned commercial landowners. Communities were evicted, and a new commercial agricultural landscape and an early-modern, British built environment were created, which remain predominant in the region to this day.

The Highland blackhouse tradition did continue into the early twentieth century within settlements known as crofting communities. The crofting system emerged in the early nineteenth century as a nonsecure form of tenure through which many displaced communities were relocated by landowners to smallholdings on marginal land. Crofting was viewed as a last resort: a ghetto of poverty on unprofitable wasteland, often on previously uncultivated coastal strips on the outer margins of great estates. For the ordinary Gael, crofting did mean a chance to remain close to ancestral lands and a familiar way of life, but it also brought a constant threat of starvation due to the infertility of the land and the constant possibility of eviction. Until the introduction of secure tenancies and government grants to crofters in the twentieth century there was little money or will to build new homes. Therefore, within the boundaries of these communities poverty and impermanence, not choice, ensured that the blackhouse persisted into the twentieth century.

In these crofting communities, the early-twentieth-century blackhouse was only slightly evolved from its historic origins. Interior improvements were made, such as planked wooden flooring and wall paneling, glazed windows, mass-produced imported furniture, and the replacement of the central hearth with gable-end hearths (often fitted with cast-iron stoves). However, the poverty and lack of social mobility within traditional Highland society and the restrictive nature of the crofting system all combined to ensure that the blackhouse did not evolve into a permanent high-status building in the manner of other indigenous longhouse traditions in Britain, such as the Devon longhouse. By the twentieth century the blackhouse was seen by Scottish Gaels as an object of shame, a symbol of backwardness, and a reminder of a history of poverty and oppression.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HIGHLAND HOUSE

Although it is the indigenous dwelling type, there are very few extant blackhouses in the Scottish Highlands. As early as the later eighteenth century, in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,* Dr. Samuel Johnson observed that the blackhouse was rapidly disappearing from the Highland landscape.

By the mid-twentieth century, on return from a tour of the Highlands in search of a suitable village as a location to film, Arthur Freed, the producer of the 1954 Lerner and Loewe musical *Brigadoon,* commented that he could find "nothing that looked like Scotland." Freed's view of the Highland settled landscape is not uncommon. Visitors still come in search of kilted Gaels living pastoral lives in picturesque clusters of thatched cottages nestled comfortably within a dramatic mountain landscape. They are generally disappointed.

In fact, the historic farmhouses, cottages and planned villages of the twenty-first-century Highland landscape are monuments to the powerful social and economic forces that

transformed the region through the long eighteenth century, c. 1700–1850. The drive for higher rents by Highland landowners has often been depicted as a betrayal of Gaeldom and the sanctity of *duthchas* (the bonds of family, community and tradition) by Gaelic clan chiefs who squandered the revenue of their Highland estates on London-based lifestyles in order to gain status as British gentlemen and aristocrats. Financially, however, enclosure was the only viable option available to most Highland landowners in face of inevitable changes heralded by the "irresistible market pressures emanating from Lowland industrialisation and urbanisation."[9]

For many years, James Hunter's *Making of the Crofting Community* (1978) has been considered the definitive history of the Highland's socioeconomic transformation. However, the history of the Scottish Highlands has also been the object of recent revision by writers such as T.M. Devine, Robert Dodgshon, Allan Macinnes, and Chris Whately.[10] A considered position is that Highland history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries needs to maintain a balance between the drama of the Clearances and the detailing of economic land reform. Nonetheless, commercial landlordism in the Highlands did result in the clearance of thousands of *bailtean* to make way for single-tenant sheep farms. A new breed of professional tenant farmer, generally from the Scottish Borders and northern England, took root and built themselves modern British farmhouses. On the new sheep ranches, numberless blackhouses were replaced by lone early-modern British farmhouses.

The period 1775 to 1825 saw a Highland building boom, when more than three hundred farmhouses were built — a figure that accounts for 73 percent of all extant listed rural

domestic architecture in the region constructed between 1600 and 1850.[11] As the geographer David Turnock has observed, "the results of [this] massive building programme are still clear for all to see."[12]

The improved tenant farmhouse was an active agent in a transformation of the Scottish Highlands that has been described by T.C. Smout as the "great divide which meant the end of rural life as it had been lived since time immemorial and the beginning of rural life as it has been ever since."[13] It represented a clear change in cultural practice: a building tradition based upon a direct response to the Highland environment was superseded by a house type, construction methods, materials, and building skills imported from the Lowlands. And it was brought about by a change in the house-building population — or in the case of many tacksmen, a change in social and economic perspective. In direct relation to agricultural improvement, the Highland building boom gradually gained momentum through the eighteenth century, reaching its peak at the turn of the century, and subsequently tailed off toward the middle of the nineteenth century.

Highland tenant farmhouses are relatively large, two-story buildings with a three-cell rectangular plan typical of late-eighteenth-century British everyday Classicism. Many of these improvement-era farmhouses were depicted in William Daniell's contemporary travelogue, *A Voyage Round the Coast of Scotland* (FIG.3).[14] A sample of more than a thousand photographs of the front elevations of farmhouses from across Scotland was analyzed by Robert Naismith for the Countryside Commission of Scotland in 1985.[15] Naismith's analysis of each building's overall facade and its doors and windows showed that the location and size of more than 57 percent of

FIGURE 3. *William Daniell, "Berrydale, Caithness," from* A Voyage Round the Coast of Scotland and the Adjacent Islands, 1814–1822. *Courtesy of National Library of Scotland.*

these elements were comprehensively controlled by proportional principles based upon formal geometric relationships.

The exterior walls of the new tenant farmhouses were built of square-cut stone blocks laid in regular courses, covered with a protective white harl. The roof was made of evenly sized slates, and the high gable-end walls were terminated by characteristic broad chimneystacks. The ground-floor facade had a door in the center and a rectangular window on either side. The upper story had three windows placed directly above the ground-floor windows and door. In some cases, the house would have matching single-story wings to each side.

The standard rectangular floor plan of the typical improved farmhouse was at least double the size of the typical blackhouse since it was commonly two rooms deep (i.e., it had two to the front and two to the back, and the same layout of bedrooms upstairs). The arrangement of rooms on both floors was symmetrical, featuring a central passageway flanked by living rooms on the ground floor (such as the parlor and kitchen), and bedrooms upstairs (**FIG.4**). All rooms were plastered and finished with simple Classical architectural moldings, such as cornices. The internal structure of the roof frame, floors, partition walls, skirting boards, and stairs required large amounts of timber. In addition, the house contained any number of manufactured items that had to be bought, including nails and hinges, door handles, fireplaces, grates, window frames, and glass.

The well-ordered, symmetrical, three-bay facade visually maintained a household's standing within the community. It was a statement of modernity and wealth, social aspiration and conformity. Nicholas Cooper described much the same phenomenon in a parallel English context: "in building uniform houses . . . which conformed to architectural norms . . . members of eighteenth-century [society] expressed their standing and their sense of community."[16]

FIGURE 4. *The parlor, Glassingall Farm House, Perthshire. Photo by author.*

When the difficulty and great cost of importing the necessary skilled labor, tools, materials and components required to build these fashionable, and poorly adapted, farmhouses in a remote and inaccessible country is considered, an impression is gained of the aggregate economic power of the Highland tenant farmers. This demonstrable willingness to pay also shows the importance placed upon high-quality contemporary house building within the process of agricultural improvement. In the Scottish Highlands the combination of individual social anxiety and a sense of collective social pride among tenant farmers produced more than three hundred farmhouses that looked very much the same in outward appearance: white geometric boxes in a mountainous landscape. The Classical proportioning of farmhouse facades further demonstrated both an aspiration to modernity and the need to conform — through architectural decorum — to the social structures associated with the transformation of rural Scotland.

THE HIGHLAND HOUSE IN NORTH AMERICA

Research into the houses built by Highlanders who left Scotland to settle in Nova Scotia, Canada, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has shown that, like the new class of tenant farmers in the Highlands, Scottish Gaels, when given the choice were keen to modernize. Their settlements in Canada brought a rapid and total rejection of the blackhouse in favor of contemporary British American architectural fashions.[17] Stylistically, their houses in Canada adopted the same everyday Classicism evident in the improved cottages and farmhouses of the Scottish Highlands (**FIG.5**).

Canadian architectural historians Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth have argued that "it is clear that the Scottish . . . folk dwelling did make its way to Atlantic Canada . . . quite simply stone and thatch were abandoned in favor of wood."[18] While this transition may be true for materials and related construction, the presence of a broadly rectangular floor plan and a tendency toward bilateral symmetry in the Highland blackhouse does not translate into the careful Classical proportions and architectural moldings of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century British American farmhouse. The interiors of timber-framed colonial farmhouses of Nova Scotia were clean, light and airy, in contrast with the muddy, dark, and smoke-filled interior of the ordinary Highlander's blackhouse. The transition from the stone-and-turf blackhouse to a timber-framed, Classically-styled house type represents a deliberate break with tradition and a desire to embrace an emergent contemporary British American consumer society.

The rejection of the blackhouse tradition does not appear to have represented much of a loss to the Gaelic settlers' shared cultural identity. Settlers and their descendants fiercely maintained their Scottish Gaelic culture through lan-

FIGURE 5. *Classical ornamentation to early-nineteenth-century Highland settler's house in Canada. MacGillivary House, Upper South River, Antigonish County, Nova Scotia, Canada. Photo by author, 2003.*

guage, literature, music and dance — a valued intangible heritage. Yet, while Scottish emigrants' songs and poetry make repeated reference to their sense of loss for their former communities and lands, there are no nostalgic references to the blackhouse. A contemporary house expressed a modern and improving attitude within a culturally vibrant Gaelic colonial society. New architecture was of great cultural significance and readily embraced as a social indicator of the emigrant Scottish Gaelic community's new wealth, status and modernity as colonial farmers and landowners. The sole blackhouse in Canada is the Lone Sheiling, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. It is a scale replica, a monument built by the descendants of Highland settlers in 1947. As Marjory Harper and Michael Vance have observed, "the thought of assembling the necessary stones in order to construct a remembrance of home could only have occurred to later generations with sufficient resources and leisure to indulge such sentimental inclinations."[19]

It is ironic that the common design of the typical British American farmhouse in Canada employed the same everyday eighteenth-century Classicism as the improved farmhouses of the new tenant farmers in the Scottish Highlands, whose financial success was directly linked to the eviction and subsequent emigration of many of the settlers. The formal origins of early farmhouses of Nova Scotia can, of course, be traced to New England. The architectural link was first noted in a 1962 article by pioneering historian Alan Gowan, in which he simply noted that, "if you come to houses . . . from Nova Scotia, they will remind you of something you have seen in Maine or Massachusetts."[20] More recently, Ennals

and Holdsworth have also observed that "housing solutions conveyed to the region by early colonists or planters and Loyalists offered a powerful model which was quickly absorbed by later arrivals from Britain."[21]

In recent years, historians of early-modern Britain and North America, such as Bernard Bailyn, Nicholas Canny, and Jack P. Greene, have explored the possibility of a "British Atlantic World" that emerged in the seventeenth century and became established through the eighteenth century.[22] The historiography of this colonial cultural diaspora has involved interpretation of the socioeconomic themes of trade, migration, religion, ethnicity and social status from an Atlantic perspective.[23] Despite the physical and documentary evidence, the British Atlantic is not a familiar perspective in architectural history. Yet, the principal movement within this British Atlantic World was an outward ripple from London and the English Home Counties — the center of eighteenth-century British politics, economics and culture — to a federation of subnational groups spread throughout Britain and the British Atlantic.[24]

Nova Scotia's position within the British Atlantic World was reflected in newspapers such as the *Halifax Gazette* and the *Colonial Patriot*, which regularly covered stories from locations such as London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Williamsburg, Charleston, Bermuda and the Caribbean. At a smaller scale, the geographer James T. Lemon's description of the position of the average colonial farmer within eighteenth-century British North America applies to the situation found in Scottish Gaelic settlements in Nova Scotia:

[North] America was still a part of England and of Europe; in fact, from one perspective it was England and Europe on the move. Americans of European origin and descent organised themselves into households, local communities, and regional structures. At the household level, most lived much of their lives within nuclear families on dispersed farms largely held in freehold tenure . . . farmers were linked through political, religious, and economic institutions and social and cultural ties to England and to the larger Atlantic world.[25]

Classicism in the eighteenth-century Scottish Highlands represented oppression and imposition, but in North America it represented the freedom to choose fashion over tradition. These were new houses for a new life — as British colonial farmers and landowners. The change in social status from that of tenant, or more often subtenant, in Scotland, with no legal security of tenure, to that of independent landowner was a massive cultural and economic shift for the typical Scottish Gaelic settler, and it was the principal attraction of emigration to Nova Scotia. Given the freedoms of land ownership and relative wealth, Highland settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries chose in their architecture to identify themselves as members of contemporary British colonial society.

THE ROMANTIC HIGHLAND HOUSE

Within the context of early-nineteenth-century Europe's fascination with folk *kultur* and remote mountain peoples such as the *banditti* of Sicily, the national — both Scottish and British — phenomenon of Romantic Highlandism, and the popularity of the heroic figure of the Scottish Gael or Highlander, gained momentum with the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott.[26] Scott's novels had a huge impact on the public's perception of Scottish history — notably the Highland romps *Waverley*, 1814, and *Rob Roy*, 1817. He also stage-managed George IV's Highland-flavored visit to Edinburgh in 1822.

The reimagining of the Scottish Highlands as a place of ancient and noble wildness began with the romantic appeal of James Macpherson's *The Works of Ossian*, 1765. It inspired picturesque thatched Highland "rustic" retreats such as James Playfair's Lynedoch Cottage, 1790, Bridgeton, Perthshire. However, the indigenous Highland blackhouse was an object of horror to early British travel writers of the eighteenth century such as Thomas Pennant. Pennant offered his opinion of a blackhouse in *A Tour in Scotland*, 1776:

The Houses of the common people in these parts are shocking to humanity, formed of loose stones and covered with clods, which they term devots, or with heath, broom, or branches of fir; they look, at a distance, like so many black molehills . . . The most wretched hovels that can be imagined.[27]

Through the nineteenth century, the reconstruction of the Highlands and the Highlander as a heroic romantic figure was driven by the success of the Highland regiments serving overseas within the British Empire and through the example of Queen Victoria's Highland-fantasy existence at Balmoral Castle, Aberdeenshire. The Victorian era established a particular Highland shooting-estate form of Gothic Revival architecture centered upon the excessive use of antlers and rough-log porch columns. As elsewhere in Britain, the early twentieth century saw Scottish cultural activities turn to folk culture. The study of Scottish folk culture was led by the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University. But a key independent figure in the collecting and study of Highland folk culture was Isabel Grant, founder of the Highland Folk Museum at Kingussie, Speyside, and author of the popular *Highland Folk Ways*, 1961.[28] As in the case of traditional songs, stories, rituals and material culture, to the city-dwelling folklorist, the blackhouse was an icon of traditional Highland culture to be sought out, documented and preserved.

Scottish architects of the British Vernacular Revival repeatedly sought to reintroduce the blackhouse form, materials and construction into contemporary house design.[29] One of the earliest examples was J.M. McClaren's Kirkton Cottages at Fortingall, Perthshire, 1889. The thatched, terraced cottages of shipping magnate Sir Donald Currie's model-estate workers' village also provided an eclectic mix of English and Scottish "vernacular" elements. Later, in the 1930s, German Scottish-folklorist Werner Kissling's Royal Institute of Architects in Scotland offered a more accurate reproduction of the blackhouse, based upon field studies (Kissling is better known for his ethnographic photographs of Highland crofting communities). In a competition entry, Kissling proposed a two-story cottage featuring traditional dry-stone walling, cruck frames, and thatch held with stone-weighted ropes (FIG.6).

Even on the national and international stage, at the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow, 1938, the self-image that Scotland presented to the world was of a highly imaginative re-creation of a Highland village. The Clachan of Edinburgh-based architect Basil Spence, in the foreground of Thomas Tait's Tower of Empire, was an architectural fantasy of composite Scottish vernacular house elements that epitomized the national romanticizing of the Highlands (FIG.7).[30]

Despite their academic interests in the folkways of the Highlands, the folklorists, artists and architects of the mid-twentieth century held a patrician's picturesque view of the Highlands as a "timeless" people and landscape.[31] But attempts by urban interest groups to revive the blackhouse as an icon of Highland culture failed to address the reality that for the ordinary Highlander in the twentieth century, the blackhouse had come to represent an enforced, dark, damp and dirty existence associated with endemic poverty. To Scottish Gaels the blackhouse was not a chosen romantic icon of Highland identity; it was a social embarrassment.

THE HIGHLAND HOUSE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In 2001 Scotland launched its first national policy on architecture and planning, "Designing Places," intended "to help raise standards of urban and rural development." A key principle of this policy was that house design "should reflect its setting, local forms of building and materials."[32] The Scottish government's Directorate for the Built Environment stated that:

We believe that the way in which the new built environment can respond to issues of national and local identity and to our built heritage should form an important part of Scotland's policy on architecture. The question of identity and of addressing the need for distinct and appropriate character in place-making is one which is reinforced in [government-produced] Planning Advice Notes.[33]

A total of 13,600 new homes were built in the Highlands from 1997 to 2007, and a further 12,600 new homes are

planned for the next ten years. Under national government guidelines, the design of all these new houses will be controlled directly by the Highland Council's 2001 Structure Plan, according to which "housing in the countryside of an appropriate location, scale, design and materials may be acceptable."[34] This position is further consolidated by the Highland Planning and Development Service's 2005 Design Statement: "design is a material planning consideration . . . it is therefore important that before a design solution is chosen careful analysis of the site and its surroundings is undertaken."[35]

The stipulation in the Highland Council's Structure Plan that housing design must be "of an appropriate location, scale, design and materials" has led to a narrow interpretation of the historic built environment based solely upon a visual survey of prevalent historic materials and forms. This method of determining the appropriateness of design is common to local government design guides throughout Britain. In Scotland, this patrician-picturesque understanding, which sees historic and new housing as a visual aesthetic not as a record and expression of a settled people, was promoted in the influential 1991 book *Tomorrow's Architectural Heritage*, endorsed by HRH Prince Charles. *Tomorrow's Architectural Heritage* sets out familiar "principles of good practice" for contemporary house design, including "Respect the Natural and Cultural Heritage: observe the time-honoured response to climate and landform in vernacular architecture; respect original style and detailing."[36]

This form of regional design control maintains an architectural aesthetic through the perpetuation of the physical characteristics of a region's extant historic buildings. In the Highlands, this emphasis has inevitably resulted in new housing that takes its architectural precedents from the region's predominantly eighteenth-century buildings. For example, West Drummond View is a six-bedroom house recently built near the village of Whitebridge, Inverness-shire, which references the improved cottage (**FIG.8**). West Drummond View displays the "appropriate" visual qualities of a white-rendered symmetrical main elevation, rectangular plan, and gabled, slated roof with gabled roof dormers. Significantly, however, it fails to observe the underlying system of proportion that controlled the size and scale of its eighteenth-century predecessors.

Across Britain, the predominant style of new house building since the 1980s is what can be termed "neotraditional." The origins of this historicist architecture, which has come to dominate the British (English, Welsh and Scottish) built environment, can be traced to the backlash against what was perceived as the characterless "modern" architecture of the 1970s, and to the widespread introduction of historicist or tradition-informed design guides by regional planning authorities.[37] Current planning policy in the Scottish Highlands has resulted in a neotraditional domestic architecture that safeguards the memory of a specific time — the late Georgian period; and a specific people — principally, "incomer" Lowland and English commercial tenant farmers. This is an accurate response to the prevalent architectural character of the region's historic building stock, but it does not take into account the experiences, values and intentions of the occupants of those buildings. David Kolb has described the significance of buildings as components of a regional or national cultural identity in terms of the notion of the "lifeworld":

> *The lifeworld is that background of beliefs, values, and practices that provides a horizon of meaning for our*

FIGURE 8. Newly built housing following design guide regulations. West Drummond View, Whitebridge, Inverness-shire, Central Highlands. Photo courtesy of Innes and Mackay, 2008.

*actions. It is a cultural construct that must be renewed
and handed along to provide community identity.
Buildings embody and help form the distinctive practices
and values of a community.*[38]

The scenographic architecture generated by regionalist
planning policies, as per the Scottish Highlands, has been
dismissed by Juhani Pallasmaa as "sentimental provincial-
ism." Eleftherios Pavlides has also criticized this form of
"folkloric regionalism" as the "culturally counterproductive
repetition of historic references in which government regula-
tions preserve 'local character' by relying on the folkloric con-
ception of type as representative of a region."[39] Pavlides cited
Paul Oliver when voicing concern that a concentration on
form and materials has separated buildings from their social
contexts.[40] It is valid, therefore, to question the Scottish gov-
ernment's claim that current planning policy "reinforces
local and Scottish identity."[41]

Historicism, the neotraditional, and a problematic rela-
tionship between tradition and modernity has, of course, not
been exclusive to contemporary domestic architecture in late-
twentieth-century Britain.[42] The search for symbolic affirma-
tion of identity in the historic built environment is an
international phenomenon. According to Paul Claval:

> *[a] crisis of modern ideologies is a major problem for the
> contemporary World, and more specifically for Western
> civilization, because it is there that the transformation of
> vernacular cultures has been the deepest and where
> national identities have played the most significant role.
> People react to such a situation and develop new strategies
> to preserve memory and create identity . . . giving new
> found importance to the role of heritage.*[43]

However, just as the cultural meaning of the blackhouse
was misinterpreted in the 1930s, it is unclear how the present
prescription of housing design, stylistically based upon the
homes of eighteenth-century commercial farmers from
Lowland Scotland and northern England, positively reinforces
the identity of the Gaelic population of the Scottish Highlands
in the twenty-first century. The example of Scottish planning
confirms Nezar AlSayyad's view that arguments for the need
to preserve "tradition" against the contemporary forces of
globalization are generally weak — "invoked to preserve par-
ticularly national or regional agendas."[44]

The Scottish Highlands and Scottish Gaelic culture has
produced two distinct architectural traditions: the indigenous
blackhouse and the introduced improvement-era farmhouse
and cottage. Each of these architectural traditions has a differ-
ent set of "cultural determinants" and a different set of values
placed upon them within Highland culture. Both traditions
have historic validity, but that history, and its memory, must
be fully understood if the Scottish government hopes to relate
housing design to "local identity" in the Highlands. Similar

concerns associated with the identification of Highland histo-
ry with Highland identity and memory have been discussed
by Ian Robertson and Tim Hall in the context of the region's
commemorative monuments, observing that in the Scottish
Highlands there is "a malleability to heritage and its relation-
ship to landscape, that derives in part from the dialectical rela-
tionship between memory and identity."[45]

A complex and problematic relationship between the
preservation and promotion of cultural identity and the con-
sumption, production and reproduction of built heritage is
not unique to Scotland. Peter Groote and Tialda Haartsen
have argued that, as in Scotland, in Holland a "naive
assumption" prevails that "that there is an object truth in the
landscape." They find that Dutch heritage policy planners
"have more problems with dealing with the inherent socially
constructed and plural nature of heritage as well as regional
identities than do agents in the lay and popular discourse."[46]
Fabio Todeshini and Derek Japha found a similar willful mis-
interpretation of historic housing traditions in the politically
driven reconstruction of cultural identities in the preserva-
tion and historic reconstruction of the multiethnic Bo-Kapp
area of Cape Town, South Africa.[47]

Perhaps the most considered approach to the question of
contemporary house design and Scottish Highland identity has
been that of the award-winning, Isle of Skye-based, architectur-
al practice of Dualchas Building Design (DBD).[48] DBD's hous-
es have been lauded by the Scottish Government as "high
quality modern designs which maintain a sense of place and
support local identity." DBD's Tigh na Drochaide, Skye, was
also featured in the government-sponsored, 2002, "Anatomy
of a House" exhibition at the Lighthouse, Glasgow, which
aimed to explore the historical precedents for contemporary
housing design in Scotland. *Dualchas* is the Scottish Gaelic
term for hereditary rights; DBD's stated design ethos is that,
"by combining modern ideas and technology, with a respect
for the past, we offer architect-designed solutions which com-
plement our natural and built environments."[49] In the pursuit
of this ethos, DBD have produced designs for houses based
upon both the blackhouse and the eighteenth-century cottage.

Founded in 1996, one of DBD's early projects was the
Barden House, Coll, Isle of Lewis, Outer Hebrides, 1998
(**FIG.9**). The Barden house employs the form and external
materials of the indigenous Highland blackhouse. The delib-
erate blackhouse references are significant, as the house was
built for Dr. Alasdair Barden, a Scottish Nationalist Party
activist. In its use of materials, the Barden House, of con-
crete-block construction clad in a dry-stone outer wall, typi-
fies folkloric regionalism. It can also be argued that the
house perpetuates the urban nostalgia for the Highlands of
the 1930s. But DBD recognizes that the blackhouse is still
seen by "many Gaels as an example of backwardness and
poverty" at the same time that the pre-improvement black-
house can be described as the environmentally adapted,
indigenous home of the Highland middle class.[50]

In contrast, Druim Bà, Camuscross, Sleat, Isle of Skye, Inner Hebrides, 2004, is a single-story, timber-frame box rendered white with a slated gabled roof enclosing a centrally planned open living space. The whole is entirely glazed to the south-facing side with full-height panel doors opening onto a steel and oak verandah (**FIG.10**). The design of the house takes advantage of the formal similarities between eighteenth-century everyday Classicism and Modernism to produce a synthesis of the Highland improved cottage and a twentieth-century design aesthetic. In their most recent work DBD have developed low-cost timber-framed, timber-clad kit-houses for low-income rural areas such as the crofting communities. DBD acknowledge the complexity of Highland history and its social contexts and continue to explore these themes in their work.

THE DILEMMA OF HERITAGE

The historic domestic architecture of the Scottish Highlands falls into two distinct traditions: the indigenous blackhouse and the imposed eighteenth-century forms of the improved cottage and farmhouse. The cultural value of both traditions within Highland society has been misinterpreted by those keen to promote the Highlands, and Highlanders, as a keystone of Scottish identity. In the early to mid-twentieth century the blackhouse was championed by Scottish folklorists and Vernacular Revival architects as a symbol of Scottish Gaelic culture. This romantic interpretation of Highland culture failed to acknowledge that the blackhouse was viewed by Scottish Gaelic culture at that time as a symbol of poverty and backwardness.

Equally, current regional planning policy that defines appropriateness to Highland history and identity by references to the forms and materials of the region's predominantly eighteenth-century historic building stock cannot claim to represent Highland cultural identity. Planning policy needs to be clear whether new houses are intended to identify with the Highland region through its natural environment and the fabric of its historic buildings, or through its people. It should then recognize that their conclusions will not necessarily be the same.

FIGURE 10. *Dualchas Building Design, Druim Ba, Camuscross, Isle of Skye, Inner Hebrides, 2004. Photo courtesy of Dualchas Building Design.*

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Bruce Grove Transferred: The Role of Diverse Traditions in Historic Conservation

KATE JORDAN

In recent years, social inclusion has become enshrined in the manifestos of heritage and conservation agencies. A drive to include the diverse traditions of the Other into policy-making has raised questions about the meaning of the words "heritage" and "tradition," about who articulates them, and to whom they belong. This article offers a case study of a regeneration program in North London as the locus for an examination of multiculturalism, gentrification, and diasporic identity. It suggests that conservation strategies are often compromised by an overreliance on unproblematized notions of tradition.

> *When I consider this great city, in its several quarters, I look upon it as an aggregate of various nations, distinguished from each other by their respective customs, manners and interests.*
> — Joseph Addison[1]

As Peter Ackroyd has suggested, Joseph Addison's above description of early-eighteenth-century London would be as familiar to Londoners today as it was to Addison's contemporaries.[2] Addison depicted not the slow confluence of cultures simmering in the melting pot but a collection of discrete traditions belonging to groups who had been able to negotiate autonomous spaces in which to forge and maintain their own cultural identities. London has always been not simply a "city of immigrants" but a multicultural metropolis, reflected in the "thousands of eyes [and] thousands of objects" of its people.[3]

This article discusses the position of diverse "customs, manners and interests" in contemporary conservation programs, and explores possibilities for their future roles. The core of the discussion is a case study of the Bruce Grove Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI), a conservation-led regeneration scheme in a deprived, ethnically diverse borough of London. The implementation and development of this scheme offers critical insight into how social-inclusion policy in the heritage sector is feeding into local conservation projects in the U.K. It is presented alongside a review of a comparable, completed regeneration scheme in Spitalfields and Banglatown, in the East End of London.

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The questions the article raises are not about whether conservation programs in the U.K. should follow a multicultural path. My analysis supports the current drive to "respect and celebrate the cultural diversity of England's heritage," which is now written into English Heritage's statement of goals.[4] Rather, my intent is to examine how heritage practices might facilitate the coexistence of plural traditions in conservation-led regeneration schemes.

My analysis of the Bruce Grove scheme also considers the impact of gentrification and displacement on settled migrant communities in a postcolonial/postimperial landscape. Thus, it examines the shifting foci of diasporic identities, exploring the implications of a postcolonial construction of Other and the terms upon which migrant communities are able to assemble their own identities.

A recurring theme will be that conservation policy has developed historically in the U.K. under the hegemony of a white, English regime that has promoted unproblematized use of the words "tradition" and "traditional." I refer to this tradition as "English" rather than "British" because of the expressly English mandate of the architects like William Morris who pioneered conservation principles in the U.K. and helped shape the British landscape, and whose philosophy continues to have a redoubtable influence over policy-making. The traditions of Welsh, Scottish, and Northern Irish people might be as likely to be subsumed under this hegemony as the traditions of those who have migrated from more distant lands.

National policy referred to in the article most often relates to policies of the central government or of the major heritage organizations, such as English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund, and belongs to a body of legislation that extends across the U.K. English Heritage (formally the Historic Building and Monuments Commission for England) is a nondepartmental public body of the U.K. government with a broad charter to manage the historic built environment of England. It is currently sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. The Heritage Lottery Fund uses money raised through the National Lottery to transform and sustain heritage, from museums, parks and historic places, to archaeology, the natural environment, and cultural traditions.

WHOSE HERITAGE? THE BRUCE GROVE TOWN-SCAPE HERITAGE INITIATIVE

In 2005 the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) awarded a grant of £1 million to the Haringey Council's Bruce Grove THI.[5] The THI is a grant-giving scheme designed by the HLF to support public-body partnerships involved in regeneration of the historic environment. In a bid to reverse years of economic decline, Haringey Council developed the scheme to help regenerate the Bruce Grove section of the historic

Tottenham High Road. In regeneration terms, Bruce Grove was a worthy recipient of the grant.

Bruce Grove is an electoral ward and designated conservation area within the London borough of Haringey. The Tottenham High Road historic corridor, of which the Bruce Grove conservation area forms approximately a 300-meter stretch, is of great significance to the history and development of the city. It succeeded the Roman Ermine Street as the main route between London and York, and as such, represented an important line of communication between the city and the north. Development, in the shape of inns, almshouses, and residential dwellings began in the fifteenth century, and by the eighteenth century, Tottenham had become a fashionable country retreat, with large detached houses lining the High Road.

Some fine examples of these buildings remain at various points along the High Road. But in the mid-nineteenth century the railways brought a new population to the area — the lower middle class. The railways gave this group a means to commute to work, and so live at a distance from the heart of the city. During the mid- to late nineteenth century, therefore, modestly respectable suburbs such as Forest Gate, Walthamstow, Kilburn, Peckham and Tottenham burgeoned.[6] But as it began to attract these new residents, Tottenham became less fashionable, and high-end investment began to wane. It was during this period that Bruce Grove was developed, and the rather perfunctory style of its architecture clearly expresses this phase in the history of Tottenham High Road (FIG.1).[7]

Today, as a result of a larger shift in the city's postindustrial employment base, the socioeconomic character of the area has declined further. The borough of Haringey is now one of the most deprived in the capital, and Bruce Grove is one of its most deprived wards. Haringey is now ranked 13 out of 354 local authorities, with 40 percent of its population living in wards that are in the most deprived 10 percent

FIGURE 1. *Bruce Grove, Tottenham High Road, 2004. Source: Haringey Council et al., Feasibility Study.*

nationally.[8] In Bruce Grove, signs of urban decay remain highly visible three years into the conservation plan, despite some very effective restoration projects.

The historic environment has clearly been a casualty of economic decline. The council's Conservation Management Plan (CMP) has described the Victorian and Edwardian buildings in Bruce Grove as having suffered "major neglect, disrepair, under-use and much inappropriate alteration."[9] But of the ten "constraints, conflicts and conditions" that were judged to "make the properties vulnerable," four were also directly attributed to problems associated with "transient populations" and "cultural differences."[10]

It is difficult to gauge the ethnic composition of Bruce Grove at any given moment. Much of Tottenham High Road operates as a first stopping point for asylum seekers, and so its population is highly transient.[11] The snapshot offered by the 2001 census revealed that Black British Caribbeans made up 19.11 percent of the area's residents, with a further 1.9 percent identified as mixed White and Black Caribbean. By comparison, the figures for these groups in London as a whole were 4.79 and 0.99 percent, respectively.[12] According to 2007 figures, the percentage of Black Caribbeans in Haringey was 16 percent, which would indicate that the level of this population is fairly stable.[13]

Figures given by the 2001 census for Other White (not British) residents were also higher than the London average: 13.8 percent, compared with 8.29 percent. In Haringey the 2007 figures showed that, at 6.3 percent, Turkish-speaking communities (Turkish, Kurdish, and Turkish Cypriot) were twice as populous as the next Other White group, the Irish.[14] However, while the Turkish-speaking population are still, anecdotally, thought to be the largest Other White group in the area, a steep and continuing rise in migrants from former Soviet-bloc nations since the 2001 census is likely to have altered the composition of the non-British white population in the last several years.[15]

The large number and diversity of black and minority ethnic (BME) groups has been a significant factor in the formation of the Bruce Grove THI, and the Haringey Council has developed its strategy around HLF social-inclusion guidelines, making wide consultation a feature of the project.[16] A feasibility study, produced in 2004, detailed the process of consultation with owners and tenants of buildings targeted for HLF grant-funded improvements. All but two of the nine freeholders and tenants who made an appearance in the study were from BME groups.

Of those consulted, all tenants were willing to participate, although one was unable to make the financial contribution. Less cooperation was found among owners and freeholders, many of whom were remote landlords. Although the study highlighted the difficulty of getting owners and tenants to work together, it did suggest that many of the tenants had been operating in the area for some time and that the overwhelming majority were hoping to stay.[17] This consultation

FIGURE 2. *Map of Bruce Grove core area, showing the five groups of buildings selected for attention in the first phase of work. The broken line shows the conservation area boundary. Source: Haringey Council et al., Feasibility Study.*

yielded two significant insights: that there is a high level of BME stakeholding, and that many BME businesses are firmly established and wish to continue in the area. This suggests that, while there is certainly a high level of transience, there are also settled migrant communities with an investment in the area and an interest in maintaining their properties.

Strategies developed as a result of the consultation were based on the division of the Bruce Grove Core Area into five separate groups of buildings (**FIG.2**). Four groups were selected for attention in the first phase of work.[18] Of these, much of the work planned for group 1 (513–527 High Street) and 4 (538–554 High Street, also known as Windsor Parade) is now complete (**FIGS.3–6**). Group 1 is composed of two terraces of three-story Victorian buildings, built of London stock brick, to which a conservatory-style fenestration, which is largely intact, lends some architectural distinction. Windsor Parade, built in 1907, is a group of three-story, red-brick buildings which is distinguished by prominent gables and broken pediments.

At street level, both groups predominantly feature shopfronts. The feasibility study argued that these two groups made the most significant contribution to the area.

FIGURE 3. *Group 1 before start of work in 2004. Source: Haringey Council.*

FIGURE 4. *Group 1, after completion of work in 2008. Source: Haringey Council.*

FIGURE 5. *Windsor Parade, before start of work in 2004. Source: Haringey Council et al., Feasibility Study.*

FIGURE 6. *Windsor Parade, after completion of work in 2008. Source: Haringey Council.*

In particular, it singled out Windsor Parade as a "significant landmark building."[19] The work that has since been carried out on the upper stories of both blocks has been comprehensive, and has combined repair of brickwork and architectural features with replacement and restoration of absent or damaged features, including parts of the fenestration in group 1, as shown in Figure 4. Work such as this and the removal of

paint from the brick elevations, replacement of the slate roofs, and replacement of casement windows (to the original design) on group 4 has been aimed at restoring the buildings, as much as possible, to their original form (FIG.7).

In the same spirit of restoration, a theoretical program of rehabilitation of the shopfronts was devised. The feasibility study considered the appearance of the shops to be key,

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reconstruction of stone pediment
feature and filial on the basis of
other still existing gables

new slate roofs throughout

brickwork repaired re-pointed
and cleaned

stonework cleaned, features
repaired as necessary

new double-glazed casement
windows to orignal pattern
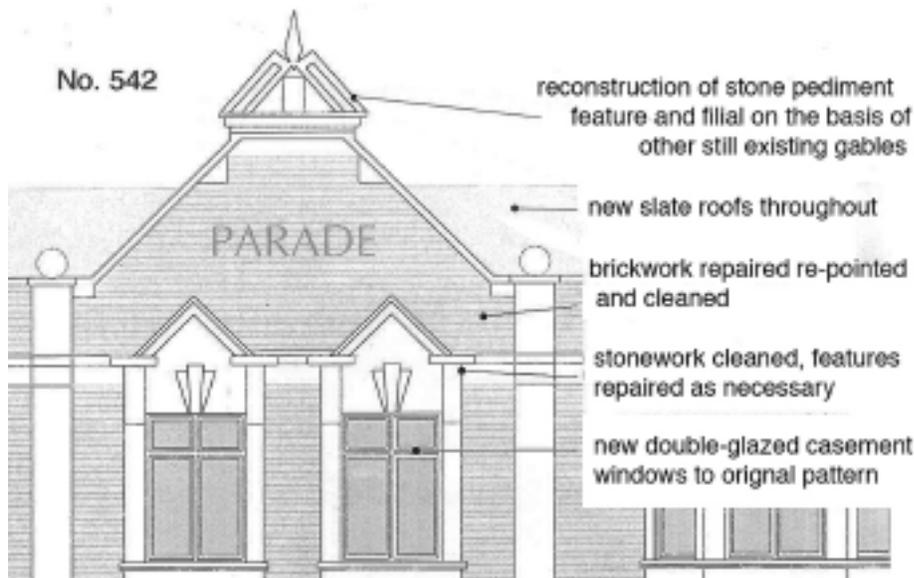
PARADE

FIGURE 7. *Section from plan of proposed work at Windsor Parade. Source: Haringey Council et al., Feasibility Study.*

and it highlighted ways that individual adaptations of shopfronts by shopkeepers had negatively affected the streetscape. The study suggested that "Whilst each shopkeeper may have an inclination to have the largest and brightest sign, it is apparent here that the resulting discord and confusion allows no shop to stand out." Furthermore, "the addition of internally illuminated box signs [and the] plethora of projecting illuminated signs" have created a "visual mess that significantly reduces the attractiveness of the whole."[20] The study suggested that shopkeepers should be encouraged to avoid excessive or garish signage, opting instead for painted letters applied to a painted fascia. Where extensive work to shopfronts is being undertaken, the study recommended the use of "historic design guidelines," and it suggested that "in the interest of harmony and visual coherence . . . there should be a limited range of coordinated colours employed throughout."[21] Figure 6 illustrates the high standards of restoration work achieved in the completed projects and demonstrates that the THI has been successful in persuading some shopkeepers to conform to the design principals. Many others, however, appear to have ignored them.

The council has recognized the difficulty of encouraging businesses to comply with these standards and commit to ongoing maintenance of the buildings, which will be crucial if the regeneration scheme is to be sustainable. Having identified "a lack of respect and knowledge of the history of the buildings" as a condition of the buildings' vulnerability, an awareness-raising program was devised that included the creation of leaflets on the project, a permanent history board at Bruce Grove station, and ads on local buses.[22] The residents association also suggested commemorative plaques. The group felt that it was "an area rich in history," and it expressed an interest in "doing the research . . . and drafting the language for the plaques."[23]

A requirement of the HLF grant was the inclusion of a plan aimed at providing training in conservation planning, repair, and maintenance and in construction and conservation work.[24] The task of organizing this scheme was passed to Dearle and Henderson, a construction and regeneration consultancy commissioned to develop and implement a program. Among the initiative's required outputs were a conservation awareness scheme, a schools-based community research project on the architecture and archaeology of the area, and the development of a "heritage/conservation education pack/tool kit." The program was required to maximize the involvement of BME residents.[25]

The word "heritage" appears here — as it does in the section of the CMP headed "Understanding the Heritage of Bruce Grove" — unencumbered by description of what kind of heritage or whose heritage it refers to. The heritage of Bruce Grove is complicated; in one sense it might refer to the Victorian and Edwardian buildings in the area, but in another it might refer to the memories and traditions of settled ethnic communities in the area today.

Such issues have emerged elsewhere in London. In 2008 English Heritage helped produce "Welcome to Holloway Road," a heritage/conservation education pack about the local history and historic architecture of Holloway Road, in Islington, North London.[26] The booklet aimed to raise awareness of the Islington Council's Holloway Road conservation grant scheme. It included work by local schoolchildren investigating "past and present" Holloway Road, a timeline of key historical events and architectural developments, and a section drawn from interviews on how people felt about the area. Holloway Road, like Bruce Grove, is characterized by its multiethnic population, and is home to one of the oldest Turkish-Cypriot communities in London.[27] "Welcome to Holloway Road" provided a trip through the

twentieth century that took in the "Campaign Against Lorry Menace," the emergence of "yuppie" culture, and the arrival of a new Waitrose store. But it conspicuously overlooked the arrival from the 1950s onwards of the migrant groups whose presence is undoubtedly one of its most important features.[28]

It is important to ask the question of historic conservation schemes: in whose image is "heritage" cast, and to whom does it belong? Notions of heritage feature prominently in the rhetoric of built environment conservation. Moreover, heritage and place-identity are often presented as interchangeable. For example, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has suggested that "the built and historic environment is a vital part of everyone's cultural heritage."[29] In monetary terms, heritage may also have a significant impact on land value. In its aptly named report "Power of Place," English Heritage observed that the "historic environment . . . is a powerful generator of wealth and prosperity."[30] Heritage ownership, when converted to real estate value, assumes a very different register, and may indeed inflate a sense of belonging and identity.

DIASPORIC IDENTITY AND THE METROPOLITAN CORE

Implied in the concept of heritage ownership is its mutually dependent association with a fixed, knowable identity — a dialectical relationship in which the inheritance of a set of narratives is contingent on the ability of a group to understand and contextualize them. This collectively organized reassembly of inherited narratives, in turn, confers a legitimacy that authorizes their passage to future generations. While able to accommodate diverse histories and narratives, heritage strategies often rely on and reproduce versions of heritage in these standardized terms.

For diasporic communities, cultural identity, upon which notions of heritage ownership might be predicated in this rigid model, is often destabilized by the experience of migration. Jimy M. Sanders has described migrant identity as "fluid across time and social contexts," shifting around varying and conflicting "in-group" versions of self. Moreover, Sanders has suggested that "the public presentation of identity is also situational."[31] Where unstable identities are formed at the interface between autonomous and external versions of Self and Other, it is often difficult for groups to maintain an uncomplicated heritage of the kind that must be known and identified to be owned. Where heritage ownership engages with political and economic forms such as property ownership and policymaking (as it does in the Bruce Grove THI) those whose heritage cannot be described in simple terms are at a disadvantage. However, the political voice of those groups that have a clearly packaged heritage may be amplified by the mobilization of a collective identity drawn around this heritage.

For Jane M. Jacobs, negotiation of identities in postimperial cities is further complicated by migrant movement from the periphery to the core. In Jacobs's account, the colonized Other, an integral component of the colonial project, had always been at a "safe distance" from the heartland.[32] Postcolonial migration created a set of "immediate and intense encounters" between migrants, who were, in political and social terms, "moving within a system that already included them," and an indigenous community who regarded them as outsiders.[33] The uneasiness of this relationship marked a new attitude toward racial identity that demanded transparency: a declaration of ethnic identity in black-and-white terms. Notions of English purity were thus juxtaposed against ethnic stereotypes that had been formed with an aim (whether consciously or unconsciously) to understand, contain and limit the new migrant communities. As a result, diasporic identity, constantly renegotiating itself around the "intense encounters" of cultural difference and the shock of migration, was often reduced to a caricature.

MEDIATED SPACES: SPITALFIELDS AND BANGLATOWN

Spitalfields and Brick Lane, in London's East End, became the destination during the 1970s for large numbers of migrants from Bangladesh, who settled in the area and established a small-scale, localized garment industry. According to Jacobs, "The process of identity negotiation and destabilization generated by the loss of empire and subsequent migration settlements are clearly marked in contemporary Spitalfields."[34] This process animated a dynamic relationship between the Bengalee settlers, middle-class gentrifiers, and corporate developers, and initiated the creation of Banglatown, a cultural quarter drawn loosely around the traditions of the Bengalee settlers.

The Spitalfields Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS), implemented between 1998 and 2004, was the final phase of a long program of regeneration in Spitalfields. The area had begun to attract attention in the early 1970s, when the Survey of London's identification of important eighteenth-century buildings coincided with wide-scale slum clearance in the area. At the time, a small group of architects and conservationists launched the Spitalfields Trust, a group that lobbied against the destruction of these buildings. The houses were of significance not simply because of their quality and well-preserved (if neglected) condition, but also because they had been built by French Huguenot settlers who had incorporated silk-weaving workshops into their distinctive mansard-roofed attics (FIG.8). Belonging, as they did, to a particular migrant tradition, the buildings reflected a rich history of immigration and garment production. In time, the trust succeeded in saving a good many of them and helped secure conservation area designation. To ensure that the properties were restored sympathet-

FIGURE 8. *Original mansard roofs built to house silk weaving workshops, Fournier Street, Spitalfields and Banglatown. Photo by author, 2009.*

FIGURE 9. *New shopfront, Brick Lane, Spitalfields and Banglatown. Photo by author, 2009.*

ically and with historical accuracy, the trust acquired some forty buildings, some of which it leased, others of which were sold to purchasers sympathetic to the trust's aims. In addition, the trust's newsletter, which circulated among conservation groups, advertised the sale of other buildings in the area. By the late 1980s, however, as a result of gentrification, the Bengalee garment workshops had all but disappeared from the area, and almost all its houses had become single dwellings.[35]

During the 1980s and 1990s redevelopment of the Spitalfields market and the Truman Brewery site seemed to threaten further displacement of the Bengalee community. The consortium of developers of the Truman Brewery planned a new "urban village" around the largely Bengalee Brick Lane area. But, with the aid of grants, this effort included an outreach scheme to consult and involve local Bengalees. This provided the opportunity for Bengalee businesses to help develop "Banglatown," a cross-cultural celebration of Spitalfields' diverse history with an emphasis on Bengalee traditions. As a commercial enterprise, Banglatown has been extremely successful, and a good working relationship has developed between the local authority conservation team and the community as a result of a growing awareness of the economic value of the historic built environment.[36]

Tower Hamlets Council, who have overseen the implementation of the HERS, have employed a range of strategies to protect the Bengalee community from displacement and secure the ongoing maintenance of historic buildings. The council, as is the prerogative of all local authorities, has been able to exercise a certain degree of suppleness in its practice. Tower Hamlets Conservation Officer Jonathan Nichols suggested that this flexibility is "not so much as to vary national policy, but to determine the strength of adherence to national policy, with regard to the prevailing character and populace of each particular area concerned."[37] This latitude has been vital in structuring a conservation strategy for Spitalfields and Banglatown. Importantly, the process began with consultation

and discussion between stakeholders, with a town manager appointed to act as a permanent intermediary. This established a culture of trust between the local authority and community.[38]

The conservation team felt that an approach that relied on enforcement and restriction would be counterproductive because it might set up conflict and discourage cooperation. Instead, there has been an effort to seek compromise wherever possible, and the council has relaxed conservation standards in some decisions over repairs and alterations. The accompanying photo shows a relatively new shopfront that may not have been granted planning permission in other circumstances or in a different conservation area (FIG.9). Similarly, a photo of Brick Lane shows how its conspicuous retail and restaurant signage demonstrates sympathy on the part of the council with the cultural practices of Bengalee businesses and the importance of advertising in this competitive stretch of road (FIG.10). In view of the fact that the conservation team have judged that shopfronts added to the

FIGURE 10. *Brick Lane. Photo by author, 2009.*

FIGURE II. *Nineteenth-century shopfront on residential property, Fournier Street. Photo by author, 2009.*

Georgian buildings in the nineteenth century tell an important part of the history of these buildings and should not be removed, this approach also demonstrates consistency with the conservation principles currently guiding the council's planning decisions **(FIG.II)**.

The strategies developed with respect to shopfronts in Spitalfields and Banglatown invite comparisons with the more conservative approaches favored by the Bruce Grove THI, described earlier. The streetlights along Brick Lane, as well as the gate at the south end, have been specially produced and incorporate a Bengalee-inspired design **(FIG.I2)**. All of the street names on placards in the area are also written in English and Bengalee. Although the Tower Hamlets Council is keen to minimize street furniture, it recently approved an application to erect a minaret on the street at the side of a Grade II listed mosque. However, it is the renaming of St. Mary's Gardens to Altab Ali Park (in memory of a young Bengalee who was murdered there) that best demonstrates the willingness of planners and developers to listen to

FIGURE I2. *Streetlight, Brick Lane. Photo by author, 2009.*

and accommodate community views. The nomenclature of Altab Ali Park has profound significance not only to the community but to the character of the Banglatown project as a whole; it marks an event that captures the essence of "intense encounters" and acknowledges the mutability and variety of cultural identities.

This is not to suggest, however, that all compromise has been on the part of the local authority. Encouraging struggling businesses to undertake costly repairs to meet conservation standards has been a challenge. Here, a combination of grants and business advice has been effective at persuading stakeholders to take a greater interest in historic value. Large grants were given in single units to freeholders and long-lease tenants to restore the buildings and shopfronts to conservation standards, and although the local authority was not able to control the inflation of rents, they have arranged courses and training programs to help businesses adapt to new markets and achieve profits commensurate with rising land costs. They have also provided help with legal action against landlords who have raised rents disproportionately. In turn, there has been a high level of compliance from the Bengalee community with conservation controls.[39]

Figure 10 shows that the upper stories of the terraces along Brick Lane are well maintained and have retained a high degree of architectural integrity. Repairs to brickwork have been sympathetic, and many old sliding-sash windows have been replaced. Indeed, signs that windows have been replaced recently, some years after the end of grants and the completion of the HERS, gives an indication of the extent to which the program has engendered a willingness to comply with noncompulsory standards **(FIG.I3)**. The advantage of having achieved this through single-unit grants and in direct collaboration with stakeholders is that individual property owners have had to engage in a high level of actual decision-making. As a consequence, they have greater personal investment in the quality of work — and in maintaining it. The danger of providing block grants to groups of buildings (as has been the case in Bruce Grove) is that there is less personal interest and engagement. This might have the effect of diminishing stakeholders' commitments to maintaining the building over time.

The increasing success of Banglatown as a retail and restaurant district has convinced stakeholders of the value of conserving the historic environment. While the Tower Hamlets Council does not insist on like-for-like repairs (indeed, the current lack of an Article 4 direction, which imposes tighter restrictions in conservation areas, would make this difficult), they have been able to successfully demonstrate the advantages of maintaining the historic buildings. And despite an inevitably greater level of erosion of the historic buildings along Brick Lane than in the area in which the Spitalfields Trust has focused most of its attention, the architectural integrity of the street remains fairly intact. There are still, clearly, some enforcement issues; but the

FIGURE 13. *Replacement timber-sash windows, Brick Lane. Photo by author, 2009.*

approach that favors "carrot" over "stick" seems, in this case, to be working for all parties.

A recent study by James Gard'ner, however, suggests that the local authorities and heritage agencies may still have some way to go before Spitalfields and Banglatown can claim to reflect a fully inclusive heritage. Gard'ner conducted a survey of buildings in the area, identifying all that were listed both locally and nationally. These were then measured against a list he compiled in consultation with the Bengalee community of buildings such as mosques, street markets, parks, etc., that were important to them. Of the twenty-two buildings that appeared on Gard'ner's list, only two were Grade II* listed and nine Grade II. None was registered because of its Bengalee significance.[40]

It is clear that Spitalfields and Banglatown has been created, if not in solely autonomous circumstances, then with a great deal of input from the Bengalee community. The "customs, manners and interests" of the Bengalees have been represented in diverse ways as a result of the discursive processes that formed this geographic and imaginary space, and neither reflect a single or authentic tradition nor a crude ethnic stereotype. In many respects Banglatown is the physical expression of Sanders's "fluid" and "situational" identities, constantly regrouping in response to their encounters with such forces as capitalism and nationalism.

Equally complex are the processes of gentrification at work in Spitalfields and Banglatown. While clearly involving the displacement of one section of the community by another, they have activated the formation of a new, economically powerful subgroup. Here, notions of dominance and subordination are complicated by their different forms, with economic, demographic, social and cultural forces jostling for command.

GENTRIFICATION, IDENTITY AND TRADITION

This article presupposes that social and cultural displacement is a function of gentrification, and it recognizes Rowland Atkinson's description of an economically activated "class succession" that excludes and disenfranchises poorer residents, as one, demographically distinctive, form of gentrification.[41] This particular displacement and replacement of populations involves not only the economic transformation of a locality but also the superimposition of a new set of aesthetic and cultural values onto the visual landscape. Bourdieu's account of gentrification traces a transition from cultural capital to economic capital. This transition is partially mobilized by a middle-class valorization of sites of cultural and aesthetic value, often those rich in historic architecture.[42] Sharon Zukin has also suggested that a taste for historic buildings and the drive to protect them has been a dominant feature of economic restructuring in areas of gentrification.[43]

An example of this is seen very clearly in the gentrification processes activated by the work of the Spitalfields Trust in the Fournier Street and Brick Lane Conservation Area. Here, a clearly articulated heritage gave direction and personality to the Spitalfields Trust's campaign, and was mustered in a bid to garner support from others ("conservationists, sympathetic architects, avant-garde artists"[44]) who identified with it. For Zukin, a collective cultural identity, formed under the rubric of historic building appreciation, becomes self-affirming; thus, a property price rise in historic gentrified areas validates the aesthetic judgments of the gentrifiers, and the principles of historic building conservation that unite them become enshrined in the logic of economic rationale.[45] In this way a culture or tradition is formed that, by virtue of its declared expertise, frequently inscribes the way that historic areas are conserved.

In the U.K., the ideology of this tradition is often expressed in the guiding principles of the Society for the Protection of Buildings (SPAB). Founded by William Morris in an effort to preserve "intrinsically English scenes and buildings," the loss of which, Morris felt, threatened the bedrock of English identity, SPAB continues to exercise a considerable influence over conservation philosophy and practice.[46] Morris's manifesto, which prospective members of SPAB are still asked to sign, elucidates the type of people who are expected to uphold and continue the mission of the society — "educated, artistic people" who would "think it worthwhile" to engage with discussions about the merits of historic buildings.[47]

It would, however, be a misrepresentation of U.K. heritage and conservation practice to suggest that it is uniformly instructed by this tradition. In recent years social inclusion has been a key feature of the strategies and goals of the major heritage bodies. In 2002, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport outlined guidance for broadening access to the heritage sector, recommending that the "the diversity of

Britain as a whole needs to be considered when promoting heritage sites."[48] The heritage agencies were quick to respond, with English Heritage, the HLF, and the National Trust writing social inclusion into their goals. Despite this, I would suggest that the default mechanism in English conservation principles is set, in the absence of an expressed social-inclusion mandate, to a tradition that was formed in the self-consciously English "William Morris mould."[49]

An unproblematized use of the word "tradition," similar to the use of "heritage," often appears in conservation policy and strategy. Today a wide variety of "traditional" skills-training programs are on offer, in part as a response to a deficit of specialist craft workers needed for an increasing number of conservation projects. Indeed, many HLF-funded initiatives such as the Bruce Grove THI have specific training programs attached in a bid to recruit and train new practitioners and help raise community awareness of the historic environment. Training to received conservation standards might be provided by organizations such as the William Morris Craft Fellowship Trust (WMCFT), which runs, in collaboration with SPAB, a course that offers training in "a broad range of traditional building skills"[50]; or it might be funded by the HLF Traditional Skills Bursary scheme.[51]

The concept of the traditional here, I would suggest, is one that is culturally unilateral. Even where WMCFT refers to a "broad range" of skills, they are gathered together under the implied heading of traditional English skills (thatching, blacksmith, flint-knapping, and stone-carving). There is no discussion of whose tradition is reflected in the term "traditional building skills." Of course, the "William Morris" tradition has as much legitimacy as any. It describes the aesthetic style and historical ascendancy of many of Britain's buildings, which in turn rely on the deployment of skills developed around it. We might approach an uncomplicated use of the word, however, with caution.

Another facet of the default tradition that often underpins gentrification is the pursuit of authenticity. Raphael Samuel discussed this preoccupation with historical accuracy and authenticity in his description of "retrofitting." He has suggested that a bourgeois desire to re-create the "period look," fetishizes the historic environment, often reducing it to pastiche.[52] In the gentrification of Spitalfields he saw "an inescapable element of artifice" where homes had become "showcases of the restorer's art."[53] Moreover, the re-creation of a "period look" invariably involves a cherry-picking from historical styles and is rarely authentic to the point of sacrificing twentieth-century comforts. Samuel has suggested that restoration projects routinely involve "changes of occupancy, transformations of function, and physical surgery which effectively make a property brand-new, even when its period features have been emphasised."[54]

A refurbishment of this kind is currently underway at 810 Tottenham High Road, a little further on from Bruce Grove. As part of the regeneration plan for the area,

£325,000 in English Heritage grants were awarded to restore the shell of this imposing eighteenth-century house to its original form.[55] Although the house has retained many of its original features, much alteration has taken place over the years, and decisions have had to be made about which parts of the interior should be retained, replaced or restored. The building is currently owned by the Haringey Buildings Preservation Trust (established by the Haringey Council), which has engaged in lengthy deliberations over how the building should be used.[56] It was finally agreed that any public use would require the installation of lifts, which might damage the original features. The trust, following the advice of the architect, therefore decided that residential use would better preserve the character of the building, and plans have since been drawn up for its conversion into two, high-specification dwellings. Painstaking historical accuracy has been a feature of this project, with careful attention paid to the types of mortar, oak, and even nails used in reconstruction; and yet, the end-product, with its nineteenth-century additions and twentieth-century en-suite bathrooms, will be far from an authentic reproduction of an eighteenth-century townhouse.[57] Of course, there is a powerful case to be made that the redevelopment of a historic building should respect the integrity of its original form, but it is clear that taste, fashion and markets also inform restoration and conservation techniques.

Somewhat ironically, the Spitalfields Trust has been directly instrumental in protecting (in its present form) one of the most significantly altered Georgian houses in the Fournier Street and Brick Lane Conservation Area. The building at 19a Princelet Street, now the Museum of Immigration, has two parts — almost exactly half Georgian townhouse and half nineteenth-century synagogue **(FIG.14)**. During the 1870s the rear walls of the house were completely removed, and the synagogue, which was accessed through the front of the building, was erected in the back garden. Based on current listed-building guidelines, this unusual adaptation would almost certainly be regarded as inappropriate. [58] Without doubt, the architect of 19a Princelet Street did not intend for a synagogue to be added to it. It was, after all, a house that was designed for a combination of residential and textile industry use. Indeed, the house was originally designed for the very purpose for which Bengalee textile workers were using houses like it until the 1970s, and from which the Spitalfields Trust was so determined to rescue them. And yet, for many who visit the museum (and it attracts visitors from all over the world), it is a monument to the dynamic, fluid history of Spitalfields, and represents a unique example of cross-traditional building use.[59]

The Spitalfields Trust championed 19a Princelet Street while attempting, as Jacobs has suggested, to wrest away cultural and economic ownership of other houses in the area that were being "inappropriately" used and modified. In doing so, however, it revealed its hand; the traditions of some groups could be accommodated in the historical narrative it had con-

FIGURE 14. *Museum of Immigration at 19a Princelet Street, Spitalfields and Banglatown. The synagogue is attached to the rear of the property. Photo by author, 2009.*

structed, but other, less manageable traditions could not. As discussed earlier, a joint enterprise between Tower Hamlets Council, the Bengalee community, and the Truman site developers has been effective at carving out new, autonomous spaces. But a process of displacement has, nevertheless, taken place as a result of the gentrification of Spitalfields. Around Fournier Street, an enclave has been created whose physical character is so tightly bound up in its "authentic" Georgian identity (problematized by Samuel) that there is no longer a place for the Bengalee garment trade. Here, the problems of an authentic history or a single chain of traditions underpinning conservation strategies are writ large.

In Bruce Grove there are early signs that gentrification is beginning to take place. Zukin suggested that one of the first indications of gentrification is the "walking tour," often organized by local amenity groups and resident's associations to raise awareness of local history and the historic environment.[60] In February 2008, some three years into the

Bruce Grove THI, Haringey Council organized a tour, which featured talks from local history groups and a guided walk around Bruce Grove with a description of progress of the THI to date. It is far too early to speculate about the level of gentrification/displacement that might be taking place in Bruce Grove and its possible relationship to the THI, but the walking tour and other local history projects being organized at the Bruce Castle museum show that a structured heritage-management scheme is underway.[61]

CORPORATE GENTRIFICATION AND THE MANIPULATION OF TRADITIONS

The form of gentrification described above poses potential problems for migrant settlers and economically disadvantaged residents in Bruce Grove. A range of constraints will make it difficult for Bruce Grove to reinvent itself or create commercially viable, culturally autonomous spaces. Being adjacent to the Square Mile, the district around the financial center of the City of London, allowed Spitalfields and Banglatown to develop a thriving service industry. Spitalfields Market, still an untamed relic of the East End's costermonger past when Jacobs was writing, is now an upmarket mall of expensive boutiques and bars providing lunchtime retail and restaurant facilities for nearby city workers. Banglatown has benefited from the spill-out of this new market, and the joint forces of community activism and capitalism have been mobilized in the formation of Banglatown as a distinctive, exotic brand, catering to the more adventurous lunchtimers. This has proved in many ways to be an effective partnership in the creation of a culturally autonomous area. Brick Lane, with the help of Monica Ali's novel of the same name, has become something of a tourist attraction.[62] A series of interviews by George Mavrommatis has suggested that visitors to Banglatown arrive with a preconceived notion of the area as a mirror to the successful face of metropolitan multiculturalism.[63] Here there is a meeting, in more ways than one, of the local and the global, a new set of "intense encounters" between local traditions, postcolonial politics, and international capitalism.

In the long term, however, Bruce Grove's inability to brand itself might be an advantage for its residents. When culturally autonomous spaces are facilitated by commercial redevelopment and shaped by the market demands, they may become vulnerable. Economically and commercially, their raison d'être becomes the service of consumers coming from outside, and they must constantly tailor themselves to the whims and tastes of this market. Furthermore, if demand for their goods dries up, their very existence may be threatened. Alternatively, they may become victims of success and be swallowed up by large-scale corporate investors.

The current redevelopment of Chinatown in London, one of the most high-profile ethnic quarters in the U.K., hints at

this possibility. The Chinatown district, for some years a popular and thriving tourist destination, is made up of a collection of small businesses banded together by the autonomously formed and governed Chinatown Business Association.[64] The district has, much like Banglatown, become the purveyor of a distinctively branded form of its own culture, which, while it might struggle to defend itself against the charge of conforming to an essentialist stereotype, has allowed independent Chinese businesses, in a very expensive part of London, to survive. A £15-million redevelopment of the area by property developer Rosewheel Developments now threatens to cast Chinatown as the victim of its own success.

Rosewheel's aim is to redevelop the Sandringham Building at the heart of Chinatown, home to a number of independent Chinese businesses, in order to create a "modern shopping Mall that offers everything under one roof and where people can sense the true spirit of the old Chinatown."[65] The project promises to incorporate a range of the traditional elements of Chinatown that have made it so commercially successful, such as *feng shui* design principles and a rebuilt pagoda to replace the one in Newport Place, financed by Chinese businesses (an unlisted landmark feature). Horatio Cheng, the project director, has claimed that the redevelopment will "help London Chinatown regain its reputation as the best Chinatown in the U.K."[66] But the scheme has been met with widespread hostility from the Chinese community, who have mounted the Save Chinatown Campaign in a bid to persuade the Westminster Council to reign in the scale of Rosewheel's development. Min Quan, spokesperson for the campaign, has predicted that only chain businesses will be able to afford the rents in the new mall, and that this will have a "knock-on effect on rental prices in the rest of China Town."[67]

DOMINANCE AND DIVISION: CONTESTED TERRITORIES IN BRUCE GROVE

Clearly, displacement might be the result of a number of factors. Global forces will likely continue to affect the economic and ethnic structure of neighborhoods — just as a white, English tradition will doubtless continue to cast a powerful influence over heritage management, unsettling the traditions of the Other as it does. But to understand cultural displacement exclusively in these terms oversimplifies conditions in areas of multiple and discrete traditions. Here, dynamic interrelationships between groups and shifting power structures constantly reshape the political, economic and cultural landscape.

I would like to suggest that in a diverse, multicultural area such as Bruce Grove, a range of factors allows different groups to develop culturally distinctive forms of engagement with the locality. Varying levels of political activity, for example, might be determined by the length of time a group has been present. Types of businesses and levels of property ownership may also be informed by traditional practices, and the relative sizes of different ethnic populations may frame the visibility of discrete cultures on the urban milieu.

Part of the research that informs judgments such as these must, by its nature, be anecdotal. Vigilance must also be maintained against the construction of prejudicial stereotypes. But legitimate descriptions of cultural practice can be supported, to a certain extent, by documentary evidence. And, in this case, two in-depth interviews I conducted with senior members of the Turkish Cypriot community in Haringey, Mustafa Hussein, manager of the Turkish Cypriot Community Association, and Serhat Incirli, a journalist working for the Turkish Cypriot Community newspaper, *Toplum Postasi*, suggest a particular picture of economic activity and cultural dominance.[68]

The most significant, recurring observation about Bruce Grove (and further along Tottenham High road) is that by the early 2000s Turkish and Kurdish communities had largely replaced the Turkish Cypriot community that had been the dominant Turkish-speaking group during the 1980s and early 90s.[69] To understand this situation, it is important to point out that, although they are often bracketed together, relations between such cultural and ethnic groups are often strained. In this case, internecine battles between Turkish and Kurdish groups (unsurprisingly, in view of the international situation) have divided Turkish-speakers in the area.

Having said this, the provision of certain "traditional" Turkish goods and services provides an interface between the two groups, with Turks and Kurds both consuming and selling the same products. It serves, if not as a glue, at least as a common point around which a particular cultural and economic relationship has been forged. And in terms of economic activity, Incirli identified both groups as being powerful and highly entrepreneurial.[70]

Entrepreneurialism in this context is significant. In Spitalfields, the Bengalee business community played a key role in the construction and design of Banglatown; and while there were and are a range of residents, freeholders and businesses on Brick Lane who belong to other ethnic groups, a combination of business acumen and population size helped secure a strong Bengalee footing there. In Bruce Grove, of course, the picture is much more complicated. But, as has been mentioned, the consultation and participation element of the THI has so far concentrated on freeholders, businesses and retailers.

METHODOLOGY FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research into the Bruce Grove scheme will be carried out in a number of ways. Extensive canvassing of members of all the ethnic communities in the area will help build a picture of cultural practices, social structures, and economic and political activities among the groups, showing where there might be differences. Anecdotal evidence will be compared to information from documents such as land

registry records, census data, electoral roles, building surveys, and so on. Careful monitoring of focus groups will help identify signs of cultural and economic restructuring.

A survey that takes the form of James Gard'ner's pioneering approach in Banglatown will help outline a picture of the different buildings and monuments that are important to each group. In Bruce Grove, where there are no nationally listed buildings, those identified by the communities can be measured against the detailed hierarchy of buildings that the local authority has selected as having historical and architectural significance. To build a comprehensive picture of what features and aspects of the landscape are valued, participatory appraisal technology will be employed.

A wide study of national THI evaluations that focuses on the social and economic impact of HLF-funded regeneration will be vital to a full understanding and contextualization of the Bruce Grove initiative. In addition, data collected from the evaluation of the training programs that have been attached to THIs, particularly those in culturally diverse urban areas, will give insight into levels of social inclusion and participation across different ethnic and migrant groups, and will help form a picture of factors that might influence engagement. It may be possible to conduct a survey of migrant workers and the particular skills they bring to the conservation and construction industry. By cross-referencing this survey with the evaluation schemes, it may be possible to see ways of developing skills-sharing and cross-traditional training and education programs.

AN OPEN-ENDED VIEW OF HERITAGE

The improvements that have taken place so far in Bruce Grove are to be commended. The work now completed at Windsor Parade and at 513–527 Tottenham High Road have incontestably improved the streetscape, and will be sure to help attract new businesses. This is vital for the survival of the area, particularly in a climate of economic uncertainty (REFER TO FIGS.4,6).

Although there is, as yet, no obvious sign of the THI incorporating any aspects of Bruce Grove's culturally diverse character, both the Haringey Council and the HLF have expressed their commitment to social inclusion, extensive consultation, and public participation, not only in the Bruce Grove THI but across a range of other schemes and initiatives. It is hoped that an ongoing program of consultation and awareness-raising will encourage a greater level of cross-cultural participation, and that evidence of this will become visible in future projects managed by the THI partnership.

Increased investment in this depressed area is undoubtedly a high priority, but if the regeneration program aims to stimulate economic growth without marginalizing vulnerable members of the community, it will have to be closely monitored for problems attendant on gentrification. For BME

groups, economic displacement has a particularly destabilizing effect: for many diasporic communities, extended family and kinship networks form the social structure within which traditional practices and relationships function. These networks provide not only spaces for cultural autonomy but also practical and economic support, employment, and accommodation for new migrant settlers.[71] Even where members of the community have a financial stake in a gentrified neighborhood, as their children and grandchildren find themselves economically excluded from the area, kinship networks begin to contract. Settled groups that had established visible communities, and whose culture and traditions were once embedded in the landscape, find themselves scattered and sapped of their political and economic strength.

A heritage-management program like the Bruce Grove THI carries a weighty responsibility, and has the potential to either mitigate or exacerbate the problems of cultural displacement. In either case, the effects on the community of an efficiently disseminated heritage ideology should not be underestimated. In Stoke-on-Trent, where the British National Party is steadily gaining popularity, a widely distributed leaflet juxtaposes nostalgic images of Stoke's historic industrial landscape with a contemporary urban scene dominated by a silhouetted mosque.[72] The iconography of these images is stark and instantly legible. As Morris suggested, a potent nationalism can be animated by the deployment of an overarching and well-designed conservation strategy.

In view of this, it will be important that the THI be managed in a way that does not attempt to invoke the spirit of Bruce Grove's white, imperial past — a task that, in any case, would be extremely difficult in an area that has survived in such a piecemeal fashion. Moreover, to apply the tools and materials of a notional historical accuracy in a makeover of this sort (the installation of one-period-fits-all "heritage" street lighting and plant containers, for example) might result in an awkward mismarriage of different themes and visual motifs. It would also be no more authentic in its appearance than a streetscape characterized by the co-mingling of chronologically antagonistic features. The Bruce Grove THI might be better served by a strategy that aims not to resurrect the colonial values of Tottenham's Victorian history by faithfully restoring its nineteenth-century buildings but that embraces the multicultural values of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. To purge the streets of modern paraphernalia constitutes a resetting of aesthetic values, and implies a resetting of historical and social values. As visual signs of the recent past are expunged from the physical landscape, so, too, are signs of the traditions and cultures of those whose history belongs to the recent past.

The impulse to whitewash signs of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been fiercely resisted in the regeneration of Spitalfields and Banglatown. While the conditions surrounding its inception are different from those in Bruce Grove, this case offers a valuable example of how a local authority might implement a multicultural approach.

Tower Hamlets Council demonstrated great flexibility in its attitude toward conservation-standard repairs and alterations around Banglatown, allowing shopfronts and shop signs that might not have been permitted in other conservation areas in the borough. The Bruce Grove program, which has hitherto adopted a more conservative line toward shopfronts and signage, might seek direction from this approach. As discussed earlier, Tower Hamlet's dynamic approach is evident in such measures as the installation of distinctive street lighting rather than generic "heritage" lights. But the best illustration has been the planning permission recently granted for the new minaret. This ventures beyond pragmatism, representing not so much a compromise as further enrichment of the culturally diverse historic landscape.[73]

Spitalfields and Banglatown is a densely textured territory, swollen with multilayered meaning and possibility. In recent times, as we have seen, the forces of gentrification, capitalism and multiculturalism have worked together — sometimes in union, at other times in conflict — constantly pushing and pulling the landscape into ever-mutating configurations. The Tower Hamlets Council has embraced this dynamism, understanding the nuanced differences between preservation and conservation — the former pitted against the changing tides, and the latter constantly navigating and tracking the tides of change.

There are no easy political or moral implications to be made or inferences to be drawn from the ways in which the landscape is forming. Despite the reservations of Jacobs and Samuel, the gentrifiers were and are a vital component to the continuing success of this area. Spitalfields and Banglatown are unique in their multicultural history and character, and

their historic buildings are a testament to this. Without the intervention of the Spitalfields Trust, very little of the historic fabric of the area would be in existence. Yet, had not the Bengalee community breathed new life into the area, this incomparable relic of Georgian London might have fossilized under the ascendancy of the preservationists.

Capitalism has undoubtedly kept the wheels of change in motion, and will continue to drive reinvention of this space. Early signs of the encroachment of the city are visible in new tall buildings springing up on the edges of the conservation areas. Advertisements for luxury flats for sale on Brick Lane attest to new building uses and the arrival of new demographic groups in the area. The ongoing mediation of these forces by Tower Hamlets Council, however, has helped maintain a successful equilibrium that continues to bring economic growth, nurture cultural diversity and inculcate a sense of vitality.

The next few years will see new demographic groups, new cultural influences, new contests, conflicts and alliances emerge in Bruce Grove. Just as they have in Spitalfields and Banglatown, these will alter the landscape in spite of any conservation strategy. The task ahead will surely be to acknowledge, accommodate and manage these changes, rather trying resist the passage of time. Whichever course the Bruce Grove THI takes, it will be left, as the years of decay are peeled back, with the job of constructing interpretations of its past, present and future. It stands at the threshold of a new chapter in its history, armed with an array of possibilities. Whether it chooses to understand the diverse traditions of Bruce Grove as fragments or components of the project will have a profound and lasting effect.

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Book Reviews
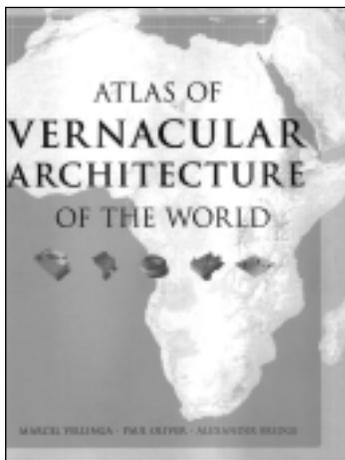
Atlas of Vernacular Architecture of the World. By Marcel Vellinga, Paul Oliver, and Alexander Bridge. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007. Hardcover: xxvi, 150 pp.; illus., maps.

Those who appreciated Paul Oliver's edited *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World (EVAW)* will undoubtedly welcome its complement, the *Atlas of Vernacular Architecture of the World (AVAW)*. Paradoxically, they will be both thrilled and disappointed with this venture, jointly authored by Oliver, vernacular architecture scholar Marcel Vellinga, and cartographer Alexander Bridge.

The *Atlas* has two clearly defined parts. The first comprises descriptive and explanatory texts (Introduction and Afterword) discussing the aims, scope and potential of the project. The second contains the maps. These are further divided into general reference maps, a section called "Contexts," and thematic maps describing the "Cultural and Material Aspects" of the world's vernacular architectures. This last section represents the core of the project. Several maps each are provided for the following themes: materials and resources; structural systems and technologies; forms, plans and types; services and functions; symbolism and decoration; and development and sustainability.

Within the cartographic section, most maps are two-page spreads that provide information for the entire world. Some, however, focus on a sizeable region, and a few target particular countries. Most (and all in the thematic section) include texts that expand the cartographic information, define particular features, ponder specific problems, and single out areas where more research is needed. Some are also accompanied by photographs and drawings. References for each map, including cross-references to *EVAW*, are listed at the end of the book, before its bibliography and index.

In its broadest sense, *AVAW* presents a forceful appeal to anthropologists, architects, art historians, geographers, conservationists, and others interested in the design and provision of sustainable housing to include maps in their work. *AVAW* is also a convincing remedy to the relative ignorance about the effectiveness of maps in vernacular architecture research, and will undoubtedly stimulate new studies. All 69 maps are informative, and in some cases they are argumentative too — particularly those that deal with diffusion (of the bungalow, for instance, pp.78–79), or symbolism (botanical metaphor, pp.106–7). A few offer original research, or present plausible (or implausible) new hypotheses, as is the case with some of the maps that include a historical dimension. As a result, while *AVAW* fits the *Oxford Dictionary* definition of an atlas, as "a collection of maps or charts bound in a volume," it is — and was meant to be — more than that.

But this is also where the paradox of this volume is most apparent. The *Atlas* was conceived as a complement to *EVAW*, and it mirrors *EVAW*'s effort to present a comprehensive reference work for vernacular architecture. Specifically, it was expected that the exercise of mapping would reveal patterns and relationships; discover interrelations between vernacular architecture and cultural, environmental and geological factors; and

permit comparisons at a larger geographic scale than the culturally or regionally specific ones dealt with in *EVAW*. New hypotheses and research problems would thus be brought to the fore; and, indeed, some of these are listed in the Afterword. Yet *AVAW* is disappointing because, unlike *EVAW*, its final form falls short of these expectations.

I will mention three reasons why I think this is the case. First is a tendency to overgeneralization. The maps do not give adequate specificity to the data represented. The written sections, too, including some texts accompanying the maps, include vague, sweeping statements. There is even a certain circularity to the conception of vernacular architecture, since key terms (culture, tradition, needs, values) are never defined, despite the fact that these have been contested in recent scholarship.[1]

The problem of overgeneralization is particularly evident in the maps of the "Context" section. These were meant for cross-reference with the thematic maps, but they do not improve, either by scale or information (say, on topography), on maps in other atlases. Nor are they specifically related to issues of vernacular architecture. The "Culture" map (pp.16–17), adopted from *EVAW* (where it made sense), is particularly ineffective in this regard, since the thematic maps that follow do not reflect the broad cultural divisions it portrays.

Conversely, one misses a map of disaster-prone areas in the "Context" section. There is only a map of "Natural disasters: earthquakes" (with only scant references to architecture) in the thematic section. Even here, it is located in the subsection on "Development and Sustainability" — its weakest, I think. A map of research on vernacular architecture would also be much appreciated.

The second weakness of *AVAW* concerns scope. Readers are told it does not claim to be comprehensive. But why not at least register some of the interesting themes that were not included, "either because data were not available or because it proved difficult to present information in cartographic form" (p.xxiv)? Going through the information in each section, one can make some guesses about what these might be. But it would have been valuable to learn about the particular difficulties encountered in this project — and thus what problems remain for future research. This would also have revealed a lot about the convenience of mapping as a research tool in vernacular architecture studies.

The third, and most serious, handicap is the ineffective design of the maps. This problem is not necessarily related to the book size (28 x 22 cm.; 11 x 9 in.), as attested by many small-scale, but visually clear and distinct maps published elsewhere. The choice of pastel colors, in most cases against a very pale green (or pink), does not provide adequate definition, nor clear contrast (i.e., "Multi-storey buildings," pp.72–73). Consequently, a magnifying glass and much effort are needed to make the most of them, and appreciate the work involved.

Some symbols used to represent particular subjects in their location and density were probably considered intensively, and were exquisitely drafted. But in the current presentation, they become mere aesthetic objects, not analytic tools, either because of their size or color (i.e., "Africa," p.69; courtyard plans in China, p.71). The two-page format, with the central binding always at meridian 0° (instead of say 30° W) is also unfair to the lands that go from the east of Britain to Ghana, and it is particularly unfair to France.

Despite these weaknesses, *AVAW* is most welcome as a pioneering enterprise. Since the authors are well aware of the research gaps, as stated in their Afterword, one can hope a new edition will redress these flaws (as well as correct some minor spelling mistakes). This project deserves such a follow-up — which might also add to the content. There are many ideas initiated here that deserve further resolution.

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NOTE

1. "Vernacular architecture comprises the dwellings and all other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental contexts and available resources, they are customarily owner- or community-built, utilising traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them" (p.xiii).

Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe. Edited by Michael Jones and Kenneth R. Olwig. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. xxix + 628 pp., b&w illus.
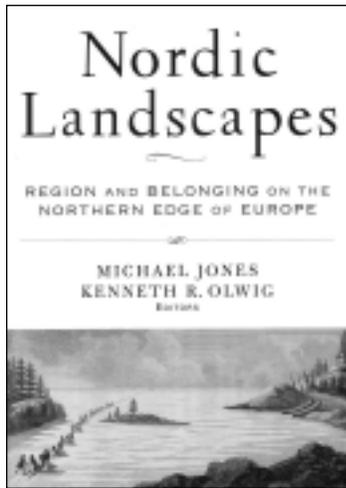
Nordic Landscapes deals with the five northern European countries of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, in addition to the island territories of Greenland and the Faeroe Islands (belonging to Denmark) and Åland in Finland. This area — collectively known as Norden — is connected by cultural heritage as well as geography. Politically, its five countries also share a common past, dating to the Kalmar Union in the fourteenth century. Today the region still possesses many common features in terms of cultural, social, political and economic life.

The book brings together the perspectives of a variety of Nordic scholars from such disciplines as geography, landscape architecture, and the social sciences to analyze how landscape informs a sense of place in the region. In this regard, it owes a debt to Michael Conzen's anthology *The Making of the American Landscape* (1990). In its approach to representations of the landscape, it also builds off the studies in *The Iconography of Landscape* (1988), edited by geographers Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels.

In an effort to examine the ever-evolving meaning of landscape and region, the book's editors Michael Jones and Kenneth R. Olwig write, the goal "is not to create a holistic vision of landscape, but to show how different discourses meet and can speak to one another in the understanding of particular places." Jones is a professor of geography at the University of Trondheim. Olwig is a professor of landscape theory at the Department of Landscape Architecture of Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences at Alnarp. They and the other contributors attempt to show how Norden's landscape and people have been defined by and against the dominant culture of Europe — while at the same time shaping and inspiring European ways of life.

The main themes of the book — landscape, region, and place — are introduced in the first chapter, coauthored by Jones and Olwig. Historically, rural settlements in Norden were isolated by lakes and forests, as well as fjords and mountains. The oldest towns were also generally small and distant from each other. Thus, landscape has played a greater role in the definition of place than in more densely settled areas Europe.

From here the book moves into a series of more local case studies, divided into sections by country. This begins with a chapter by Olwig describing Jutland, a province of Denmark which possessed independence and its own administration before joining the larger state. He explains that Jutland's distinct laws and customs, together with its natural qualities, created the basic elements of a separate regional identity, which can be still identified. The image of this identity, its "scenery," have long been described in literature — e.g., in a poem telling about ancient gods and myths of Jutland. Rune stones graven with ancient writing, cipher, also tell about the history and myths of the region. The chapter also examines characteristic stages of local agricultural improvement.

Ulf Sporrong describes a similar pattern of development in Swedish provinces (in Swedish called *landskaps*), which also had their own forms of governance in Middle Ages. He claims that these politically formed landscapes still preserve their identity in people's minds today. He also introduces prominent connections between Swedish literature and landscape.

Another interesting approach can be found in the chapter by Gabriel Bladh, also in the section on Sweden. She compares the physical landscape of the Värmland region with that created by a famous Swedish writer, Selma Lagerlöf. Bladh claims that the tourist industry and other image-producers are today promoting this type of regional identity.

In Saami cultural regions in the very northern arctic areas (e.g., in Norway and in Finland), the idea of landscape cannot be interpreted based on patterns of agriculture. In his chapter on Norway, Michael Jones states that northern landscape identity is based on the physical traces of the cultural activity and natural features with cultural meaning, together with immaterial cultural heritage such as place names and local traditions. In coastal areas a sense of the regional cultural landscape is further based on the traditions of fishermen and their local knowledge concerning the routes and places for fishing.

A collective theme in many articles is the role of the landscape in nation-building, as well as the revival of the landscape connected with the national romanticism of the nineteenth century. In the section on Finland, Maunu Häyrynen summarizes his research on national landscapes, their imagery, and the process of acquiring their exceptional value.

Several chapters also discuss differing disciplinary definitions of landscape, which an be used to enlighten aspects of the different local traditions. For example, in his discussion of "Finnish Landscape as Social Practice," Anssi Paasi refers to several authors who propose more dynamic definitions of landscape. The implied critique is that instead of explaining what landscape is, we should ask how it works.

The book is accompanied by black-and-white illustrations that include maps and historical and modern views. These provide glimpses to the regional environments dealt with by the authors, but otherwise do not play a dominant role in this collection.

Readers with an interest in vernacular architecture might be disappointed that this book does not include more specific remarks concerning traditional settlements. In large part, the discussion remains at a general cultural level. Still, this extensive collection provides interesting combinations of viewpoints and discourses concerning landscape, region and place. It deepens knowledge of Nordic countries and their historical development, and also verifies the many similarities between these nations.

For a researcher interested in these themes, *Nordic Landscapes* offers new ideas for study. Many of the theoretical views in the book are also quite close to recent work regarding the challenges of studying vernacular architecture.

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Theme Park. By Scott A. Lukas. London: Reaktion Books, 2008. 256 pp., b&w illus.
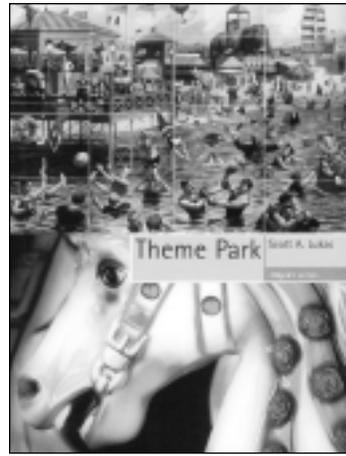
"Theming" has received a lot of bad press lately. Indeed, it has become a sort of all-purpose pejorative for unauthenticity, simulation and privatization. In this regard, semioticians and urbanists regularly do battle with the evil source of "Disneyfication": the theme park. Urban critics use the term particularly derisively. The subtitle of Michael Sorkin's *Variations on a Theme Park* sums it all up: *The New American City and the End of Public Space.* Similarly, Mark Gottdiener, in *The Theming of America*, argued that public space is being replaced by unauthentic and privatized environments.

Bucking this trend, it is interesting to find a book that highlights the influence of the theme park and the meaningful role it plays in people's lives, and that attempts to counter perceptions of theme parks as a superficial form of culture.

Theme Park is part of the Objekt series from the U.K. publisher Reaktion Books. Reaktion's titles, distributed in the U.S. by the University of Chicago Press, deal with various issues in the fields of art, architecture, cultural history, and even food studies. In particular, the Objekt series explores a range of modern iconic objects for a readership consisting mainly of enthusiasts. The series isolates specific building types or artifacts, and then attempts to reinstate them into their modern historical and cultural contexts. Other titles in the series include "Motorcycle," "Factory," and "School." Scott Lukas, a professor of anthropology and sociology at Lake Tahoe College, whose previous work includes *The Themed Space: Locating Culture Nation and Self*, was chosen to write about the theme park.

The book is divided into six chapters, each exploring a specific aspect of the theme park. The first looks into its genealogy, delineating the transformation of pleasure gardens, world's fairs, and amusement parks. Lukas claims the theme park arises from the human need for escape. The second chapter looks at ways theme parks represent different places, both imaginary and real. The third investigates the technologies and animatronics involved in the operation of the parks, while the fourth looks at performances staged by employees. The final chapter investigates how theme parks are represented in other media such as films, video games, and websites.

Ironically, Lukas's most persuasive chapter, "Theme Park as Brand," is also his most critical. He uses it to analyze the theme park as a form of commodification, part of

the increasing capitalist colonization of everyday life. Lukas gives the example of the sinister Kidzania in Japan, in which all simulations are connected to brands. Here, children are "edutained" about adult life, learning how to use ATMs and bank accounts, and being instructed on which brands to buy into. He also tells the story of how, as employee trainer in Six Flags Astroworld, he often heard park management discuss how to "tame" workers, and even patrons, into scripted forms of behavior.

Theme Park is very well illustrated. Its 125 images capture some of the highly enigmatic architectural aspects of theme parks. It is also a good source of references and quotes for those interested in the object of the theme park and discourse about it. Lukas is clearly an expert on the topic, having visited and studied theme parks internationally, and this book discusses parks from all over the world. Perhaps he is covering too much ground, however. The book's main problem is that at times the writing barely seems to scratch the surface of seemingly important issues. And although a good — on occasion, a little unnatural — effort has been made to integrate theory, this aspect of the discussion could use greater development.

Overall, *Theme Park* is an interesting and accessible book, not in the slightest because of its eccentric subject matter. It will appeal to many readers, even though the author struggled to reconcile academic critiques with his own appreciation of theme parks as a rich cultural form.

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The Architecture of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. Edited by Stephen H. Lekson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2007. 80 pp., 105 ill.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF CHACO CANYON, NEW MEXICO
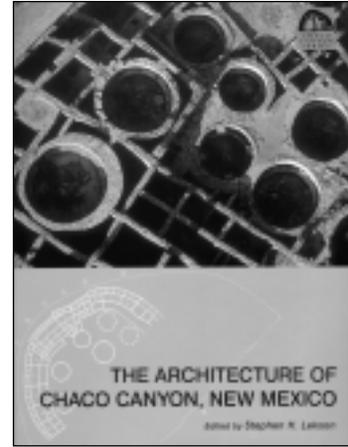
In Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, Native Americans constructed more than a dozen monumental stone buildings, known as great houses, during a period from approximately AD 850 to 1150. The geometrical form of these buildings (indicating planning or design prior to construction), their monumentality (some as many as five stories high and including more than 650 rooms), and their skilled masonry (involving various patterns of sandstone veneer) continue to captivate visitors, especially architects. The significance of Chaco Canyon resulted in the establishment of a National Monument in 1907, expansion into a National Historic Park in 1980, and designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987. More importantly, many Native Americans recognize Chaco Canyon as a meaningful ancestral place.

Various institutions have performed major archaeological investigations in Chaco Canyon. These began with the American Museum of Natural History in the 1890s and ended with the National Park Service, whose "Chaco Project" included fieldwork from 1971 to 1986. In 1997, the National Park Service and the University of Colorado, aiming to synthesize results from the Chaco Project and other recent scholarship, initiated the "Chaco Synthesis," a series of five small thematic conferences followed by the publication of papers from each. This volume resulted from the architecture conference of the Chaco Synthesis. It consists of an introduction and eight chapters focusing on Chaco architecture — its form, relation to the landscape and cosmos, and social significance.

Although Native Americans built hundreds of smaller structures in Chaco Canyon, *The Architecture of Chaco Canyon* focuses on the canyon's two most significant building types, great houses and great *kivas* — large, round, semi-subterranean rooms. Most of the authors are Southwest archaeologists. The editor, Stephen Lekson, is Curator of Anthropology and an associate professor at the University of Colorado. His contribution, "Great House Form," is an updated version of a chapter from his 1984 book, *Great Pueblo Architecture of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico.* It introduces readers to the formal attributes of Chacoan great houses, great *kivas*, rectangular and round rooms, room suites, walls, and plazas.

Ruth Van Dyke's chapter on great *kivas* synthesizes recently published sources and unpublished archaeological

data from the Chaco Archives. She argues that "development of the formal great kiva in Chaco Canyon is linked to ideas about cyclical time, social memory, directionality and balanced dualism . . . legitimating Chaco Canyon as a center place" (p.94).

One of the most informative and interesting chapters, built on substantial field research, is Thomas Windes's examination of the earliest Chaco Canyon great houses (and others throughout the San Juan Basin). Windes notes that the first great houses contrasted with previous Native American structures not only in terms of size and formality, but also through the manipulation of surrounding ground areas, including the construction of massive mounds that appear to have been earthen architecture rather than piles of accumulated trash. They also differed in terms of their siting, offering commanding views of prominent landscape features and other great houses. Windes argues that these compounds were deliberately sited so as to integrate with landscape features that would have been spiritually significant to their builders. He also argues that they were built as displays of power, especially when seen from other great houses and smaller pueblos.

Anna Sofaer's chapter, first published in 1997 in Baker Morrow and V.B. Price's *Anasazi Architecture and American Design*, investigates great houses and their relation to the greater cosmos. Sofaer found that five of the great houses in Chaco Canyon are oriented to the solar cycle, and that seven are oriented to lunar standstills.

Three chapters focus on the two largest great houses in Chaco Canyon, Pueblo Bonito and Chetro Ketl. Jill Neitzel provides an overview of architectural research at Pueblo Bonito, including scholarship published in her noteworthy edited volume *Pueblo Bonito: Center of the Chacoan World* (2003). She examines Pueblo Bonito's location, function, population, and social structure. She concludes with extensive suggestions for new avenues of research.

Wendy Ashmore analyzes previous scholarship on various aspects of Pueblo Bonito's architecture. Her aim is to elucidate Pueblo Bonito's social history and argue that perspective reconstructions enhance understanding of how people moved through it and inhabited it. She also examines its founding, siting, cardinal alignment and symmetry, construction, and public and devotional spaces.

Lekson, Windes, and Patricia Fournier then consider how architectural elements and attributes of Chetro Ketl are viewed from different locations. They examine one controversial element — the "colonnade" (which is actually a row of piers supported by a low wall) — and conclude that it is hybrid architecture that emulates Mexican colonnades using local materials and construction methods. The authors suggest that Chetro Ketl's grand, formal architecture was built to express power, especially to those who viewed it from above as they arrived via the North Road.

The final chapter, by John Stein, Richard Friedman, Taft Blackhorse, and Richard Loose includes a digital reconstruction of the central portion of Chaco Canyon as it may have appeared in 1130. The authors argue, and demonstrate through color renderings, that digital modeling may be more effective than excavation in understanding the architecture and landscapes of the past. The different knowledges that the authors apply — Stein's architectural training, Friedman's GIS skills, Blackhorse's knowledge of Navajo language and culture, and Loose's acoustical studies — all add up to an engaging reconstruction of how Native American inhabitants shaped and built within this landscape.

The Architecture of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, with its foundational chapters on great houses and great *kivas* and numerous photographs and drawings, is a valuable resource for architects and landscape architects interested in Native American built environments. At the same time, it provides significant new information for Chaco scholars and for Native Americans who claim Chaco Canyon as an ancestral place.

Methods used in this book — digital modeling, perspective reconstructions, and analyses of the appearance of buildings and landscapes from various locations — also demonstrate the expanded range of qualitative approaches that archaeologists now employ. Not only will these allow richer interpretations of the past, but they suggest that historians of architecture and landscape architecture have much future scholarship to offer on historic Native American sites.

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Conferences and Events

"All Quiet on the Wrong Side of the Tracks? Inquiries into the Interrelation of the Other and the City Today," **Berlin, Germany:** June 2–3, 2009. This workshop will explore the relation between contemporary representations of the city and its "other" (e.g., migrants). Organized by the Center for Metropolitan Studies, Berlin, its target audience is young scholars concerned with the urban dimension of marginalization and exclusion. For more information, visit: http://www.metropolitanstudies.de.

"City Futures in a Globalising World," **Madrid, Spain:** June 4–6, 2009. This is the second Joint Conference on City Futures of the European Urban Research Association (EURA) and the Urban Affairs Association (UAA). Papers will explore climate change, resource use, and urban adaptation; knowledge and technology in urban development; community development, migration, and integration in urban areas; urban governance and city planning in an international era; sound governance and planning as elements of urban success; and architecture and the design of the public realm. For more information, visit: http://www.cityfutures2009.com/.

"The Vernacular Architecture Forum Annual Meeting," **Butte, MT:** June 10–13, 2009. The VAF's annual meeting will explore different forms everyday architecture and cultural landscapes from across the world. For more information, visit: http://www.vafweb.org/conferences/2009.html.

"ICURPT 2009 — International Conference on Urban, Regional Planning and Transportation," **Paris, France:** June 24, 2009. The conference will bring together researchers, scientists, engineers, and scholars to exchange experiences, ideas, and research findings in the areas of urban design, regional planning, and transportation, and to discuss the practical challenges and solutions. The conference is organized by the World Academy of Science, Engineering, and Technology. For more information, visit: http://www.waset.org/wcset09/paris/icurpt/.

"Cities — The 78th Anglo-American Conference of Historians," **London, U.K.:** July 2–3, 2009. The 78th conference of the Institute of Historical Research will deal with cities throughout the world. Papers will examine networks of cities and their role in cultural formation; relations between cities, territories, and larger political units; and the ideologies and cosmologies of the city and what distinguishes cities and towns from other forms of settlement. For more information, visit: http://www.history.ac.uk/aac2009/.

"Tenth Asian Urbanization Conference," **Hong Kong, China:** August 16–19, 2009. Sponsored by the Asian Urban Research Association, the conference will explore such themes as population change, urban systems, sustainable development, transportation, governance, and comparative urbanization. For more information, visit: http://www.hku.hk/asia2009/.

"Glocal Imaginaries: Writing/Migration/Place," **Lancaster and Manchester, U.K.:** September 9–12, 2009. This is the closing conference of the AHRC-funded research project "Moving Manchester: How the Experience of Migration Has Informed the Work of Writers in Greater Manchester from 1960 to the Present." The increasingly complex relationship between the local and the global is a defining characteristic of contemporary writing about Manchester. It may also appeal to researchers and writers from around the world and across disciplines. For more information, contact: Mrs. Jo McVicker, Room B190, County College, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YD, U.K.; j.mcvicker@lancaster.ac.uk.

"The Politics of Space and Place," **Brighton, U.K.:** September 16–18, 2009. This conference will address the operation of power, through space and place, on the structuring of inequality. It is organized by the Centre for Applied Philosophy, Politics and Ethics, University of Brighton. For more information, visit: http://www.brighton.ac.uk/CAPPE.

"Sustainable Architecture and Urban Development," **Tripoli, Libya:** November 3–5, 2009. The conference will explore how neighborhood design can further a sustainable region, and how local culture and history can interact with new concepts of urbanism to create a mix of development options. Of particular interest will be issues of sustainability in Arab cities, whose rapid, often erratic growth has brought unwanted environmental consequences. The conference is organized by the Center for the Study of Architecture in the Arab Region (CSAAR). For more information, visit: http://www.csaar-center.org/conference/SD2009/

"Conference on Planning History," **Oakland, CA:** October 15–18, 2009. This conference will pay particular attention to architecture, planning, and landscape design in the Bay Area and the western U.S.; environmental sustainability, nature and the metropolis; historic preservation; real estate; regions; public art; and studies of race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality. The conference is organized by the Society for American City and Regional Planning History. For more information, visit: http://www.dcp.ufl.edu/sacrph/.

"International Conference on Technology & Sustainability in the Built Environment," **Riyadh, Saudi Arabia:** January 3–6, 2010. Scientific and technology should improve the sustainability of urban development rather than contribute to the devastation of the environment. The conference hopes to expand the role of technology in the service of urban sustainability. The conference is organized by the College of Architecture and Planning, King Saud University. For more information, visit: http://www.capksu-conf.org.

"International Conference on Sustainable Architecture and Urban Design 2010," **Penang, Malaysia:** March 4–5, 2010. The energy crisis has had a massive impact on the global economy. Price increases have caused increasing concern for principles of sustainability in architecture and urban design. The conference is organized by the Universiti Sains Malaysia and NURI. For more information, visit: http://www.hbp.usm.my/icsaud2010/.

RECENT CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

"The Fourth Built Environment Conference," **Livingston, Zambia:** May 17–19, 2009. The fourth annual conference of the Council for the Built Environment and the Association of Schools of Construction of Southern Africa focused on sustainable construction education, professional development, service delivery, customer-service information, technology legislation, and regulatory frameworks for safety, health, and environmental quality. For more information, visit: https://www.asocsa.org/conference2009/index.html.

"Living in the Past: Histories, Heritage and the Interior," **London, U.K.:** May 14–15, 2009. Organized by the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at Kingston University, conference participants debated how changing social, cultural, political and economic factors shape understanding and assessment of architectural interiors. It brought together architecture and design historians, practitioners, curators, and policy-makers. For more information, visit: http://www.kingston.ac.uk/~kx23813/MIRC/conference09.html.

"True Urbanism: Cities for Health and Well-Being," **Portland, OR:** May 10–14, 2009. The 47th Making Cities Livable Conference explored True Urbanism — the time-tested principles of human-scale architecture, mixed-use shop/houses, and a compact urban fabric of blocks, streets and squares. It also explored the role of outdoor cafes and restaurants, farmers' markets, and community festivals in enlivening the public realm. For more information, visit: http://www.livablecities.org/.

"Diversity in Place: Making Documentaries on the Multicultural City," **Manoa, HI:** April 24, 2009. The conference explored video and photo documentaries of daily practices in multicultural cities. As an alternative to conventional data analysis and academic writing, such documentaries can make key contributions to research, teaching and practice about placemaking. The conference was organized by the University of Hawaii's Globalization Research Center, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning. For more information, visit: http://diversity-inplace.wordpress.com/.

"Peripheries: Decentering Urban Theory," **Berkeley, CA:** February 5–7, 2009. Bringing together scholars from anthropology, architecture, city planning, and geography, the conference sought to analyze the notion of the "periphery" as a way to begin new dialogues among the cities of the so-called global South and to generate new paradigms of urban theory. For more information, visit: http://www.ced.berkeley.edu/events/.

The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments
Bylaws and Organizational Structure

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

Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review (*TDSR*) 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.

IASTE membership is open to all who are interested in traditional environments and their related studies. In addition to receiving the Association's semi-annual journal, members are eligible to attend the biennial conference at reduced rates.

The following bylaws outline the governance structure of IASTE and shall remain valid until amended or changed by the appropriate body/bodies outlined below.

1. The Principal Founder of IASTE (serving also as President of the Association for a renewable five-year term) appoints an Advisory Council of 15–25 scholars from among the IASTE membership as representatives of the diverse IASTE-related disciplines. This Council serves at the pleasure of the President, mainly in an advisory capacity, but will be asked to exercise the right to vote on the main issues pertaining to the Association.

2. The President of IASTE nominates a Director and an Executive Board of five to six individuals with extensive IASTE experience to also serve a renewable term of five years. The IASTE Advisory Council members vote in a closed ballot on the nominated slate.

3. The duties of the IASTE President include presenting the public relations face of IASTE; advising on conference themes, locations, and keynote speakers; coordinating with the IASTE Advisory Council, helping to assign some of the daily or weekly work load of IASTE student and administrative staff at Berkeley; managing IASTE finances at Berkeley, and any other duties agreed to by the IASTE Director and/or Executive Board, including international representation and fundraising.

4. The duties of the IASTE Director include managing IASTE's overall agenda; directing IASTE conferences; serving as Series Editor for the Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series; coordinating all activities with the President, the Executive Board, and the IASTE staff; coordinating IASTE finances with the President and the IASTE staff; and grant writing and fundraising for the different IASTE activities, including conferences, *TDSR*, other publications, and ad-hoc outreach projects or events.

5. The IASTE Executive Board is an elected body that helps articulate the general direction of IASTE and its conferences. Members of this group are expected to attend all IASTE conferences during their term of service, help articulate conference themes, chair particular tracks or sessions at conferences, and provide general advice and assistance to the Director.

6. All decisions of the IASTE Advisory Council and the IASTE Executive Board are initiated by the President and the Director respectively and confirmed by the bodies through a simple majority vote.

Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The reference notes, collected at the end of the text (not at the bottom of each page), would read as follows:
1. E. Regis, *Egyptian Dwellings* (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirs Old Debate," *Smithsonian*, Vol.11 No.2 (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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