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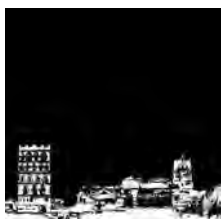
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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements
Working Paper Series

**SUSTAINABLE PRESERVATION OF URBAN
HERITAGE**

Silvia Mazzetto

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SUSTAINABLE PRESERVATION OF URBAN HERITAGE



In Saudi Arabia, the recent search for cultural identity has raised many questions about the direction of growth after the post-oil era to afford a sustainable future. Several heritage rehabilitation projects have been launched at various scales in the country to revitalize the value of local culture and traditions. The paper presents research about the urban heritage rehabilitation projects in some selected Saudi Arabia case studies. The research methodology assessed the sustainable criteria and principles adopted during the interventions to enhance the heritage's environmental, ecological, social, cultural, and economic values and target long-term holistic sustainable reuses in compliance with the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals. The assessment was done through a questionnaire spread among various participants in the community, including inhabitants, tourists, governmental offices, and educational institutions. Results show that sustainable reuses have enhanced socio-cultural and economic principles by promoting social cohesion and local investment. Restorative approaches have provided more adaptation to users' needs, while conservative methodologies have preserved the authenticity of old uses.

1. PRESERVING HERITAGE

In recent years, Saudi Arabia has targeted sustainable strategies to afford the post-oil era. In compliance with the National Vision 2030, many national heritage rehabilitation projects have been recently completed to enhance local culture and traditions, raise awareness of local values, and promote culture and tourism investments. The country has undergone diverse periods of growth¹ from the pre-oil reaching the oil discovery and exportation and now facing a post-oil period that targets more sustainable approaches² for a sustainable post-oil era³. Many Saudi cities have rapidly increased in recent decades with an ongoing construction boom. At the same time, many villages were abandoned⁴ and affected by collapses and demolitions in Saudi Arabia and in many other countries of the Gulf Region⁵. The search for identity and traditional values has recently enhanced the interest in preserving urban heritage. The fast and uncontrolled demolition of extended portions of historic urban fabric in Saudi Arabia has guided the establishment of laws in urban preservation⁶ to safeguard the nation's heritage⁷. The Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage (SCTNH) has been the only responsible Institution dedicated to heritage preservation since 2000, and it is currently under the guidance of the Ministry of Tourism (MOT). In recent years, many interventions have been completed on the nation's urban heritage to preserve and redevelop the value of ancient urban aggregations and historical settlements. The interventions were supervised by the institutions responsible for protecting the heritage.

In literature reviews, many research and published works available about heritage conservation in Saudi Arabia⁸ and the Gulf regions⁹ with a particular focus¹⁰ on urban heritage conservation¹¹. However, comparing and assessing sustainable reuses of heritage still needs to be further investigated, and only a few published works about urban heritage preservation strategies are applied to the built environment¹².

Some research targets sustainable heritage conservation and reuse by considering different levels and approaches for assessments considering cultural, social, and economic aspects¹³.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research has analyzed, compared, and assessed four selected case studies of recent urban regenerative interventions located in the center and northern-eastern areas of Saudi Arabia. The projects have promoted sustainable strategies of resources in alignment with the Saudi National Vision 2030¹⁴. The research aimed to get new perspectives and ideas not only limited to tourism development but also targeting long-term holistic sustainability in urban heritage reuses.

The four selected case studies are well-known projects of reused urban heritage constructed with traditional materials and techniques under the supervision of governmental institutions and the involvement of the local community. The selected heritage villages are:

Al Ula Old Town Village;
Old Jeddah City Centre Al-Balad;
Ushaiger Heritage Village;
Al Turaif district in Riyadh.

Al Alula, Al Balad in Old Jeddah, and Al Turaif district in Riyadh are currently listed in the UNESCO World Heritage Site. At the same time, Ushaiger Heritage Village is listed under the Heritage Commission for Urban Heritage. The methodology for sustainable assessment was defined by the literature review referring to economic, social, cultural, environmental, and ecological principles promoted by the United Nations¹⁵ and the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

A questionnaire was submitted to diverse participants (visitors, students, local community, and institutions) to assess the following aspects:

Socio-cultural:

1. social cohesion,
2. cultural enhancement,
3. community values,
4. social diversity,
5. cultural values;

Socio-economic:

6. social economy,
7. enhance growth,
8. sustainable reuses;

Environmental:

9. respect context,
10. reduce materials' waste,
11. reduce pollution;

Ecological:

12. minimize climatic changes,
13. respect natural resources.

2.1. AlUla Old Town Village

AlUla is considered one of the most important archeological sites in Saudi Arabia, with thousands of years of history for the Al-Hijr remains in the Hegra area listed under UNESCO in 2008. The ancient urban settlement of Al Ula was a flourished society that remains traces of inhabitants since around the 12th century; however, it was abandoned in the early 1980s. The dedicated Institution, the Royal Commission for Al Ula, supervised and preserved the value of Al Ula Old Town. Recently, a sustainable heritage regenerative project was conducted to requalify the abandoned urban fabric and promote the attraction of foreign and local investments. The urban settlement was preserved by promoting new sustainable reuses to protect the natural environment and enhance commercial business and local investments. The building conservation has preserved all traditional materials and techniques for construction, being a sensitive sample of ancient styles influenced by diverse architectural decorative elements. The place was reconverted into a tourist attraction, and the natural environment has been requalified by promoting traditional activities combined with some entertainment for social interactions that requalified a sense of community belonging. The royal commissions for Alula supervised the work. They provided guidelines for interventions and strategies for sustainable reuses. The project aimed at enhancing and sharing traditional cultural values by adopting sustainable intervention principles. The Governmental institutions promoted community-engaging activities to provide more business opportunities for locals and foreigners.

2.2. Old Jeddah City Centre Al-Balad

The Old Jeddah city center has many buildings typical of Hijaz architecture. Al-Balad district was listed under UNESCO World Heritage in the past decade¹⁶. The urban tissue of Al-Balad dates back many centuries ago

when it was a flourishing settlement of commercial activities and residential units in the traditional Hijaz architectural style. Al-Balad was an important and well-known place for pilgrims traveling to Mecca. After many years of abandonment and neglect, about a thousand heritage buildings survived and were included in the preservation projects to revitalize the site. The interventions were completed under Al-Balad Historical Area Preservation Department supervision, with the support of both public and private funds. The Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage (SCTH) supervised the final recent intervention. Many social celebrations and festivals are arranged every to promote the community's social interaction and share the traditions of local culture¹⁷

2.3. Ushaiger village

Ushaiger is an ancient heritage Village located in the Najd region, which dates back thousands of years., It was a famous destination along the pilgrimage route to Meccah because of its refreshing water springs. About 50 years ago, a new modernized village was constructed nearby under the Ushaiger Municipality. In 2017, the urban rehabilitation underwent with the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage supervisions. Interventions were conducted with the involvement of the local community by proposing sustainable reuses and adopting traditional techniques and materials for construction. New uses were adopted with the ancient ones, mainly for commercial and entertainment, with new cafeterias, traditional restaurants, and museums. The requalification promoted sustainable economic and social reuses with many economic investments from the community. The interventions have enhanced many socio-cultural principles and promoted the environmental and ecological characteristics of the site to become one of the most visited tourist places rich in traditions and cultural attractions (Figure 1).

2.4. Al-Turaif village

Al Turaif District in Diriyah was listed under UNESCO World Heritage in 2010. It is situated in the Wadi Hanifa Valley. The settlement origins date back to the 15th century when the most palace of the Al Saud family in the Najd region became the country's capital. The old settlement, an ancient ring of fortified walls to protect the residential, educational, commercial, and agricultural buildings, was recently requalified and converted into an open-air museum of Najdi culture. In 2017, the responsible authority of Diriyah Gate Development Authority (DGDA) was entitled to supervise and safeguard the heritage site by adopting preservative methodologies while respecting the reversibility of all interventions. The heritage site attracts many tourists yearly to discover the museum exhibitions, with interactive areas for discovering and learning the value of past local traditions. Diriyah's strategic program has guidelines to control and regulate the construction standards for intervention in conservation and restoration and improve community participation to discover and share the value of local traditions.



Figure 1. Ushaiger village was rehabilitated under the supervision of Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage, with the involvement of the local community.

3. RESULTS

The research analyzed the selected case studies, comparing the interventions, the governmental supervising Institution, the project categories, and their reuse, as presented in Table 1.

Name	UNESCO	Project year	Authority	Categories	Old use	Reuse
Alula Village	Listed	2008	Royal Commission for Al Ula	Urban heritage Conservation	Residential	Entertainment Commercial
Al-Balad Jeddah	Listed	2014	Preservation Department	Urban heritage Regeneration	Residential Commercial	Commercial Residential
Ushaiger Village	Not listed	2018	Saudi Commission SCTNH	Urban heritage Regeneration	Residential	Residential Commercial
Al Turaif District	Listed	2009	Diriyah Gate DGDA	Urban heritage Conservation	Residential	Museum Entertainment

Table 1. Four case studies have been compared, showing the recent interventions and sustainable reuses. (Source: author)

Areas of sustainability	Sustainable aspects	Al Ula	At-Turaif	Ushaiger	Al-Balad
SOCIO-CULTURAL	1. Social cohesion	5	4	5	5
	2. Cultural enhancement	4	4	5	5
	3. Community values	5	4	5	5
	4. Social diversity	5	4	5	4
	5. Cultural values	5	5	5	4
SOCIO-ECONOMIC	6. Social economy	5	5	5	5
	7. Enhance growth	5	5	4	5
	8. Sustainable reuses	5	5	5	5
ENVIRONMENTAL	9. Respect context	5	5	5	4
	10. Reduce waste	4	5	5	4
	11. Reduce pollution	5	5	4	4
ECOLOGIC	12. Minimize climatic changes	5	5	5	4
	13. Respect natural resources	4	5	5	5

Table 2. Results of the questionnaire conducted for comparing sustainable reuses in Saudi Arabia case studies (5= Total/4=Significant /3=Partial/2= Minimal/1=Absent)

The collection of data relating to the questionnaire shows how all the interventions have reached high evaluation scores for improvements in cultural, economic, and ecological environmental aspects, demonstrating how the reuse approach in the redevelopment of the heritage is considered generally sustainable and, therefore, in alignment with the future sustainable country growth. Projects that have allowed greater adaptation to contemporary social uses through redevelopment interventions have the highest scores of the social parameters. The restoration interventions have allowed greater flexibility to the new uses (as in the case of the village of Ushaiger and Al-Balad). The more conservative interventions, as in the case of Turaif and Al Ula, had very high scores for the economic principles, with many local investments and economic strategies, however, showing possible margins for improvement in the social aspects. The conservative factors have limited the flexibility to the new users' needs.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, comparing and assessing urban rehabilitation interventions in Saudi Arabia to achieve sustainable urban heritage reuse shows that, in general, more flexibility in heritage reuse and restoration approaches can enhance social involvement and local economic investments. On the opposite side, the conservative approach, especially with valuable urban heritage, has some limitations in reuses, such as tours and museum exhibitions to attract visitors and tourists. Both strategies have reached good performances in terms of social-economic environmental and ecologic sustainability principles. They are best practice samples that could be extended to other interventions in the country.

The role of urban villages in social and economic development cannot be underestimated in Shenzhen. Their transformation since Shenzhen's 'birth' as a city in 1979 has created unique urban situations that are both unique and critical to the subsequent successes of the city. Nevertheless, they have remained controversial and continue to draw contrasting and often contradictory negative and positive publicity. As a city, Shenzhen and even the whole China continues to seek the next direction of urban development, and how to deal with the complex issues of the urban villages, is still challenging local governments throughout the country. Whatever, their approach, local government's need to carefully observe the role and influence of urban villages upon the city and to carefully formulate relevant policies to ensure the sustainable and people-oriented development of the city. In successfully achieved, urban villages can flourish in their roles as invisible beacons of economic and social success for many years to come.

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements

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CULTURAL ROUTES AS A TOOL FOR INTERPRETING CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUE: A SPATIAL ANALYTICAL APPROACH

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CULTURAL ROUTES AS A TOOL FOR INTERPRETING CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUE: A SPATIAL ANALYTICAL APPROACH



Interpretation of cultural heritage serves as a critical means of conveying its intrinsic value, which goes beyond its physical and tangible components and includes spiritual truth, emotional response, and deeper understanding. According to Nuryanti (1996), the value of cultural heritage should be conveyed in the context of the present through interpretation¹. Cultural Route is identified as a significant approach for achieving this, because of its critical tool for enriching people's experience and appreciation of heritage by revealing its cultural value. Tangible and intangible aspects of cultural areas maintain a substantial importance in supporting the interpretation qualities of a Cultural Route, and consequently, these aspects influence the design of Cultural Routes through facilitating a more profound understanding of cultural heritage.

This paper poses the question of how to interpret cultural heritage value through designing cultural routes. To achieve this, a hypothesis was designed, taking in consideration the aspects that is responsible for enhancing interpretation, and managing people's experiences of place. The study also implies the importance of using computer aided analytical tools as decision support systems for designing Cultural Routes. Such spatial techniques provide an analytical process for selecting appropriate actions and creating different scenarios. By using a multi-layers data aggregation, a more objective and quantitative evaluation of the design outputs could be achieved.

Thus, the research follows a methodology comprised of a number of stages. The first stage investigates the aspects of the built heritage that have a direct effect on conveying the value of a place. Indexing cultural heritage value is done by extracting a number of indicators used as a benchmark for the analysis process. The second stage is concerned with establishing networks and sub-networks in a common coherence through the route. This means the capability of the route to implement integration between its elements and the surrounding area as well².

The study applies its approach to the Turkish Town; one of the oldest inhabited remaining settlements in the City of Alexandria, Egypt. It encompasses various values which act as a repository of many tangible and intangible characteristics. However, after over a century and half of history, the Turkish Town, like the city itself, is searching to redefine its role and maintain its cultural heritage value. For this reason, it is essential to highlight the various characteristics that shape the Turkish Town's cultural heritage value through designing interpretive cultural routes. Also, the involvement of the spatial analytical tools contributes further insights into the empirical study, by offering an evident for manipulating different routes, and highlighting the Turkish Town as a useful case study that acts as an excellent representative of various cultural values.

1. INTRODUCTION

Interpretation is a part of the communication process. Along with sensation, perception and representation, interpretation too is an important step in processing information³. Interpretation is a process which enables translating values into languages visitors can understand and contributes to revealing the meanings that the site can represent. The current study focuses on value-based approach and defines interpretation as an interactive communication process that can reveal the intrinsic values of cultural heritage.

In fact, interpreting a cultural heritage value embodies many tools that can provide opportunities for connections to the significance of place. The study addresses cultural routes as primary interpretive tools that can embody many other tools and techniques. The process of designing cultural routes capable of conveying

an interpretation of cultural heritage value has demonstrated that emphasizing the “wholeness” of a destination can effectively capture its cultural heritage value. In the realm of heritage interpretation research, the concept of “values” is acknowledged as “**Themes**”. Themes delivered by cultural routes can express this wholeness and encourage tourists to interpret their experience and to search for deeper meaning ⁴.

The available evidence reveals the symbiotic relationship between value and theme. Value describes the characteristics of places. For example, a place can encompass historic value because of its associations with a historic event or person. However, theme is about how these characteristics can be put together to interpret a specific message identified in a focused theme statement. By providing this focus, theme could be considered a powerful tool to offer visitors more meaningful experience by controlling how this message is presented using a variety of tools and techniques ⁵.

Traditionally, design of Cultural Routes depends mainly on research that focuses on the role of media, materials and management. However, these studies address an apparent lack in their perception of interpretation that is capable of revealing the significance of places. Interpretive route is not a new concept, but the lack of analysis of their wider cultural significance is apparent. Taylor (2015) refers to the interpretive route as a tool that can move visitors through space organize and unify the built and intangible heritage through place-narrative ⁶. It is essential to consider how routes might contribute to the processes inherent in the experience of touristic spaces. Therefore, the current study attempts to highlight the role of these routes in conveying the value of these places. Also, the absence of a coherent framework for designing cultural routes based on the concept of interpretation stimulates the necessity of outlining a methodology based upon analyzing previous research. On the other hand, despite the fact that many studies have addressed the importance of using analytical tools as a decision support system in the design process, only few research are observed to focus on the role of these quantitative tools in designing cultural routes, especially by highlighting the role of such techniques in analyzing the intrinsic characteristics of a place.

The primary problem addressed in this research is how to design a cultural route using a cultural heritage value index that can effectively convey cultural interpretation to tourists experiencing a place. This is accomplished by considering the factors responsible for enriching interpretation. Subsequently, a three-layered mapping model is introduced, and the study implements this approach in the Turkish Town, a historic district in Alexandria, Egypt.

The current study starts with clearly defining the process of interpreting cultural heritage value and determining how cultural route can effectively act as an interpretive tool. This lays the foundation for a methodology for designing cultural routes. Furthermore, it effectively pinpoints the various challenges involved in designing these routes, shedding light on why integrating spatial analytical tools is crucial. This analysis contributes in the

selection of the most optimal tools for the design process, facilitating creating a model for designing cultural routes.

2. INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUE

Heritage is conserved because someone thinks it important, and Interpretation is a way of supporting how people appreciate that importance. And if they appreciate it, people may support efforts to conserve or protect the place concerned. As Freeman Tilden describes it, interpretation not only tells people what is interesting about a place, it aims to convince people of its value, and encourage them to want to conserve it ⁵. Interpretation is totally concerned with the explanation of cultural values, meanings and ideas attached to places. The concept of 'value' refers to the meanings individuals or groups of people bestow on heritage, including collections, buildings, archaeological sites, landscapes and intangible expressions of culture such as traditions. Saar and Palang (2009) argue that values are created through the interrelation between human experiences and physical form to create a unitary context ⁷. This interrelation takes place by the relationships that people have with other people, or through activities that people do or engage with. The broadest explanation is defined by Steele (1981) who determines how value is derived by involving personal factors and other tangible and intangible characteristics embedded in a cultural heritage site ^{8, 9, 7}.

While acknowledging the interrelationship between the tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage, the current study will focus on the tangible characteristics which empowers a more targeted and manageable approach. As Lynch (1981) states that the quality of the physical object can evoke a strong image in any observer and thus becoming meaningful as people are able to read, identify and relate to it ¹⁰. This is built on the hypothesis that the tangible objects have value as heritage because of this intangible quality they are invested with ¹¹. Thus, intangible heritage is regarded as the larger framework within which tangible heritage takes on shape and significance through a symbiotic relationship. Also, Tangible features, such as physical structures, artifacts, and landscapes, can be objectively observed, and measured. This approach offers a precise and concrete framework for the current research, facilitating the application of quantitative tools to assess their state and changes over time.

Interpretation of cultural heritage value is a process which needs a framework in order to make it more inclusive. Murphy and Spalding (1995) describe interpretation of cultural heritage value as an interactive communication process, involving the visitor, through which cultural heritage values are revealed, using a variety of techniques ¹². Nuryanti (1996) has attempts to determine that this revelation of values requires a range of methods and materials to be successful ¹. The available evidence seems to suggest that this framework should answer two questions “**what to interpret**” and “**how to interpret**”.

Firstly, the process of interpreting cultural heritage value is structured by addressing what is significant about a cultural heritage site. A heritage site's significance is the sum of its cultural heritage values, such as aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual values. These values are what a community wants to interpret and visitors are curious about. Within the context of heritage interpretation research, values which refer to the meanings generated by the relationship between people and their cultural heritage are recognized as "**Themes**" ^{13, 3}. Theme is a tool that cohesively can express and represent a community's value in a meaningful way ⁴. For example, a temple is the tangible expression of the spiritual values of certain cultural groups while the ceremonies and rituals that are held at each place are the intangible expressions [1]. So, by linking the tangible entity of this temple to its broad spiritual value through the intangible rituals and ceremonies occur there, a clear theme statement could be identified as an opportunity to offer a meaningful focus and arrange a central idea more cohesively. All in all, the development of interpretive themes must flow directly from the value of these resources. So, in order to define a theme, the tangible characteristics that can convey this theme have to be identified, which are known as **value-criteria** ¹⁵. Additionally, a clear theme statement is required in order to identify the central idea of a theme. This answers the question of "what to interpret",

Secondly, interpreting a cultural heritage value embodies any appropriate interpretive tools and techniques that can provide opportunities for connections to the theme ¹⁶. This answers the question of "How to interpret" a cultural heritage value. Communicating a site's value using interpretive tools contributes in communicating a readable story of it. Interpretive tools develop links that illustrate the idea or ideas expressed in theme statement. Stewart, Hayward, and Devlin (1998) classified interpretive tools and techniques into primary and secondary ¹³. Primary interpretation takes the form of: a cultural route, an interpretive center and its displays, audio-visual, staff assistance, models, on-site panels, an interpretive shelter, leaflets and guide books. Secondary interpretation takes the form of verbal and written commentary offered on concessionaire activities.

To conclude, interpreting cultural heritage value involves the identification of the theme as a tool that can cohesively represent the cultural heritage value (Figure 1). This answers the question of "what to interpret". This question tackles the identification of what is valuable about a cultural heritage site by determining the tangible characteristics that can convey this theme. The second question is "How to interpret". This question embodies any appropriate interpretive tools and techniques that can provide opportunities for connections to the theme (Figure 1).



Fig. 1: A framework for interpreting cultural heritage value (Source: The Author)

3. CULTURAL ROUTES AS AN INTERPRETIVE TOOL

The study addresses cultural routes as a primary interpretive tool. Firstly, it discusses how a cultural route can facilitate and foster opportunities for meaningful connections to cultural heritage values. In addition, pointing out to the role of cultural routes in communicating a certain message identified in a “theme”. This will contribute to identifying a methodology for designing cultural routes that can facilitate an interpretation of cultural heritage value.

The Cultural Routes programme launched by the Council of Europe demonstrates cultural routes as representative of cultural significance, illustrative of memory and history and interpretive of cultural heritage value ¹⁷. The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural routes (2008) states that they exert an influence through an interactive process which is characterized tangible elements that provide a physical confirmation of its existence ¹⁸. In addition, any immaterial assets serve to give sense and meaning to the various elements that make up the whole. This wholeness is what implies a value, which is greater than the sum of its part.

Experience along any cultural route is shaped through movement and vision together that constitute the primary means of apprehending the entirety of cultural routes ¹⁹. First, movement is not just for reaching a destination but experiencing the environment through all the senses, engaging the mind and leading to a complete, not fragmented cognitive image ²⁰; which can lead to a clear interpretation. Second, visual continuity is essential, not by directing ‘tourist gaze’ towards visual consumption of a marketable commodity but sensual engagement with a living environment so that a vivid and coherent cognitive image can be developed ¹⁹. For this reason, the interpretive experience constructed along the route can enhance the sense and meaning of the cultural heritage values conveyed by the existence of cultural routes. This confirms how cultural routes can act

as an excellent representative of cultural significance, illustrative of history and heritage, and can contribute to an interpretation of cultural value.

4. A METHODOLOGY FOR DESIGN IN CULTURAL ROUTES

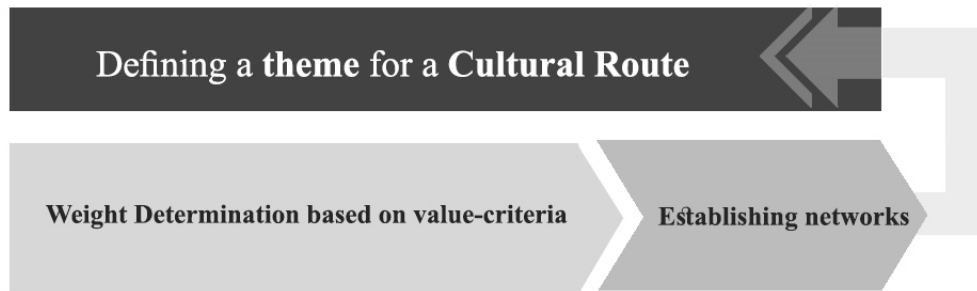
The available evidence asserts that the design of interpretive Cultural Route is mainly based on the identification of its theme. This emphasizes that the design process has to consider the entire of tangible characteristics that can represent the theme as a whole which is greater than the sum of its parts. So, the issue is to determine how the assigned theme could be translated into a designed route that can represent such theme, and to outline how the tangible characteristics that share a similar theme can be put together in a single framework for the sake of designing a cultural route. Accordingly, the current study addresses a methodology for the design of interpretive cultural routes based on the seminal work of the existing theoretical thinking and empirical research in this topic.

The global Cultural Routes report offers a comprehensive insight into cultural route design by explaining the connections and relationships among the cultural elements that shape the route ²¹. The report categorizes cultural routes into various models. In the context of this study, the network model is employed, creating a network of interconnected points that may not be in sequential order. This design is guided by a selection process involving these elements that define the route. This model involves configuring the route as an archipelago of points based on specific criteria that align with a relevant “theme” and subsequently establishing connections between attractions to enhance integration. When planning themed routes, these criteria must directly align with the cultural heritage value of the areas the route passes through. Thus, the chosen stops along the route should reflect the selected theme and ideally embody an authentic cultural heritage value.

According to Burton (1995) and Crompton (1979), the criteria adopted should encompass the entirety of the tangible attributes that shape the values associated with these attractions. This involves the creation of a system of **indices** for assessing these attractions and the determination of their relative weights. These weights indicate the significance of each attraction in conveying the chosen theme. In contrast, the global cultural routes report and the European Cultural Route of Reformation (ECRR) emphasize the pivotal role of network configurations in cultural route design ²¹. The establishment of networks involves a series of research methods for identifying structures within route systems. Network analysis serves to describe the spatial arrangement based on the relationships among components essential for conveying a shared theme ^{2, 22}.

Based on that, defining a theme around which a route is built requires (Figure 2):

- First, establishing a set of index system based on certain criteria associated to the selected theme; this involves the entire of tangible characteristics representing each authentic culture heritage value, and ideally reflecting the adopted theme. Applying these criteria is essential for assigning a **weighting**



system and then selecting a “**structure of attractions**” that have high contribution in conveying the selected theme.

- Second, linking up the highlighted attractions that can share a certain theme.

Fig. 2: A methodology for the design of interpretive cultural routes (Source: The Author)

5. DATASETS AND METHODS

Design of interpretive cultural routes is a complex, multi-phased process that can confront multiple challenges. Karimi (2012) argues that the application of analytical techniques can provide valuable insights into the generation of design concepts, enable the objective and quantitative assessment of design outcomes at various phases²³. Above that, it is argued that any analytical approach that could be used in design has to be a **spatial** one as Cultural Route-design is about creating and shaping spaces where tourist perceives his/her experience, and if analytical approaches cannot deal directly with this important aspect of the design, they cannot be used in design.

The design of interpretive cultural routes reveals several challenges. One such challenge lies in the need for effective criteria to define the route's theme. This involves two critical steps: firstly, sorting and representing the diverse tangible aspects that shape the value-based criteria. Secondly, to index the cultural heritage value for theme identification, this must employ multi-criteria decision analysis to inform the decision support system. Based on the explanations of these design challenges, the use of the Geographical Information Systems (**GIS**) might have the most direct influence as a spatial analytical tool that could be involved in designing Cultural routes. GIS is a database system that has the capability of overlaying layers of geo-referenced data and the ability

to analyze these layers quantitatively; this has turned GIS into a powerful tool in urban studies. Also, it is a tool capable of conducting spatial analysis, one of its analytical capabilities is the structured spatial query using a criteria-based query language, most commonly SQL (Structured Query Language); this facilitates extracting useful information from the database system.

Another challenge stems from the fact that cultural routes encompass diverse relational systems from the local to the global scale. Each of these scales possesses distinct features, yet they maintain a constant and interplay with one another, necessitating their integration within a single framework. To address this, an understanding of the cultural route as an urban system is essential, observable across multiple scales through an analysis of its spatial relations. For this reason, a tool that adopts a configurational approach is essential. **The space syntax method** is a convenient tool for analyzing spatial systems of all kinds, ranging from small domestic spaces to large-scale urban settlements (from local to global scale). The core proposition of the space syntax is configuration which describes the composition of the built form from the parts that are in a unique relationship with each other. There is a strong relationship between spatial configuration and how people move through the city ²⁴; this makes the use of space syntax in design a strong proposition as there is a direct relationship between spatial configuration and urban functions. Table 1 illustrates in more depth the adopted methodology and how the spatial analytical tool could be integrated in the design process of cultural routes.

6. THE TURKISH TOWN

The Turkish Town, known as Al-Gommrok District (figure 3), stands as one of the oldest continuously inhabited areas within the city of Alexandria. This district is located to the west of the present-day city of Alexandria. The district is bounded by a significant thoroughfare, El-Cornish, and to the south by El-Nasr Street, and within these boundaries, it is further subdivided into smaller zones by a network of main streets. The entire area is divided into fifteen zones, in alignment with the existing administrative boundaries (shiakhah) and the primary traffic routes. For the purpose of highlighting the diverse cultural heritage values within this area, two specific zones have been selected (figure 4). The first, Al-Sagha, is a well-established community with a strong commercial presence, encompassing a wide variety of retail activities, such as food, herbs, clothing, and jewelry. It also boasts a substantial collection of traditional buildings, particularly mosques and commercial buildings known as 'wekalahs.' The second zone, Souq Al-Samak Al-Qadeam and Qabq Al-Malah, represents another long-standing residential community with a blend of activities, including food trade and shipping operations, situated on the western side in close proximity to the port. What sets this area apart is its preservation of a significant portion of its original urban fabric ²⁵.

The study area retains many values and potentials as it reflects the special character of its own; this could be perceived in its urban pattern, architecture and social life. So, designing a cultural route within the study area

could be a convenient approach for realizing interpretation of the Turkish Town's cultural value. In these regards, the following part aims at verifying the applicability of the adopted methodology of designing cultural routes to the Turkish Town. Firstly, the study will concentrate exclusively on one specific theme based on a detailed review of the Turkish Town's geographic location and historical evolution. Also, a number of tangible characteristics have been determined by conducting a descriptive analysis using secondary resources and a detailed on-site observation.

A methodology For Designing Cultural Routes	Spatial Analytical Tools
CULTURAL ROUTE- THEME DEFINITION	
A. Weight Determination based on value-criteria:	
<p>Outlining a set of tangible characteristics that can represent a certain theme; these criteria are applied to any building in the selected heritage site.</p> <p>Converting the criteria into objectively measurable indicators, and by indexing cultural heritage value, buildings that fulfill the identified criteria could be clearly selected.</p> <p>To identify the contribution of each Building in conveying the selected theme</p> <p>At the end of this stage: By giving a weight for each building, the highest weights illustrate how a building embodies most of the tangible characteristics. Thus, a number of "attractions" could be selected, based on their highly contribution in conveying a certain theme.</p>	<p>Data Representation: Creating Geo-Data Base GIS represents and organizes geographic information using Attribute tables for GIS data structures, data includes all the attributes of any building.</p> <p>Data analysis: -Attribute Query (Criteria based query)</p>
B. Establishing networks:	
<p>Spatial networking: The route is segmented in networks and sub-networks having a common coherence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local level: The capability of the route to implement integration between the "structure of attraction" of the route • Global level: Describing the relations to the surrounding urban structure by opening new accesses points to the route, and, as a result, to the cultural attractions of the whole network 	<p>Data analysis: - Using the syntactic measures of choice and integration at various radiuses to capture the spatial characteristics at different scales.</p>
<p>FINDINGS: (Proposed Routes) by performing data manipulations and analysis to propose optimal cultural routes</p>	<p>Composite Spatial Model: (overlaying of the two previous steps) Using the Space Syntax Toolkit conducted using QGIS.</p>

Table 1: The adopted methodology for designing Cultural Routes by outlining the role of both the GIS and the Space Syntax methods at each stage of the adopted design methodology (Source: The Author)

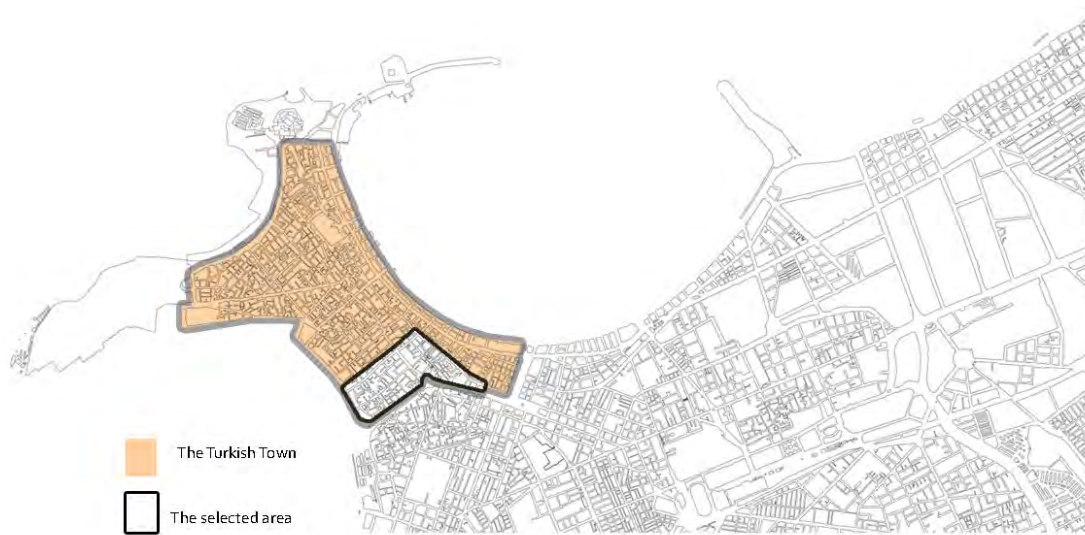


Fig. 3: The location of the Turkish Town within the city of Alexandria (Source: The Author)



Fig. 4: The selected area comprised mainly of the three main zones that characterize the Turkish urban pattern: residential, commercial and religious zone. (Source: The Author)

By reviewing the age of buildings that constitute the site, it is noticed that the majority of these buildings go back to the period before 1805 A.D. “Ottoman period”. For this reason, the ottoman period of history has been chosen to represent the historic theme of the study area and as a result this period could interpret the historic value of the Turkish Town properly. Then, a number of criteria has been selected based on the Burra Charter’s classifications: Age, association with events or people in history representing the principal characteristics of these particular periods of history ²⁶. A more sophisticated indicators and measurement system will be discussed later.

Then, the multi-phased methodology of designing cultural routes to the Turkish town is applied, by identifying how the various tangible characteristics that share a similar theme can be put together in a single framework for the sake of designing a cultural route. By applying value-criteria for the assigned theme, a structure of attractions could be clearly selected, and then networks are determined by analyzing the spatial networks between attractions. The application is conducted with the incorporation of the analytical spatial tools used through this process. This ends by performing data manipulations and analysis in order to propose the optimal route.

6.1. Indexing Cultural Heritage Value

Indexing Cultural heritage value by incorporating specific criteria for the design of Cultural Routes is crucial. This approach fosters consistency and rationality in the selection of attractions. Value-based criteria is a necessary step in defining the buildings that have “high contribution” to the alignment with a particular theme. Abdul Ghani, Shimizu and Mokhtar (2015) describe index system that involves multiple criteria as in the given equation (1) below ²⁷:

$$Value - Index = b_1Cr_1 + b_2Cr_2 + b_3Cr_3$$

b₁, b₂, b₃: Coefficients representing the weighted value of each of the criteria, where $0 \leq b \leq 1.0$

In this study, it is assumed that all coefficients carry equal weight, primarily due to specific constraints. The majority of contributions from planners and experts in the development of weighting systems for each criterion are tailored to suit particular sites or, in other words, are designed to address local conditions. In these regards, the development of weighting systems often demands in-depth analysis and comprehensive surveys to accurately capture optimal results for each specific site. Therefore, considering a more sophisticated analytical approach could lead to more refined and contextually relevant weighting systems in future studies.

If $b_1 = b_2 = b_3$ then the relative weight could be reduced to a simple average given by equation (2):

$$Relative\ Weight = b(Cr_1 + Cr_2 + Cr_3) = Cr_1 + Cr_2 + Cr_3 / 3 \times 100$$

Indexing cultural heritage value requires a numerical weighting system that can give a ranking order and facilitate distinguishing these attractions and assigning priorities ². It adopts an objective method for assigning weights which involves converting each characteristic into an objective measurable indicator by setting up a yes-or-no situation (0 -1). To illustrate, “yes=1” indicates that the buildings can fulfill the criteria, while “no= 0” means that it has no particular interest. It is important to illustrate that some studies adopt distinct lists of significance, such as grade scale, but also this would seem to require a more sophisticated evaluation system.

By incorporating the geographical information system (GIS), data associated with each building is stored and represented. Then, weighting system is conducted by analyzing GIS data using a criteria-based query language. This method aids in the categorization of buildings into two groups: "highly contributing" and "low contributing." By eliminating buildings with low contributions to the conveyance of the chosen theme, a refined selection of attraction structures can be made. Figure 5 illustrates in more detail the identified criteria, the sub indicators and the measurement system using the yes-no situation. It also determines the weighting system of the buildings for the selected theme.

Then, the study employs a classification system based on Kalman (1976; 1999), categorizing buildings into four groups: those of major significance (75-100); of importance (50-74); of moderate importance (25-49); and of no importance (0-24). Buildings falling within the "major significance" category play a pivotal role in shaping the "structure of attractions" for the thematic route. Conversely, buildings that fall between 0 and 24 have been excluded; these buildings meet less than one criteria and are therefore of minimal importance ²⁸.

By determining relative weights for each building, it is obvious that Shourbagi Mosque (1758 A.D.) and Terbana Mosque (1686 A.D.) score the highest values in interpreting this theme (Figure 6). This is mainly because these buildings can fulfill the criteria. Firstly, these buildings date back to the ottoman period before 1805 A.D. (Age). Secondly, they represent the Islamic ritual events embraced during this timeframe. Thirdly, the two buildings adhere to Turkish architectural principles, featuring enclosed prayer halls, semi-open courtyards connecting interior and exterior spaces, multifunctional layouts with shops on the ground floor and prayer halls on the first floor, reached by a courtyard and staircase. Notable characteristics include small minarets, reuse of classical columns from Greek and Roman temples, stone wall structural systems, and timber tie-beam ceilings. Furthermore, “Wekalah(s)” have the highest historic value. In addition to fulfilling the criteria of age and following the Turkish Style, they can represent a distinctive type of buildings which were commonly known at the ottoman period. Also, some Wekalah(s) are associated to the life of a particular person, such as: Wekalet El-Bitash. On the other hand, some traditional houses have also scored high value, and this is mainly because of the previously mentioned reasons: age and following the principal characteristics of the Turkish style. These houses typically feature a courtyard, creating a unique composition with two stories and an asymmetrical layout.

They exhibit an innovative structural system of stone and timber tie-beams. Furthermore, specific traditional houses are associated with notable historical figures, including Heikal House, Fouad Kabany House, El-Karashania House, and El-Geiriany Basha House.

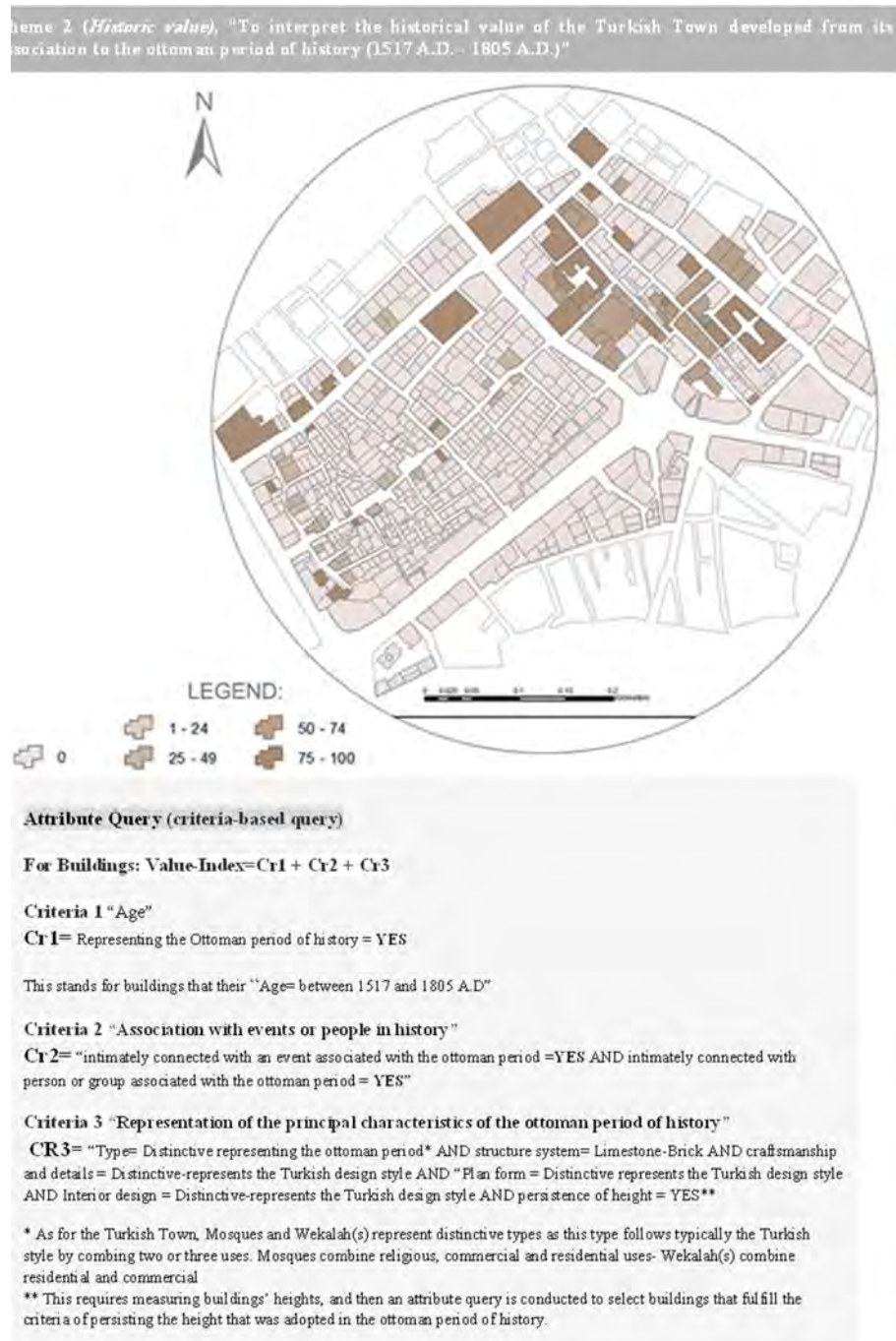


Fig.5 (Top) The relative weights for each building according to their Historic value. (Bottom) The Value-Index identified in the criteria, sub indicators and the measurement system (Source: The Author)

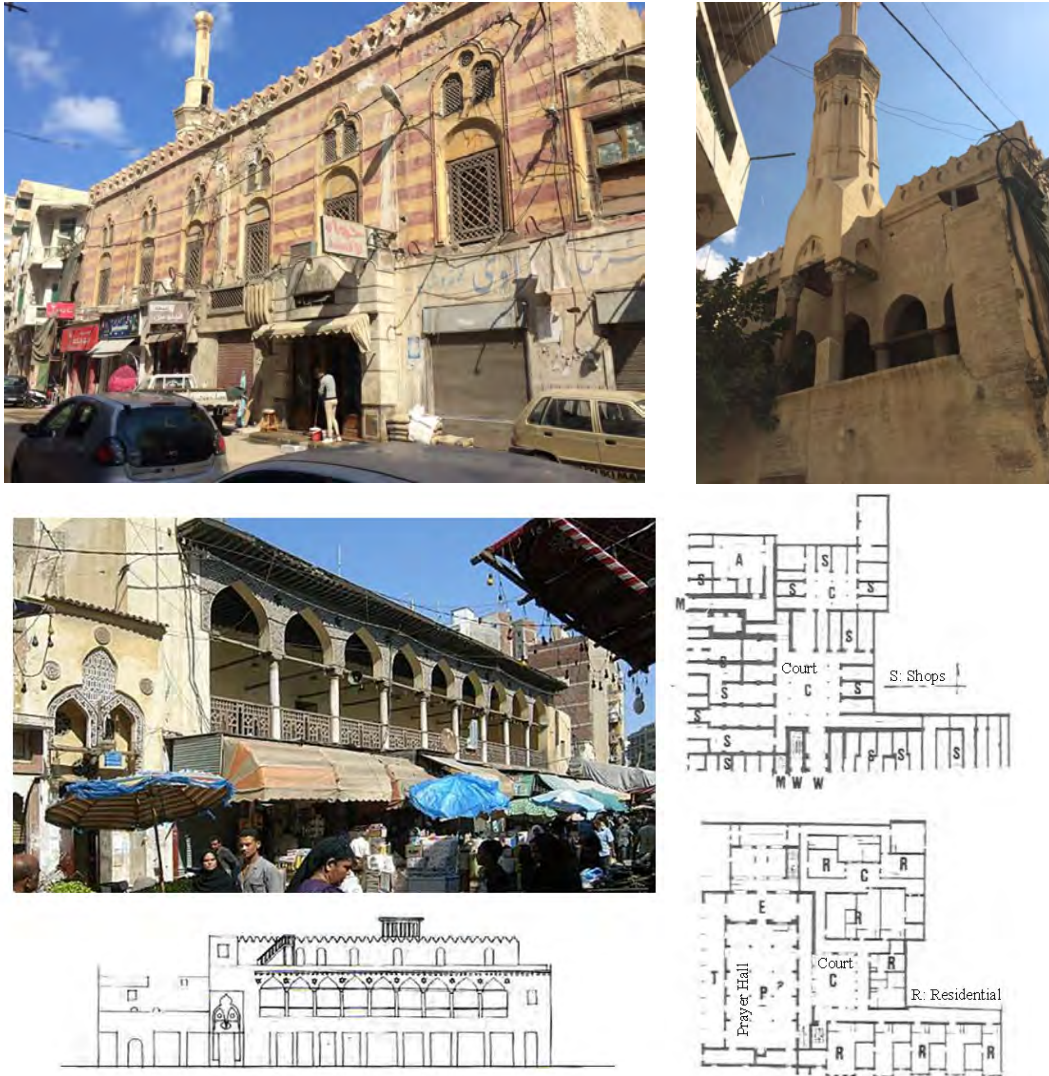


Fig.6 (Top) Terbana Mosque (1686 A.D.) represents clearly the principal aspects of the Turkish pattern (Bottom) El-Shorbagi Mosque, is a typical Turkish style. Source: [2]

6.2. Establishing Networks

As the current literature underlines the essential role of creating integration between the attractions at the local and global level, the configurational approach is convenient for pinpointing how the connectivity of the urban structure could affect the implementation of these networks. In this regard, Space Syntax Analysis is an appropriate tool in order to examine the relations between street network configurations and route choices ³⁰. Space Syntax also examines these relations at diverse scales from local to global scale. This multi scale defines space by investigating how it is embedded in the larger system ³¹. Therefore, the study adopts a connectivity analysis using Angular segment analysis. Angular segment analysis breaks axial lines into segments and then records the sum of the angles turned from the starting segment to any other segment within the system ³².

The study adopts angular segment-choice analysis at a variable radius of 2000.0, 800.0, 200.0 m. The scale of 2000.0 m is the global radius to capture the local centers, the main streets at the city-wide scale and the relation between the study area and its surroundings. By conducting this global analysis, there is a main axis formed by El-Horreya, Ahmed Orabi, El-Midan, and Ras Al-Tin Streets. This central axis, which cuts through the study area, serves as a connection between the city center on the east side and the Turkish Town on the west side. In contrast, the scale of 800.0 m is an intermediate radius that characterizes the main streets within the selected area, including El-Midan Street, Souq Elsamak Elqadeem Street and Wekalet El-Khodar Street. These streets can open new access points to the route by connecting the local characteristics of the study area and its wider context. Finally, Masjid El El-Shurbagi Street, Souq El El-Akkadin Street, Souq El El-At tarin Street, the axis penetrating Moderiet El El-Awkaf , Haret Souq El El-Samak EL EL-Kadeem Street and Qabw El El-Malah Street at the local scale of R: 200.0 m exhibit strong local spatial characteristics. These streets can be viewed as the central local points within the system, facilitating access to the identified points of attraction (Figure 7).

The challenge involves establishing a connection between the global and local spatial qualities, with the aim of reinforcing the internal structure of the route and enhancing its integration with the broader surrounding environment. The below figure 8 exemplifies the process of achieving this, by creating a transition from a city-wide scale to the local scale within the study area. This linkage effectively binds the internal structure of the designed route to its larger contextual setting.



Fig.7 (Top) choice analysis (Choice R: 2000 m), (Bottom) Angular choice analysis (R: 800.0 m, 200.0 m)

Angular

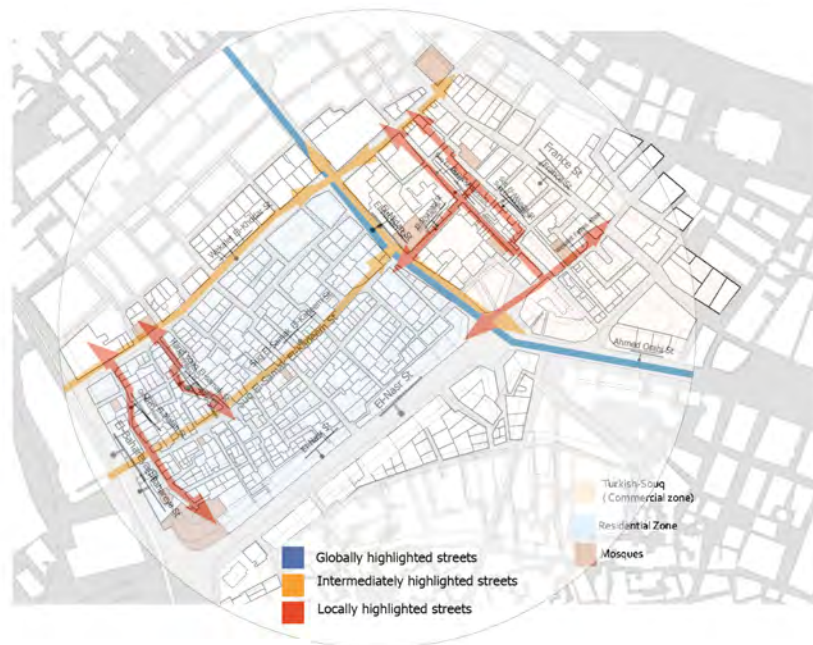


Fig.8 The integration between the different scales (Source: The Author)

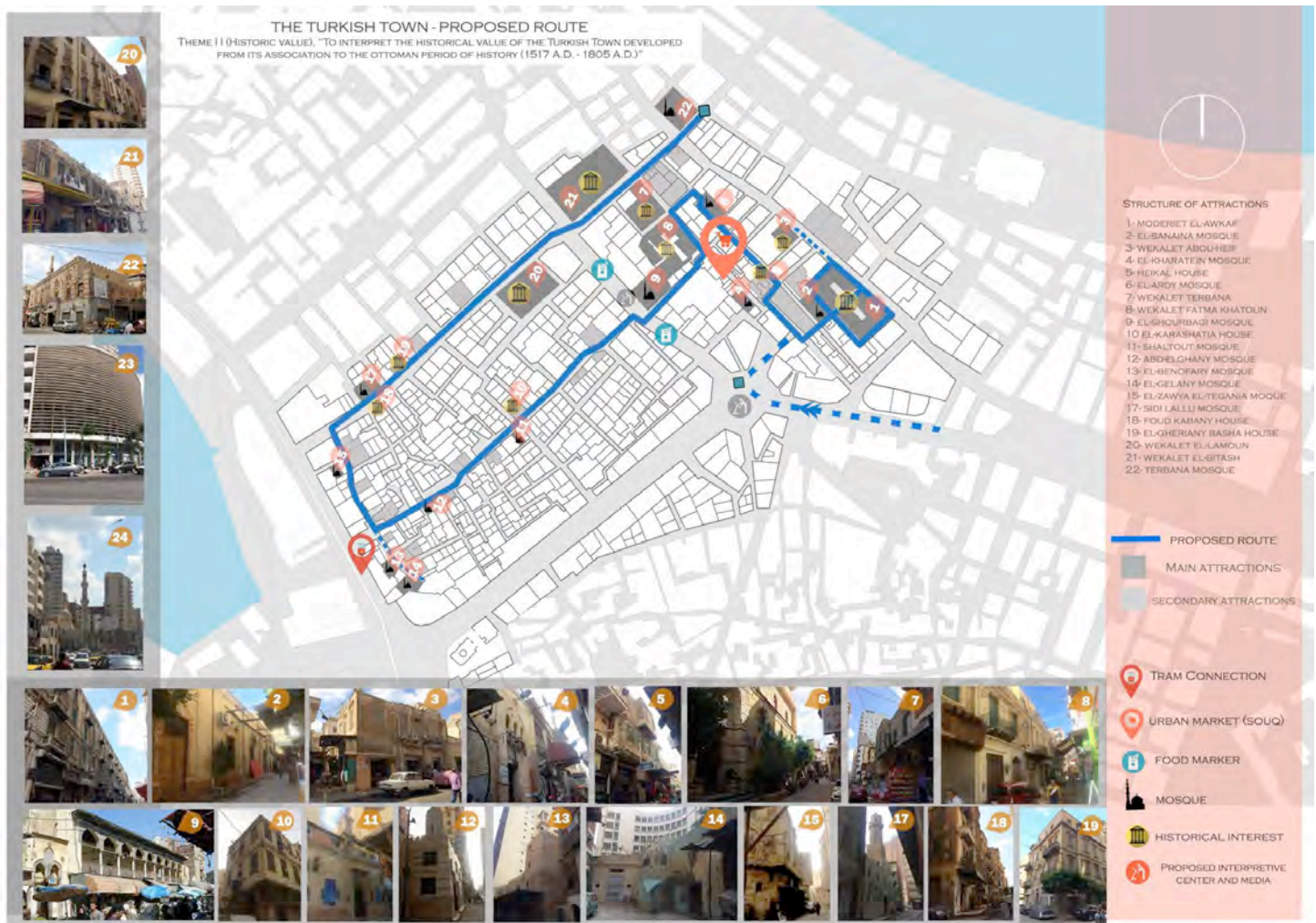


Fig.9 The proposed route (Source: The Author)

6.3. Data Aggregation

This stage is concerned with combining the available data obtained from the attribute analysis to the configuration analysis of the spatial network in GIS platform. This contributes in establishing an integrated model capable of performing more interactive visual exploration of the results by comparing network spatial analysis layer and the layer of the highlighted building using the space syntax toolkit plugin. The overlaying contributes in identifying ideal connectors to the selected attractions, giving priorities to some paths for intervention within the overall system and identifying ideal start and end points.

The overlaying addresses the significance of emphasizing El-Midan Street as a key access point to the designed route. This is due to El-Midan Street's potential as an intermediate connector capable of linking the designed route with the surrounding urban fabric and the identified attractions at the study area level. Then, in order to pinpoint the optimal connectors for reaching any attraction point, a comprehensive comparative analysis is

conducted by closely examining the results of the configurational analysis and the layer of highlighted buildings forming the "structure of attractions". This comparative analysis is conducted by considering two main aspects: first, how the highlighted streets at the local level could contribute in accessing any point of attraction. Second, these connectors are selected based on having a high concentration of building with significance, importance or moderate importance in conveying the selected theme. Through data manipulation and analysis, a thematic route has been proposed (Figure 9).

7. CONCLUSION

The current study is concerned with identifying a methodology for designing cultural routes that can interpret cultural heritage value. This is achieved by emphasizing the role of the "theme" as a representative of value. The research then applies this methodology to the Turkish Town, aiming at proposing a thematic route. The application of this methodology on the case study reveals the importance of using multi-layered data aggregation tools in decision making which enable dealing with the different complexities of the design, and evaluating objectively the design outputs for achieving a successful design.

The adopted methodology could be described as a composite model consisted of the following three mapping layers: First, **the first layer** involves identifying the points of attractions for the designed route. This is achieved using the geographical information system (GIS) to store and represent geographical data, and to carry out several relevant analyses. A weighting system is conducted by analyzing GIS data using a criteria-based query language. **The second mapping layer** represents the spatial characteristics of the selected area using the Space Syntax method. This is essential for establishing networks between the identified attractions, and to design a route which as a whole is better than the sum of its parts. In this regard Space Syntax also examines these relations at diverse scales from local to global scale. This multi scale defines space, not only by its surrounding structure, but also by how it is embedded in the larger system. Lastly, **the third layer** involves an integration of Space Syntax methods within GIS by combining the outputs from the two methods together which enrich the analysis by over laying the results. This contributes in identifying ideal connectors to the selected attractions, giving priorities to some paths for intervention within the overall system.

The study concludes several findings which represent the research concerns on the adopted methodology for designing cultural routes. Firstly, Classification of buildings through a weighting system is essential for determining suitable interventions and considering opportunities for improving the highlighted value. Secondly, the study reveals that designing cultural routes is not centralized around selection of the attraction, but also setting up networks is essential. This is important for linking the local characteristics of the route with other important area such as the city center, by means of accessible and vital routes.

Above that, incorporating the spatial analytical tools using the composite model to the Turkish Town has revealed several findings. Firstly, the study highlights El-Midan Street as a key entry point to the planned route due to its capacity to serve as a mid-level connector, effectively linking the route with the broader urban environment and the identified attractions within the study area. This gives this street priority for any necessary improvements or interventions, such as implementing interpretive centers to enhance tourists' experience. Secondly, the study reveals that the spatial qualities correspond to the tangible characteristics highlighted in a number of buildings at a specific scale. This was evident in the location of main mosques, such as Terbana Mosque and El-Shourbagi mosque at the most accessible streets at the global scale, while small mosques are located to take the advantage of the most accessible spaces at the local level. This contributes in creating the local-global relation between scales.

Finally, the current study recommends paying attention to "interpretation" as an essential aspect for tourism development plans. The advice is to introduce new ways to present the value of a community, such as using selected "themes", where local heritage can be identified, discovered and interpreted. Also, since the use of value-criteria develops a deep understanding to the variations in the contribution of each building in interpreting various cultural heritage values, this could help in determining the most appropriate level of interventions. It is also recommended to give more attention to the wider context of cultural areas by studying a community's value in relation to how it is embedded in the wider context, as a means of ideally interpret these values.

For future research, it is proposed to carry out a more holistic analysis based on the proposed model. First, by applying this analysis to the whole area of the Turkish Town, more appropriate results could be obtained. Secondly, it is recommended to incorporate subjective/individualized weighting procedure given by experts and decision makers with the currently objective one in order to enhance the process of determining weights. Also, adding sub-criteria is recommended to enrich the results through including more indicators for each criterion; this can help in making more appropriate selection of the structure of attractions, and also for taking any actions for future interventions.

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements

Working Paper Series

THE BARREDO URBAN RENEWAL STUDY IN OPORTO AND FERNANDO TÁVORA'S APPROACH TO URBAN HERITAGE IN THE LATE 1960s

Fernanda Vierno Moura

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THE BARREDO URBAN RENEWAL STUDY IN OPORTO AND FERNANDO TÁVORA'S APPROACH TO URBAN HERITAGE IN THE LATE 1960s



The Barredo Urban Renewal Study (ERUB), led by architect Fernando Távora, aimed to promote in an innovative way, the integrated urban rehabilitation of a degraded area in Oporto's city center in the late 1960s. The project was within the context of the revision of the modern movement and focused on preserving the urban morphology and preexisting city lot, highlighting the importance of valuing intangible heritage for the recovery of tangible estate. By understanding the historical process of the zone's transformation, of which ERUB is a critical part, we aim to reveal the dynamic tradition of this emblematic area of Oporto.

Keywords:

Fernando Távora; Oporto; urban heritage; integrated urban rehabilitation; dynamic tradition

1. INTRODUCTION

The revitalization of the central areas of cities is a phenomenon related to current cultural consumption. In the middle of the 20th century, however, what is now considered one of the most emblematic areas of Oporto's urban landscape, was a neglected space, on the verge of being extinguished and replaced by a new urban concept. The Barredo Urban Renewal Study (ERUB) responded to a demand for safeguarding the historic site, preserving the traditions and way of life of the local residents, which have been passed down from generation to generation.

Fernando Távora led an urban intervention project to recover a riverfront area in Oporto's historic center which comprised a set of fourteen blocks in a state of degradation, high population density, and precarious housing conditions. The project was developed in two stages. The first part encompassed general solutions and intervention guidelines for two blocks of the building complex, QI and QIII, serving as a model for future rehabilitation. It was developed in conjunction with the Oporto City Council's Directorate of Housing Services during 1968-69 and it utilized a participatory design process and a multidisciplinary approach to tackle emerging social issues. The second stage comprised detailed drawings for one of the complex's blocks, the QIII, within the program of works carried out by CRUARB - *Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área de Ribeira-Barredo*, in 1974-76.

Unlike previous plans for the same area, ERUB prioritized the preservation of existing human and social values over new construction, and aimed to keep as many local residents as possible in the historic city. The approach focused on preserving the urban morphology and architectural typology of buildings, while maintaining the urban ambience of the neighborhood.

The project was not implemented in the year it was completed, but it served as the basis for an urban rehabilitation program that began to operate in the area in the following decade. It was not fully put into practice and some of its principles were slightly changed in the years that followed. But despite that, the works adopted by the local government led to the election of Oporto's Historic Center as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996, almost three decades later (Fig. 1). It was decisive for this achievement, among other factors, the presence of a lively and active community that continued to perpetuate its traditions and cultural values, and the urban rehabilitation processes that were being carried out in the historic center, that enhanced built heritage and social integration projects.



Fig. 1: Photo showing the urban landscape of Oporto, encompassing part of the Historic Center, Luiz I Bridge and 'Serra do Pilar' Monastery, chosen by UNESCO as a world heritage site. Barredo area marked in red dashed line.

Our research focus is to reveal the original concept of ERUB. We wonder what influences that may have shaped Távora's design approach. Did he draw inspiration from Italian architects working on the Recovery Plan for the Historic Center of Bologna in the same year? Or was he simply ahead of his time in embracing the social approaches emerging from the international debate? Other factors may have also contributed to the scheme's success, even influencing the basic principles of the 1974-76 SAAL¹ process, with the premise of keeping residents in the historic city.

We know that Fernando Távora was a highly cultured architect who combined his knowledge of highbrow and popular culture with contemporary times. He became involved in several issues related to the preservation of historical heritage, always arguing that it is not desirable for heritage to be something stagnant, that cannot be touched. Nonetheless, in some cases, intervening in a historical structure could lead to its destruction and, for this reason, he advocated that an exhaustive historical investigation of each site before intervention was necessary to understand the specificity of each problem. He declared that

conservation could be combined with a careful contribution of something else if the values of the place were highlighted.

ERUB faced a historic urban environment. To justify its preservation, the values of the built ensemble on the Oporto scene needed to be defined prior to any proposal.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

This project took place within the historical context of the revision of the modern movement, when social studies associated the decline of urban life in cities with the negative consequences that modernist zoning brought about and when there was naturally a renewed interest on the international architectural scene in the historic city and vernacular architecture, to which Távora was also attentive. It was also developed at the time of the discussions promoted by the "Team X" meetings, which were attended by Távora. Additionally, there was the legacy of the CIAM VIII conference in 1951, in Hoddesdon (England), leaving as a reflection for the generation of new modern architects, the exploration of the heart of the city as a civic center and as a center of human relations.

Fernando Távora's contact with the Italian architects of his generation had a major influence on this project. He attended events like the CIAMs in 1951, 1953 and 1956, when he met Ernesto Rogers, author of the theory *La architettura de la continuità*, and with whom he maintained a good personal relationship with him ever since. Bruno Zevi's teachings on organic architecture were also referenced in Távora's classes and design studio, while Carlos Scarpa's principles and thoughts closely aligned with Távora's. Travel drawings indicate that Távora visited Italy in the mid-1960s (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3.)



Fig. 2: Drawing by Fernando Távora of *Piazza del Campo*, Siena, made during a trip to Italy on 03/29/1964. (Source: FIMS)



Fig. 3: Drawing by Fernando Távora of *Piazza del Duomo*, Spoleto, made during a trip to Italy on 03/31/1964. (Source: FIMS)

Earlier influential writings, like Aldo Rossi's *L'Architettura della Città* (1966), broke with 20th century urban concepts, especially those of the ideal plannable city, arguing, in contrast, in favor of the city as the result of a long history, incessantly rebuilt, emphasizing the importance of preserving them through processes of continuity.

Allied to the international movement, Távora also developed, at the time, the text *Da organização do espaço* (1962), which analyzed the volumetric relations and interstitial spaces within a city.

Also of fundamental importance was the Venice Charter published by ICOMOS in 1964, a milestone in the debate on safeguarding historical and cultural heritage. It extended the notion of monument to built ensembles, which until then had been seen as minor, promoting the conservation of the historic city. Although approaches had already been developed in the 19th and early 20th centuries, such as the studies by John Ruskin, Carlo Cattaneo, Gustavo Giovannoni, among others, who advocated its conservation, or Camillo Sitte, whose studies of environmental perception sought to reveal the artistic character of cities, the Venice document provided regulatory backing and increased awareness on the matter. Prior to this date, the recommendations of two Athens Charters, written in 1931 and 1933, were prevalent in the Portuguese context. These documents restricted the importance of the old city to its notable buildings and supported demolition actions to isolate and enhance the visibility of monuments, a situation that changed in the architectural debate in the 1960s, when the pre-existing city took center stage and the ideas debated in the 1930s were revised.

Regarding the Venice Charter, we found José Aguiar's text *Após Veneza: do restauro estilístico para o restauro crítico* (2010) very useful. His text describes the emergence of a new awareness to safeguard the pre-industrial city and avoid both the overly rapid reconstruction of monuments, ensembles and sites destroyed by the Second World War, as well as the growing movement of urban renewal and expansion that culminated in gentrification processes that expelled the most deprived residents from historic centers. The turning point was the growing appreciation of the so-called "urban heritage", which included the urban settlement. Rather than just being considered as the "surroundings of exceptional monuments", urban ensembles became autonomous artifacts that are recognized as cultural assets. This led to increased efforts to conserve the city's architecture. The author mentions that Távora's Study for Barredo in 1969 advocated for minimal interventions that would not disrupt residents, and that this project continued in 1975 as part of the international debate on Integrated Conservation. This debate emphasized the relationship between heritage preservation and new urban planning methodologies, which focused on the 'process' rather than the design of a 'plan'.

ERUB is also contemporaneous with global social movements like France's "May 1968" and Portugal's *Primavera Marcelista*. This period saw political and economic reforms to modernize Portugal and align it with Western Europe, and also saw social and political movements for better living conditions in Portuguese cities (Moniz, Correia and Gonçalves, 2014).

During this decade, the architect also helped to restructure the architecture course at *Escola Superior de Belas Artes do Porto* - ESBAP. The text by Moniz, Correia and Gonçalves (2014) gives us insight into the teaching panorama of the school, which was undergoing a revision in order to value the profession of architecture beyond technical issues, also encompassing social ones. The article discusses Fernando Távora and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras' pedagogical approaches used in fieldwork in Oporto, and also launches an initial debate on the Italian case of Bologna, which took place at the same time as Távora's work, and was an important reference of intervention in a historic center, which was in line with the construction of a new humanist paradigm for urban policies.

The Bologna Urban Recovery Plan aimed to recover urban heritage using integrated conservation principles. Similar to ERUB, it focused on not only the physical framework but also the social, economic, and cultural aspects. In *Emilia Romagna*, Italy, however, the concept of requalifying urban territories had already been discussed for over a decade in some cities. These cities' master plans aimed to create urban policies that primarily focused on the interior of the urban organism, reorganizing the existing city to enhance the quality of life for local residents. To achieve this, the plan relied on a study by Leonardo Benévolo, which included a morpho-typological reading of the area to list properties in different categories and determine land use. This typology criterion was used to define the degree of intervention necessary for each building, promoting a diversity of uses compatible with the historical-environmental structure. Bank financing was available for property owners to carry out necessary renovations, and rental prices could only increase through agreed renovations. Public services were then installed through improvements in the habitability conditions of local residences.

Our text focuses on the architectural approach adopted in ERUB, demonstrated mainly in the maintenance of the morpho-typological characteristic of this area, highlighting three methodologies identified in the study and explaining the concept of Urban Design adopted by the architect. For this, we consulted the material prepared by the team led by Távora, recently converted into a book (Távora, 2019).

In this article, we'll also discuss the heritage approaches of the Study, demonstrating how important the component of valuing intangible patrimony was for the recovery of tangible estate and how rehabilitating urban areas can strengthen a city's identity and memory over time. The Barredo area has been a core of resistance for traditional lifestyles such as fishing, community festivals, and neighborhood sociability.

Unfortunately, these traditions are at risk due to current political processes that prioritize scenic and speculative interventions. By understanding the historical process of transformation of the area, of which ERUB is a critical part, we also understand the dynamic tradition of this emblematic area of Oporto.

3. THE HISTORICAL TRADITION OF BARREDO

Barredo is a residential neighborhood located in the parish of São Nicolau, in the historic center of Oporto, on the banks of the river Douro. It is within the limits of the *Fernandina* wall, which was built in the 14th century to protect the medieval city, and it is therefore one of the oldest areas of the city.

This area played a significant role in the discoveries of the Portuguese colonies. It was the port of a vast Portuguese territory, demonstrating the area's historical importance. The city's port was located there until the end of the 19th century, before the construction of the Port of “Leixões”, on the Atlantic Coast, to the north of the city. In the market town, Barredo is the closest neighborhood to the port docks (Fig. 4) and the merchants of Oporto, especially those in the city's port area, were a driving force behind the overseas expeditions.



Fig. 4: The city of Oporto in the 17th century showing the ships on the river Douro, the town within the Fernandina Wall. (Source: Pedro Teixeira, found in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 46, fol. 43v)

The area, which had once been the site of the city's main commercial transactions, which saw an intense movement of boats arriving or leaving for the sea or the north of Portugal, lost its importance as the entrance to the city after the port was moved to another area, since a large part of the merchants, the working population and the more affluent social groups also moved away from there. Since then, the area has gradually been occupied by people of limited means who came from the north and center of the country to look for work in the city and ended up living there.

In the 1960s, Oporto had a population of 300,000, more than today, but with a less extensive urban fabric. The historic city, comprising the parishes of Miragaia, São Nicolau, Sé and Vitória, had a population density of 40,000 inhabitants per square kilometer in some sectors, making it an overpopulated and marginalized area. The housing situation was serious, with dilapidated buildings, unhealthy conditions, overcrowded housing and widespread speculation on rents. In addition to this, the population faced poverty, high illiteracy rate, tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, and high general and infant mortality rates.

Despite poor living conditions and social marginalization, the residents of the area maintained their traditions and strong sense of community. Men worked in various informal jobs such as boatmen, river and sea workers, and metallurgical corps. Women helped with unloading and transporting goods and were often street vendors. The community spirit was strong, with residents supporting each other during difficult times. (Fig. 5, and Fig. 6)



Fig. 4: Typical house of Barredo. (Source: Távora, 2019)



Fig. 5: Everyday scenes. (Source: RTP *Arquivos*, 1958)

The state showed little interest in improving urban and housing conditions in this area until the late 1960s. Social policy was mainly welfare-based and handled by the Catholic Church (Queirós, 2013) and a few local institutions. Preservation of buildings was also an issue, as historic cities in Europe were not considered worthy of safeguarding until the 1970s.

4. THE YEARS BEFORE ERUB

Looking back at the city of Oporto's political and social scene before Távora's study for Barredo, we see the years of the *Estado Novo* government in Portugal. The practice in conservation and restoration was to value medieval monuments by adopting restoration by analogy. Portugal sought to assert its glory, with actions aimed at building and rebuilding its history. It is worth remembering that totalitarian regimes, in general, gave great importance to monuments, as their valorization was intrinsically linked to the exaltation of the nation's memory and identity. It was in this context that the actions carried out by the emerging General Directorate

of National Monuments (*Direção Geral dos Monumentos Nacionais* - DGEMN) on buildings of great symbolic value in strategic urban areas took place, mainly in the late 1930s and 1940s.

In practice, the city of Oporto underwent a transformation in the Sé Historic Zone, immediately next to our study area, separated from it by the geography of the land at a higher elevation. Large-scale works were carried out between 1936 and 1940, resulting in the demolition of buildings around the Romanesque Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace, permanently altering the urban landscape and creating a large gap in the area. The proposal aimed to isolate the monument to highlight it, following the recommendations of the Athens Charter. This approach was a modern and radical vision of restoration, which was adjusted only in the 1950-60s with the "revision of the modern" (Fig. 8).



Fig. 6: Demolitions, to enlarge the *Terreiro de D. Afonso Henriques*, currently *Terreiro da Sé* in 1940. View of the front facade of the Cathedral on the right-hand side and the *Torre dos Clérigos* in the background. (Source: Porto Municipal Archive)

Simultaneously with this event, Duarte Pacheco, the Minister of Public Works in Salazar's government, promoted the creation of urban plans to regulate the territory expansion, putting the 1934 Law into practice (Lôbo, 1995). In Oporto, the City Council planned to produce the 1939 General Urbanization Plan, promoted by the Central Administration, which involved two Italian urban planners associated with the fascist regime: Marcello Piacentini, involved from December 1938 and failing to complete it in 1939, and Giovanni Muzio, involved between 1940 and 1943. Their studies for the central area proposed the creation of large spaces with roads defined by new buildings, sacrificing a large part of the existing urban fabric.

The Estado Novo's housing policy aimed to create new settlements in outlying areas. The 1956 Improvement Plan for the City of Oporto aimed to eliminate the *ilhas*² and create better neighborhoods for the displaced families. The goal was to build a minimum of six thousand homes within a decade to enhance the living standards and expand the city.

Before Távora's study, most intervention proposals for the Barredo area involved demolishing existing buildings and relocating the population to new settlements. According to Lôbo (1995) there was also an interest in safeguarding monuments and their surroundings so that they could be reused for tourist activities. The dominant characteristic of these plans was on altering the urban layout and accommodating road traffic.

In 1949, engineer José Júlio Afonso proposed a plan for the Barredo, Ribeira and Guindais stairs area (Fig. 7), which included the gradual demolition of a large part of the sector, with the exception of the buildings in good condition. The plan also involved constructing a new market to replace the existing one on the Ribeira Quay. Several buildings on Rua da Lada were believed to have been demolished during this time, leaving a large void that remained until Távora's intervention (Fig. 8).



Fig. 7: Proposal by Engineer José Júlio Afonso in 1949. In dark gray, the demolitions already carried out in the area; in light gray, the demolitions to be carried out. (Source: Távora, 2019)



Fig. 8: View of the urban void existing in the Barredo Zone resulting from the demolitions carried out in the 1940s. (Source: Távora, 2019)

In 1954, architect Manuel Marques de Aguiar submitted a study to a university in Paris titled "Long-term reconstruction", which proposed the total demolition of the area and surrounding neighborhoods. The project emphasized contemporary architecture and urbanism, preserving only a few buildings such as the Sé and Episcopal Palace. The solution was considered avant-garde for its time, focusing on pedestrian leisure routes and green spaces created in place of the old urban fabric (Fig. 9).

The third study, carried out by Robert Auzelle in 1962, proposed to fill the existing urban void along the Ribeira wall, restoring the image of the building front, unlike previous projects. It also aimed to hygienize part of the Barredo sector, demolishing the inner blocks of the complex, and restoring the remaining buildings. A new parking lot with a helical ramp and several overlapping floors was proposed in the free space, in addition to the opening of a new street and the construction of a new building for public use (Fig. 11).



Fig. 9: Proposal by Architect Manuel Marques de Aguiar in 1954. (Source: Távora, 2019)



Fig. 10: Proposal by Architect Robert Auzelle, in 1962. (Source: Távora, 2019)

Also in 1962, the City Council formed a commission to enhance the old areas of the city, starting with Barredo and Ribeira. This included producing small urban and architectural improvements, but the current situation of each dwelling would be accepted as a *fait accompli*, not allowing changes without the City Council indicating the health measures to be adopted. Távora criticized the proposal in the ERUB report, deeming it "extremely passive" and unlikely to achieve the desired renewal.

A detailed drawing proposed by Architect Luís Cunha, called "*Buildings on the wall of Ribeira*", which we assume was a continuation of Auzelle's proposal, is worth mentioning. The project aimed to construct new buildings in line with modern architecture principles, which Fernando Távora praised. However, the project was criticized from an urban planning perspective, as it maintained the guideline of eliminating the public space inside the Ribeira wall, an important area of sociability, creating with this, a continuous front of buildings that never existed, as the buildings previously demolished on the site were not aligned in the front, but were set slightly back. The new buildings were presented in a neutral language in terms of aesthetics, adopting new coating materials suitable for the humid climate of the place. Nonetheless, the National Board of Education did not approve the proposal, stating that the new buildings were not adequately integrated with the pre-existing ones.



Fig. 11: Proposal by Architect Luís Cunha. (Source: Távora, 2019)

Shortly afterwards, still in the mid-1960s, Architect Fernando Távora became involved in Barredo issues. According to a report from one of Távora's former collaborators, the students on the architecture course at *Escola de Belas Artes do Porto* – ESBAP were encouraged to participate in an international competition promoted by the UIA - International Union of Architects, with the theme of social housing around 1967. The program aimed to provide housing for 1,000 inhabitants or 250 families, with a clear definition of the target population in terms of anthropology, sociology, and economics. The Oporto School chose to work in the Barredo area and to facilitate the participation of students in the competition, who had little time to develop the project, Fernando Távora, as a teacher at the School, put them in contact with social workers and the entire Barredo's program that he already knew about through a diocesan work, to whom he provided support in terms of architecture at the time. The social analysis report of the neighborhood prepared by a team coordinated by social worker Maria Rosa Correia de Sousa at this time was of great support.

Subsequently, the Oporto City Council contacted the architect to prepare the Barredo Urban Renewal Study (ERUB). The project benefited from these previously prepared social surveys and from the surveys carried out by ESBAP architecture students in the 1967-1968 academic year (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12: Example of a design of a work team for the QI block developed in the ESBAP Analytical Architecture discipline in 1967. (Source: FIMS)

5. THE PROJECT AND ITS METHODOLOGY

We will now analyze the concept of Urban Project (or Urban Design) adopted by ERUB. For Solà-Morales (1999), an "Urban Design" must have an intermediate scale of action between architecture and planning, where the urban and architectural scales are interconnected. In addition, it must be achievable in a short period of time (3-4 years), have territorial effects beyond the area of intervention and have an important public investment component, with multi-functional programs aimed at collective use.

Solà-Morales established these principles based on an analysis of a series of works by modern architects who intervened in a committed way in the existing city, in a different way from proposing new and alternative cities. Although he doesn't cite Fernando Távora, we can include the Portuguese architect in this "other modern tradition" (Solà Morales, 1999), starting with the projects he developed previously for complex urban contexts, such as the *Avenida da Ponte* project in Oporto in 1955 and the project for the civic center of Aveiro in 1962-63.

ERUB was an urban project that aimed to respond to the area's various problems. As an urban project, the Study was configured more as a morpho-typological approach to the neighborhood than the proposal of a

new design for the area. In the ERUB report, Távora expresses that “the project's guiding concept was to use the term 'renovation' in its true sense, which is to continue innovating” (Távora, 2019, p. 136). This concept was also later adopted by Távora in the Project for the *Pousada Santa Marinha da Costa* in Guimarães, in 1975-1984, a project that dealt with the rehabilitation of an old convent that reached its splendor in the 18th century. In Trigueiros (1993, p. 116), it is suggested that the concept for the historical building is to conserve its most significant spaces while accommodating new programs. This allows the building to evolve over time, ensuring its longevity for many centuries to come. The proposed method for altering a pre-existing structure involves combining scientific knowledge with a creative conception in the transformation process, synthesizing two complementary aspects for a successful outcome.

The concept described above for the rehabilitation of a historic building, was also applied to the historic city and it was distinct from the modern movement approach of urban renewal, expressed by the practice of *tabula rasa* of consolidated urban sectors, which means replacing an old urban fabric with megaprojects and wide road structures to improve traffic.

Távora's Report also suggests a renewal process with a global and open character. Global in the sense of being as efficient in promoting individual benefits for the residents, as well as for the sector and the city as a whole, highlighting its value as a landscape inserted in an urban context; and open for promoting a permanent analysis of the needs for the sector and a constant review of the objectives for its renewal.

Analyzing the architect's proposal, we assume that Távora's design methodology encompassed three important strategies for this urban intervention:

- I. The maintenance of urban lot sizes;
- II. The elaboration of a generic plan for the building complex and a specific plan as an experiment in the QI and QIII blocks, implementing a case study in design;
- III. The management of social issues, presenting solutions on how to intervene within the resident population.

This project's innovation lay in examining existing features before suggesting rehabilitation guidelines for both urban and individual building design. The urban layout, characterized by narrow, winding roads following the terrain's topography and small, constrained lots, shapes the construction of houses aligned at the street, without any side or rear spaces. These factors create a distinct setting where buildings share similar attributes: primarily three, four, or five floors; houses positioned without any space behind, terraced so with only a front facade, sometimes featuring an overhang (stepped inverted profile); small, irregularly arranged floor plans with internal partition walls; mainly hipped roofs, some with dormers; exterior walls typically

made of stone, "perpianho" on the ground floor and "taipa" on upper levels; and certain facades adorned with slate sections. Windows commonly have a square or rectangular profile (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13: Buildings in the Barredo area nowadays showing some typological characteristics of the buildings: stone walls, hipped roofs and facades featuring overhangs.

Important to note that the Barredo sector was already partly vacant at the time of the study due to demolitions that took place a few years earlier. The Távora Study's guideline was to fill the void wisely by incorporating new structures within the original settlement's logic, creating an urban continuum. The new sections maintain or reproduce the same lot dimensions as the existing ones. See Fig. 14 and Fig. 15.

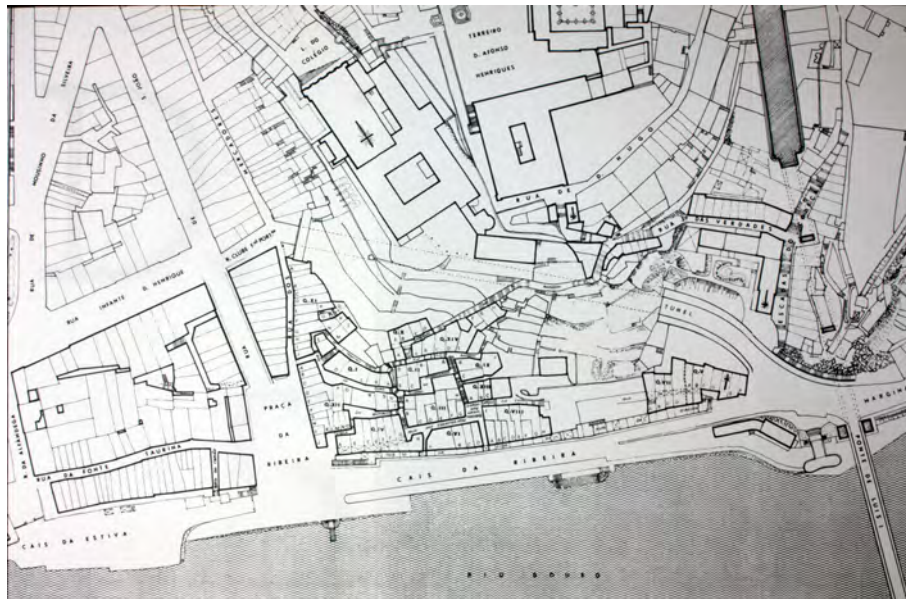


Fig. 14: Site survey of buildings in the Barredo Zone. (Source: Távora, 2019)

This architectural approach ensures the continuity of the complex's aesthetic character by following the same implantation and typology for new and old rehabilitated constructions. The typology consists of a sum of volume, rhythm of voids on the facades, internal arrangement of vertical circulation, and the appearance of the roof. We mean by "type", when applied to urban lots and housing, a broad reference, different from

“model”, or object to serve as a rule to be imitated as it is. Thus, according to the distinction between type and model suggested by Quatremère de Quincy, while everything is exact and given in the 'model', everything is more or less vague in the 'type'. This architectural approach allows for new elements to be added to the building complex without resorting to copies of pre-existing structures. The buildings may not even resemble exactly, but end up approaching in scheme.

Távora criticized previous intervention alternatives that suggested filling in the public space behind the open arches in the Fernandina wall. Instead, he proposed valorizing the urban space as a square, which would not only improve the physical and aesthetic aspects of the area, but also contribute to the social integration and quality of life of the population (Fig. 15).

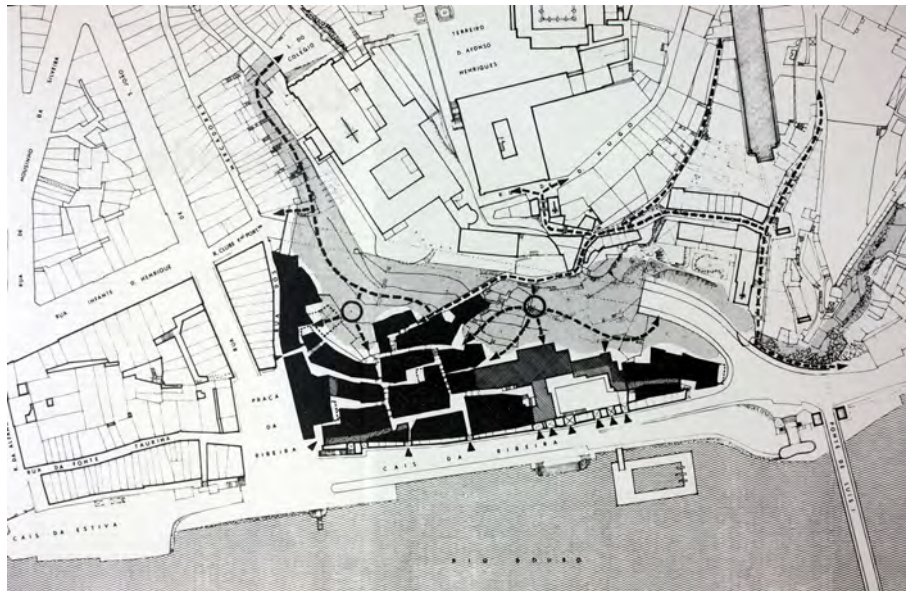


Fig. 15: Proposal for intervention in the area. (Source: Távora, 2019)

It is therefore evident, within this first methodological strategy, the maintenance of the relationship between the buildings and the city, safeguarding the existing urban environment and typical scenario for human relationships and local traditions.

The aim was to improve living conditions with minimal demolitions and occasional additions, without interrupting the physical and social character of the place. The urban environment would be preserved, while updating physical needs and promoting the appreciation of the area's dynamic tradition.

Regarding the second intervention strategy, Távora's recurring methodology involved selecting a case study from the global project to demonstrate how to conduct the intervention on a smaller scale. The architect then develops drawings for two of the fourteen existing blocks, including internal layouts of houses and elevation proposals.

The surveys conducted previously found that the population density was too high, with an average occupancy rate of 5.85m² per inhabitant. Buildings had an index of 1.51m², and dwellings reached a value of 0.79m² (Távora, 2019, p.35). Many families were living in poor conditions without minimum sanitation facilities. Therefore, the objective was to improve habitability by reorganizing the interior space of dwellings and reducing the number of residents through occasional removals or expansion of existing housing.

Távora inspected each building in the QI and QIII blocks to assess their condition and determine any necessary improvements (Fig. 16). For those in reasonably good condition, he recommended repairing the exterior walls, window frames, and installing new mechanical and electrical systems. Inside, he proposed reorganizing the spaces to create separate family apartments with a small kitchen, basic bathroom, and occasional new openings for better light and ventilation.



Fig. 16: Elevations of the QI Block showing the previous situation and the proposal. (Source: Távora, 2019)

In cases where the buildings were severely damaged beyond repair, Távora suggested demolishing and reconstructing them. Typically, only parts of the stone exterior walls on the ground floor were retained, along with some roof tiles and slate cladding. The upper floors made of rammed earth (taipa), were replaced with hollow bricks covered in fiber cement or reused slate cladding to match the original appearance and adapt to local weather.

The Távora Scheme involved building a support structure for a Social Center and other services. This corresponds to one of the architectural solutions developed by ESBAP students, that would be placed on the sloping site, providing access at different topographic levels and fitting naturally into the usual routes of Barredo's inhabitants.

To facilitate the redistribution of residents in new spaces, tables were created with family profiles and needs to inform proposed internal building occupancy arrangements.

The study aimed to avoid population expulsion but required relocations from overcrowded or irrecoverable dwellings. Only surplus population was transferred, and efforts were made to maintain as many residents as possible in the area. The population profile was considered to suggest voluntary departures or selecting those who would have less impact from habitat changes. At the end of the project, it was proposed to relocate about 40% of the population out of Barredo, due to the high occupation density (Távora, 2019, p. 161).

The Report highlights the benefits of the intervention, justifying its economic feasibility. Távora emphasized the importance of private sector contribution to the housing development policy. The rehabilitation was advantageous due to existing infrastructure, resulting in direct and indirect benefits. He also stated that the benefits were direct and indirect, among them, the cultural income that would result from the conservation and renewal of the most significant physical and human structures of the city. This is equivalent to an evolutionary preservation of the image of the city that must be vitalized and not destroyed, at all costs. (Távora, 2019, p. 144)

The program predicted that housing rents in the area would increase after the proposed transformations. To compensate, the residents selected to remain in the area would benefit from lower expenses with transportation and an income subsidy provided for in the public agenda, mitigating the increase in rental costs.

In general terms, the architect showed that the concern to solve basic social problems, such as the educational, moral and psychological ones of the inhabitants, were as relevant as those of housing.

Finally, we can say that the Study as a whole aimed to rehabilitate public space and pre-existing buildings in a dynamic and respectful way, with sensitivity to social, cultural, architectural, and building traditions of the area.

The project was not implemented in the 1960s due to political reasons. The government prioritized the construction of the “Aleixo” Towers on the outskirts of the city, where social housing policy should concentrate its efforts. However, the Barredo Urban Renewal Study (ERUB) influenced the design of a future

housing program that worked in the area from 1974 to 2003. Some architects who had previously developed works were called back in 1974 and Fernando Távora returned to the project for a few years as a consultant, collaborating with external planners in order to speed up operations. It was, therefore, Távora's previous work that made the first Integrated Urban Rehabilitation operation^v in Portugal possible.

However, during CRUARB's time it was difficult to put the integrity of this plan into practice, due to management's difficulties in organizing the participatory process. Thus, the work began without any effective and permanent participation of the population. The principle of maintaining environmental and construction values has also been deviated. Interventions in the buildings had to be quick and used mainstream techniques in some cases, abandoning the adequate training of workforce for vernacular construction techniques, resulting in some "pastiche" (Távora [et al.], 1978).

6. THE HERITAGE VALUE

One of the great innovations of this Study is undoubtedly the valorization of the social component. In heritage terms, this means that attention goes beyond the material values of urban and architectural heritage. There is an appreciation of immaterial values.

Social struggles have influenced attention to human values, recognizing the way of life and culture of the local population, rich in traditions and history since medieval times. In Távora's words:

“Men are worth infinitely more than houses, therefore, the total displacement of the population seems extremely inhumane to us. A population, due to its acquired rights and the obligations that the city has towards it, is not susceptible to massive displacements that harm not only its economic interests, but its entire social and psychological structure.”³

Távora, 2019, p. 135

The area was rapidly deteriorating. It was devalued due to its high population density and the poor sanitary conditions of the homes. Finding architectural value in this area was also not evident, as the buildings were often mischaracterized and structurally condemned. In addition to social values, Fernando Távora also drew attention to historical, cultural and landscape values, as well as aesthetic and tourist values.

The architect believes that some areas of the city have deep-rooted cultural values and that replacing one building with another for practical reasons, such as insalubrity, state of conservation, over-occupation or urban malfunction, is not justified, even though new values may emerge with the change. He argues that "a cultural value is a whole and not parts of a whole, because these parts (in the case of the buildings to be

conserved) are inserted in a context in which the more or less significant parts complement and support each other"⁴ (Távora, 2019, p. 135).

Moniz, Correia and Gonçalves (2014) noted that ERUB's proposals already included the "third way" for reconciling apparently conflicting values and times. The "third way" is a concept created by Távora that means a way of "digesting" the idea of modern architecture in Portuguese territory, an alternative architectural posture, away from the route of traditional Portuguese architecture (as postulated by Raul Lino) and also from the modern movement, exemplified mainly by Le Corbusier's doctrine (Figueira, 1992).

This was evident in the observations about the cultural value of the Barredo and its critical analysis of previous plans for the sector's renovation. Távora emphasized the importance of not only following legal instruments for monument protection, but also considering the values of history, environment, and people. This approach went against the hygienization and expansion projects for the existing city.

The sector's historical evolution and its role in the city's life are extremely valuable. Various buildings, structures, and spaces from different eras tell of Barredo's long and intense life. Examples include the remains of the Fernandina wall, the "Luís I" bridge, medieval streets, and the wide *Praça da Ribeira*.

The value of centrality should also be highlighted here. According to Portas (2005, p. 157)

The value of an old area is not just that of the buildings: it is a location or "centrality" value for those who work, live or may come to live there; it is the value of the infrastructure already in place even if, in some cases, it is in need of renovation; it is the accumulated value of investments made by thousands of citizens, owners or not, in their homes, stores, warehouses or workshops.⁵

Regarding the value of the urban ensemble, the report states that "the ensemble is, in fact, extremely significant in the urban landscape and fits into the panorama that the city offers on its hillside over the river with extraordinary vigor". (Távora, 2019, p. 37)

In fact, the election of Oporto's historic center as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1996 demonstrates the recognition of its value as an urban heritage site twenty-seven years after this Study, reflecting a change in

focus on cultural heritage that began in the 1960s, not only on the Portuguese scene, but also on the international one.

As we saw earlier, to preserve the urban ambience and landscape, the project's main strategy was to maintain the lot's dimensions in the historic urban area. In this sense, we can say that Fernando Távora's approach was 40 years ahead of the concept of Historic Urban Landscape, which UNESCO only defined in 2011.

The historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of “historic centre” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting. This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.

UNESCO, 2011

It was necessary to join forces to save what was apparently worthless, because the discipline of architecture alone was unable to answer the question of how to deal with the ancient city and it was therefore essential to embrace the challenges that social science studies were also trying to solve.

Having recognized the heritage values of the Barredo area, we conclude that the intervention proposal for the area aimed to preserve and enhance the visibility of the urban settlement, which was once nearly destroyed due to the city's modernization efforts. The architect who elaborated the 1969 study deserves credit for having a professional trajectory that led him to this heritage approach and for being attentive to the debate and international examples of that time.

7. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The historic city of Oporto is a good example of the social conflicts and structural problems that needed to be reviewed in order to change the existing urban framework in historic areas: land devaluation, evasion of financial resources in the area, high population density, precarious housing conditions and a decline in the quality of life of the inhabitants. This historical and social picture of Barredo reflects the challenges that European cities were facing at the time. Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1968) was an important figure in the international debate on historic cities. The French philosopher and sociologist, author of *Le droit à la ville*, criticized the construction of urban spaces in capitalist societies and the phenomenon of suburbanization, where the proletariat was directed, away from its 'habitat' and social environment.

The debate highlights the desire for transformation in Oporto's historic center, balancing the right to maintain the existing urban and social structure with the right to a transformed and renewed urban life through participatory processes.

The historic city faced social, urban and preservation issues, which were not addressed until recently. In line with the international debate, evident in the Venice Charter, in Aldo Rossi's concept of reused city and in the precept of Integrated Conservation set out in the Bologna Case, Távora put Portuguese architecture at the center of references for participatory models in city intervention projects.

ERUB and Bologna's Urban Recovery Plan share the belief that creating a new center won't solve the problem of cities. Both plans prioritize democratic participation in decision-making processes and maintaining the size and building typology of the complex. The Italian and Portuguese programs reflect a collective conscience that echoed international debates.

There's also a similarity between Fernando Távora's proposal and Aldo Rossi's studies on urban morphology. Rossi emphasizes on the use of constructive typology rather than a constructive model to maintain the design procedure. Additionally, he highlights the importance of finding fixed and rational elements in history to accentuate the character of a place, landscape, or a monument.

Within the panorama of Fernando Távora's work, it represents the evolution of the architect's own approach to the subject of urban design throughout his career, which evolved from conceptions aligned with the thinking of the modern movement, to those with a greater relationship to context and history.

This project also employs the principles of critical restoration. The specific solutions proposed for the restoration of the buildings do not follow a rule, but rather it is "a work of extreme delicacy, because [...] it raises problems of an artistic and historical nature that can only be brought to a successful conclusion with a great understanding of the whole and the detail" (Távora, 2019, p.142). Otherwise, renovation would mean destruction (of heritage). In this statement we understand the search to act cautiously so as not to set aside the values already existing in the ensemble, trying to insert elements in line with the aesthetic values found in the visual perception of the urban environment as a whole.

In addition, it is possible to recognize that this plan emphasized the importance of the *genius loci*, a Latin term that refers to the "spirit of the place", or that which indicates its character, referring to the set of socio-cultural, architectural, language and habit characteristics that qualify a place, an environment, or a city, recognizing as heritage value not only the physical space, but also the community that inhabits it and the social practices associated with that urban environment, which give a unique character and meaning to the

place as a historical built environment. In the words of Rui Moreira, the current Mayor of Oporto, "Távora expressed in this work his respect for the social, human, urbanistic and architectural values that, together, produce the identity of a place" (Távora, 2019, p. V).

We can also associate his approach with recent restoration theories, such as that of Muñoz Viñas (2011), for whom restoration is done for the people who identify values in an artifact, and not for the artifacts themselves. Furthermore, by conducting an experiment in the QI and QIII blocks, Távora demonstrates that one cannot try to solve the specific problems of the built complex without thinking about the periphery, or where the population should be moved to, and vice versa. This comprehensive approach, which encompasses the local and the territorial, is a central concept in UNESCO's definition of the Historic Urban Landscape.

Finally, we conclude that Távora acted within a dynamic conception of safeguarding heritage, which involves the possibility of intervening in it, rather than simply preserving it physically, by adding attributes of cultural significance. This new perspective seeks not only to maintain the cultural characteristics of heritage, but also to manage the changes it will inevitably undergo over time. This is also a contemporary concept in heritage preservation approaches, which shows that his thinking was ahead of his time.

The urban regeneration of the area was put into practice by CRUARB - *Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área de Ribeira-Barredo* over a period of 30 years. ERUB was the driving force behind this housing program promoted by the Portuguese State. The result of the work was appreciated by the local population. There are residents who have lived in the area for over 50 years and who enthusiastically report the community spirit that has remained in the neighborhood. Efforts to maintain this dynamic tradition are, however, gradually diminishing and being replaced by the commercialization of the space by the State itself, which instead of encouraging the perpetuation of traditional families living in the area, reserving the right for the sons of former residents to remain in their parents' homes, is giving preference to the use of buildings for hotel purposes and increasing tourism in the historic center.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ The *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local* (SAAL) was a state housing construction program that emerged after the Carnation Revolution in 1974, which set out to alleviate the housing needs of disadvantaged populations in Portugal.

² Typical term used for slums in central áreas of Oporto

³ "Os homens valem infinitamente mais do que as casas, por isso, a deslocação total da população parece-nos extremamente desumana. Uma população, pelos seus direitos adquiridos e pelas obrigações que a cidade tem para com ela, não é passível de deslocações maciças que ferem não apenas os seus interesses econômicos, mas toda a sua estrutura social e psicológica."

⁴ “um valor cultural é um todo e não partes de um todo, porque estas partes (caso dos edifícios a conservar) se inserem num contexto em que as peças mais ou menos significativas se completam e se apoiam”

⁵ O valor de uma área antiga não é apenas o dos edifícios: é um valor de localização ou de “centralidade” para os que lá trabalham, moram ou podem vir a morar; é o valor da infraestrutura já instalada mesmo se, nalguns casos, carente de reforma; é o valor acumulado de investimentos de milhares de cidadãos proprietários ou não nas suas casas, nas suas lojas, nos seus armazéns ou oficinas.

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements

Working Paper Series

HERITAGE AND TRADITION, BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND NOSTALGIA, AND MEETING PRESENT DAY NEEDS, COMFORTS AND AESTHETIC PREFERENCES

Afaf Ali Badran

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HERITAGE AND TRADITION, BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND NOSTALGIA, AND MEETING PRESENT DAY NEEDS, COMFORTS AND AESTHETIC PREFERENCES



While respecting the heritage value of old buildings and sites, historic and traditional, this paper discusses how obsession with preserving (keeping) old buildings, which may include badly deteriorating and unrepairable, damaged structures of insignificant historic or heritage value, can sometimes be impractical, unsustainable and inhibiting to development. The paper also touches on another aspect of nostalgic obsession with the old, which manifests itself in clinging to old and traditional façade features, reusing them over unnecessarily in our new buildings.

With Cairo as a case study, the paper discusses these practices and concludes in recommendations to respect heritage and traditions as changing phases of human history and urges decision makers to make clear-cut decisions, based on thorough and timely assessments, as to what to keep and when development has to manifest.

1. INTRODUCTION

Recently there was a lot of debate among professionals, stakeholders and the different sectors of the public in Cairo about what old buildings and sites to preserve (keep), which to rehabilitate and reuse and which to let go of and reuse its site for other presently needed purposes. Views diversified and went to extreme in both ends. Some went with keeping all old buildings regardless of historic or heritage value or condition. Others went for demolishing old buildings, including some of significant value to open room for development.

A number of buildings were rightfully restored. Other buildings were recently demolished and few sites were wiped out, some even before adequate assessment, which stirred objections from both, professionals and the public. Long before the yet unresolved dilemma, many old buildings, historic and traditional, intact and in poor condition, long-awaited for an assessment and a decision. In the process they deteriorated more. While the procrastination could partly be due to lack of funds, especially that these buildings are presently not in the way of development projects, due to the inherent strong desire to preserve all that is old as long as it takes, the status quo even of the poorest structures is maintained. This approach poses threat to safety, deprives present generations from the right to effectively use these occupied spaces and stands in the way of area development.

The other relevant aspect the paper touches upon and which also has to do with clinging to what is old or heritage, is the adoption of old and traditional features in new buildings we build today with the idea to maintain a local cultural identity or to blend with the surrounding old urban context. Whereas this notion finds some appreciation when the building is in an old traditional context, others contest it. However, it is

much less appreciated when the building is in a modern context or where an urban renewal is initiated. With new cultural backgrounds, life styles, needs and preferences and new resources including materials, techniques and technologies, aspirations are different and coming up buildings should meet the aspirations of coming up generations and their up-to-date achievements.

With Cairo as a case study, the paper discusses the relevant practices and concludes in recommendations to respect heritage and traditions as changing phases of human history, to see them as inspirational factors not limiting or inhibiting, and to make clear-cut decisions, based on thorough and timely assessments, as to what to keep and when development has to manifest itself to meet future generations interests.

2. OLD BUILDINGS RECENTLY RESTORED AND OTHERS SOON TO BE RESTORED

In this section, two examples of historic old buildings that have been restored recently are mentioned, followed by an example of a nearby historic building which stood for decades waiting to be restored. The history of a building, its location, interest of the developer and the availability of a fund all prompt the decision to restore it.

The Pimaristan (Hospital) of Al Mouayed Sheikh was built in 1418 AD, at Mamluk Circassian/Burji Mamluk dynasty, a very distinguished period historically and architecturally. It was the second hospital built in old Cairo. Its restoration measures were completed in 2017 and it was inaugurated in Jan. 2018.



Fig. 1, 2: Al Mouayed Sheikh Pimaristan before Restoration. (Photo taken by author)



Fig. 2: Pimaristan of Al Mouayed Sheikh after restoration. (Courtesy of Ihab Ali)

Another example for a building which has recently undergone restoration work is Qani Bay Al Ramah Mosque. It was originally built in 1503 AD in the same Mamluk Circassian dynasty and stands in old Cairo not far from the Al Mouayed Sheikh Pimaristan. A Mamluk who mastered spearmanship and was promoted to a prince is buried under the dome of the mosque. The restoration of only the front façade of the mosque overlooking a plaza and garden on the main street was completed in 2023. The other sides of the mosque and the inside are not yet initiated.



Fig. 4, 5: Front and side facades of Qani Bay Al Ramah Mosque. Notice the dome, one of the few with intricately carved decorations. Also notice the cracks in the side and back walls. (Photos taken by author)



Fig. 6: Photo of Qani Bay Al Ramah Mosque after restoration of main facade. (Photo by author)



Fig. 7: Recent photo showing unrestored side façade with water damage and cracks. Finished front facade is the side on the left. (Photo by author)

In vicinity, on the western side of the walls of Salah El Din Citadel, another building of historic and heritage value which has been abandoned and neglected for many decades needs to be restored. Koshk Al Mahmal or Dar Al Mahmal is the old building where the covering curtains “Keswa” of Holy Kabah in Mekkah, sewn and embroidered with silver and gold threads, used to be kept until it is loaded on camels to travel all the way to Mekkah every year in a great ceremony. It was built by Khedive Ismail in 1864, 159 years ago. Although all the inside walls, floors and ceiling fell apart as it was subjected to burning in 2011, the façades still stand but are in a miserable condition. This building has a history that renders it worth saving.



Fig. 8: Al Mahmal Building, built 1864. (Photo taken by Mohamed Abdallah in 2019).

3. DETERIORATING OLD BUILDINGS LEFT STANDING FOR DECADES WITHOUT ASSESSMENT

The paper will refer here to several old historic areas in Cairo: Darb El Labbana and Hattaba in Al Darb El Ahmar, Tel Al Akareb and Kalet Al Kabsh in Sayeda Zeinab, Magra Al Oyoum, Bab El Shereyah and Hesaneyah. The buildings are initially in bad condition. The decision whether to keep or demolish these buildings has taken decades. Some are supported or preserved as is until a decision is made or a fund is secured. These do not only pose a threat, but they take up space that could be used in a much better way.

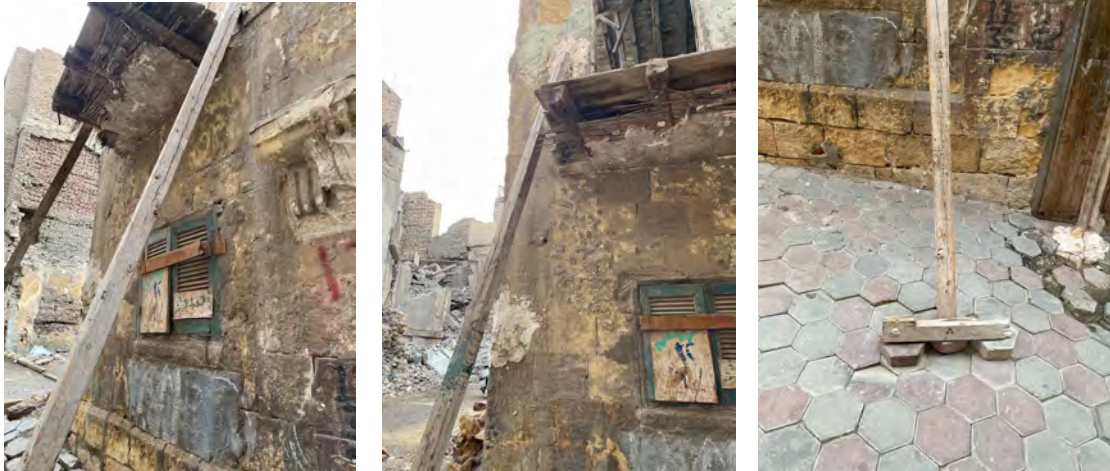


Fig. 9, 10, 11: Abandoned building in Darbellabbana, roughly supported for years. (Photos by author)



Fig. 12: A building partly demolished and partly kept, in Hattaba Area. (Photo by author)



Fig. 13: A building near Tel Al Akareb that may have had a significant architectural style but is demolished and is left standing in a threatening position for years. (Photo by author)



Fig. 14, 15 : A historic arched structure buried in the rubble for years in Kalet Al Kabsh, Sayedah Zeinab. (Photo by author)



Fig. 16: Old deteriorated buildings in Magra Al Oyoum have been left as is for decades before they were finally demolished. (Photo by Mohammad A. Zaki.)



Fig. 17: Casual buildings in bad condition kept up for decades, facing Magra Al Oyoum. (Photo by author)



Fig. 18, 19: A part of a historic wall hidden between old buildings in Bab El Shereya Area. (Photos and documentation by Aboalalla Khalil)



Fig. 20: Façade of an old deteriorating school building built in 1866 in Darb El Ahmar. (Photo by Aboalalla Khalil)



Fig. 21: Wekalat Qalawon in Hesaneya St. built in 1882.
(Photo and documentation by Aboalalla Khalil)



Fig. 22: School of Tankezeya dates back to the 15th Century, in Sayedah Aisha. (Photo by Aboalalla Khalil)

4. OLD BUILDINGS AND SITES DEMOLISHED RECENTLY FOR URBAN RENEWAL

In this section, three sites are referred to, all of whose settings are old and historic: Tel Al Akareb and Magra Al Oyoun and Arab Yasar Area. The casual/”informal” poor people’s buildings in the three areas have been demolished for the most part. Two development projects are already up, one in Tel Al Akareb and one in Magra Al Oyoun. In Arab Yasar the demolition continues, the rubble is being removed and the construction of the foundation of the new developments is just starting.

The new buildings in the first two areas are generated with traditional features though the buildings are designed and erected at present day and for present day users. The mashrabeyas filter the natural light, as well as provide some privacy for the inhabitants, mostly in the upper floors where they are used most consistently. The façade treatments gave the buildings a traditional look and connected the users and viewers to an old cultural identity.



Fig. 23, 24: Tel Al Akareb Development in Sayedah Zeinab completed early 2020s. Traditional Mashrabeyas are used over mostly upper windows and traditional arches of different sizes are used at ground floor level. (Photos by author)

Behind the historic aqueduct Magra Al Oyoun the demolition of old and poor buildings and slums has wiped up an enormous area where many poor and lower middle-class people with small or medium size businesses used to live and run their traditional and small businesses. The demolition took place in favor of the urban renewal of the area. New apartment buildings and hotels and restaurants are built adopting old traditional features to suit the historic area bordered by the historic aqueduct. However, the people who used to live here have been relocated for good.



Fig. 25, 26: Magra Al Oyoun Urban demolition for complete urban renewal. (Photos by Mohammad A. Zaki)



Fig. 27, 28: The photos show the Aqueduct, Magra Al Oyoun, after pulling down the old buildings behind it, and after the new development rose up. (Photos by author)



Fig. 29, 30, 31: The three photos show the new development within Magra Al Oyoum area. The buildings and development have been designed by Architect Mohamed Al Khatib. (Photos by author)

The buildings in Fig. 29, 30, 31 are designed by the same designer Mohamed A Khatib who designed the buildings in Tel Al Akareb, Fig. 23 and 24. The facades of these new buildings feature traditional elements in much the same way as in the new development in Tel Al Akareb. Though the façade treatment here attempts harder to incorporate a few modern features, the buildings still do not reflect their time. While the buildings do look attractive to many locals and foreigners, unfortunately, the former residents of the area who once lived here and were relocated, shall not be the inhabitants of these new buildings; a very scarce few may afford it.



Fig. 32, 33: The demolition and rubble removal continue in Arab Yasar area while the construction of the foundation of new developments is just starting at the already cleared parts. (Photos by author)

5. CONCLUSION

1-Both, the historic and heritage value as well as the condition of old buildings have to be well assessed to decide whether to preserve them as is, restore, rehabilitate, renovate, replace or possibly demolish them.

2-It is more rewarding to deal with heritage and traditions as inspirational factors in essence, rather than as limiting or inhibiting factors.

3-Heritage and traditions should be respected as changing phases of human history, and when needs be, change should be honored as an expression of present-day achievement and progress, yet sensitively without overshadowing the genuine heritage value of its context, if its context is historic or traditional.

4-It is a sustainable approach to allow present and future generations the right to use spaces effectively by disposing of the unrepairable and insignificant old buildings/structures and also to give them the opportunity to develop their living environments suitably.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

This paper depended for most on a visual survey and simple analysis by the author based on discussions with the developers, real estate managers and the public.

The sources of all photos are given below the photos, many of which are taken by the author.

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SALAAM NEIGHBORS! INVESTIGATIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN SACRAMENTO, CA

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SALAAM NEIGHBORS! INVESTIGATIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN SACRAMENTO, CA



This study explores a relationship between the built environment and social interactions outcomes in refugee-receiving neighborhoods. It is centered around the questions of how can housing promote refugee integration and social cohesion? how do the physical environments, locations, and spatial patterns encourage social bonds and social bridges? The study specifically focuses on Afghan immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in Sacramento, CA. The analysis focuses on spatial roles that assist residents to overcome biases and mitigate conflicts which create a stronger and more cohesive community. Within a changing context of fleeing and resettling, people still maintain dynamism of traditional lifestyle while adjusting to a new socio-environment. To answer this question, I employ archival research, interviews, and observations to examine how housing design and typology, its surrounding environment as well as social spaces have impact refugees' integration, social behavior, and community cohesion in a refugee-receiving community. The framework is built upon theory of social cohesion in conjunction with refugee integration theory and Urban Social Sustainability. I place emphasis on space and spatial qualities in which promote social interactions and the relationships among members within the community itself. The paper is concluded with an articulation of urban and architectural characteristics that inform social interactions and thus impact social cohesion.

1. INTRODUCTION

Resettlement gives refugees a chance to restart and gain a normal live in a foreign land; however, US resettlement policies are only focus on supporting refugees to achieve economic self-sufficiency¹ leaving many social concerns neglected. While social cohesion is gaining more ground in migration research in the last decade, limited research has pay attention to resettlement countries. Despite being the world's leading in this humanitarian action, no study addressing has been conducted on US refugee-receiving cities thus far. This leaves a gap of spatial integration and transforming place for a better social cohesion in US resettlement communities underexplored.

With more than fifty years of US refugee resettlement programs, many researchers investigate integration outcomes and their measurement. They offer economic, employment, and education strategies promoting upward mobility and competency in these domains. Local agencies take the responsibilities of providing housing which largely depends on affordability and availability rather than promoting social connections. As US cities, including metropolitans to suburban and rural areas, are becoming more diverse with the arrival of immigrants as well as refugees²; the unprecedented numbers of immigrants, refugees, and the foreign-born population contribute to the change in spatial distributions differing from the traditional immigrants' settlements or even gateway cities. Differences in environment-behaviors in addition to perception of competing for limited resources, racial tension, and discrimination not only impede social integration process but also negatively impact physical and mental health of first-generation immigrants and refugees³

In the field of architecture and urban design, it is essential to understand place-people effects which will bridge the gap between socio-residential pattern in relationship to socio-spatial connection. Instead of planning for a place that facilitates interactions of increasing diverse residents, the aspect has been largely neglected leaving them awaits to happen organically. The examination of refugees' everyday experiences is essential to understand how spatial conditions affect refugees' perception of a city and encourage meaningful bonding and bridging interactions. Understanding impacts of neighborhood morphology, urban design, and residential architecture on social outcome thus are vital to local construction and housing industries, builders, designers, planners, and policymakers to address spatial needs and accommodations of different cultures which together with local residents and newly arrivals can achieve a better cohesion of a refugee-receiving community. Having spaces and forms that facilitate meaningful social interactions can help breakdown social boundaries and drive connectedness and interdependency of residents that enhance a formation of community⁴. This study therefore seeks to determine how refugees make their presence in everyday residential and public spaces. The findings will 1) identify important characteristics of living places and social places that promote both intergroup and intragroup interactions; and 2) layout a strategic framework for refugee resettlement and design guidelines for refugees housing and their settlements in both urban and suburban context.

This paper is organized into five sections. The Introduction addresses the research problems and significance. Second, Backgrounds Section presents narrative of the research participants Afghans immigrants and refugees and Afghans in the US along with their settlement in Sacramento, CA. The third section explains research methodology including what methods have been employed as well as methodological challenges. Forth, initial findings are presented and discussed. Lastly, the paper is concluded with an articulation of urban infrastructure and architectural characteristics for housing that inform social interactions.

2. BACKGROUND

To address the issues, I purposely choose Afghan refugees as an actor of investigation for three main specific reasons. First, potential biases on Afghan communities due to post 9/11 consequences as well as media portraits and polarized politics of the prolonged US military task forces in Afghanistan. Moreover, the exacerbation of Islamophobia and discrimination against Arab and Muslim sentiments in the recent years⁵. Second, Afghans possess high cultural distance, including cultural norms, world views, attitudes, perceptions, and ideas, to stereotypes of Americans despite Americans becoming more heterogeneous. Afghan refugees in the US report that their unfamiliarity with American culture makes it difficult for them to get to know their neighbors⁶. These two conditions make them suitable for this research. Lastly, it is highly possible to expect significant numbers of Afghan immigrants and refugees coming to the U.S. in many years to come. The

Taliban takeover in 2021 marked the important beginning of human displacement and mass migration similar to what we have witnessed from the fall of Saigon. The anticipation of a similar phenomenon could not be overstated.

2.1. Afghan Refugees

Afghans make up one of the largest protracted refugee populations worldwide. As of mid-2023, UNHCR reports 8.2 million Afghan are being hosted in other countries. Not only that the security situation in Afghanistan deteriorates when US and international troops withdrew in 2021. But for the last 40 years, contemporary conflicts of political turmoil, human rights abuses, and natural disasters have displaced people and cause millions of Afghans to be refugees. Scholars identify Afghan refugees as four waves prior to the latest wave of migration after 2021.

The first wave of migration occurred between 1979-1989 after a seized power of communist faction in 1978. In 1979 after the Soviet invasion, conflict between Afghan and Soviet soldiers and mujahideen caused many people to seek refuge in other countries⁷. Estimated six million refugees fled to Pakistan and Iran at its peak. Pakistan received large international financial support to build refugee camps while Iran received less funding leaving Afghan refugees to settle among wider population. The Soviet military withdrew in 1989 causing the second wave of migration. About 2-3 million people return to the country while Afghani Soviet supporters emigrate to Russia and India. The instability after soviet withdrew and Afghan civil war resulted in five million emigrants and refugees along with nearly a million IDPs.

After the USSR dissolution in 1991 and civil war, Taliban began to take control of Afghanistan. Gaining authority in the southern regions, Taliban eventually took over Kabul and most of the country in 1996. During this time, attitudes towards Afghan refugees had changed. Those were granted arrival received lower status than earlier waves. Despite an ongoing convulsion in Afghanistan, Iran ran repatriation program in 1992 making more than 1.3 million Afghans returned home between 1992 -1995 then officially closed its borders and stopped registered new refugees. Taliban have persecuted religious minorities and political moderates, suffocated media freedom, and severely restricted women's right. These persecutions caused many to flee and seek refuge in the western countries especially the US, Canada, and Australia making the third wave of migrations. As Taliban seized into power, they had severely restricted humanitarian agencies to deliver aids and assistance to civilians in most parts of the country. This was only worsened after the 9/11 because Taliban refused to guarantee security for international relief agencies forcing them to withdraw.

The refugee situation in Afghanistan exacerbated as the US launched task force “Operation Enduring Freedom” on 7 October 2001 along with NATO allies to attack Taliban controlled areas (9/11 memorial & museum, n.d.). The tightened security at the borders had negatively resulted in a fewer official number of refugees. Many people had to pay smuggling fees or bribe border control officers to enter a neighboring country thus became undocumented or were granted neither refugee status nor protection. While nearly 150,000, less than half of 300,000 that UNHCR had anticipated, were able to cross these borders later after the US air strikes, millions of people were internally displaced without opportunities to escape.

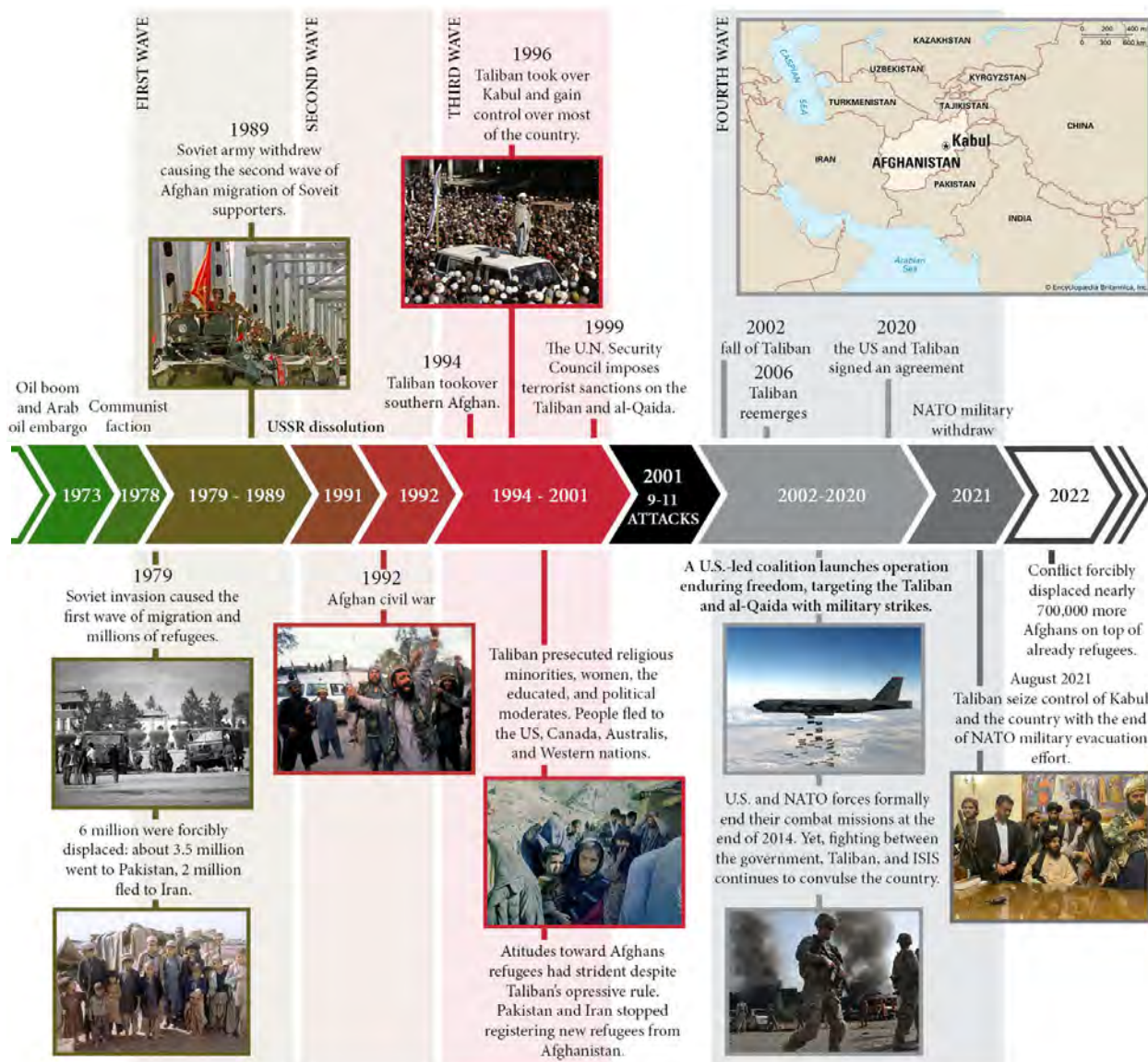


Fig 1. Afghan migrations timeline (Author, 2022)

2021 had been a year with one highest civilian causality in Afghanistan. The aftermath of US military withdrawal and Taliban rule have resulted in significant newly displaced person as well as deteriorated human rights. As US airlift had evacuated hundreds of thousands of people, the United States and 97 countries have pledged to grant freedom of travel for designated Afghans in a Joint Statement on Afghanistan Evacuation Travel Assurances released by US Department of State on August 29, 2021.



Fig 2. Families evacuated from Kabul, Afghanistan, walk through the terminal to board a bus after they arrived at Washington Dulles International Airport, in Chantilly, Va., on Friday, Aug. 27, 2021. (Gemunu Amarasinghe/Associated Press retrieved from wbez.org, 2022).

2.2. Afghan Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Sacramento, CA

Small numbers of Afghans began to emigrate to the United States since the early 1980s due to political instability and the Soviet invasion. The number has stayed relatively small for almost 30 years until the US presence in Afghanistan had deepened. Many Afghans worked with or on behalf of the U.S. government or military as interpreters, translators, and other professionals during the US-led military invasion in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks. In 2006 and 2009 Congress created Special Immigrant Visa (SIV) programs for Afghans who helped the United States as well as their immediate family members⁸. These programs contribute to the rapid rise of Afghan immigrants in the U.S. From approximately 4,000 in 1980 to

132,000 in 2019. According to U.S. Department of States, more than hundred thousand Afghans as asylum, refugees, and SIVs arrived in the US after the Taliban took over of Kabul in 2021⁹. These Afghans are composed of multiple ethnic groups such as Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara etc.

In Sacramento, CA, it is estimated 19,783 people with Afghan ancestry in the Sacramento area according to the American Community Survey 2019. However, the population is likely larger than this number. Based on an interview, it is believed that there are approximately 40,000 Afghans in Sacramento area. Arden-arcade neighborhood has the highest concentration in Sacramento area: 7.3 percent are reported of Afghan ancestry. Many ethnic stores, related business, and cultural places are located in this area. Beyond this, Afghans are dispersed throughout the Sacramento area especially in North Highlands, west Sacramento, Rancho Cordova, and Vineyards.

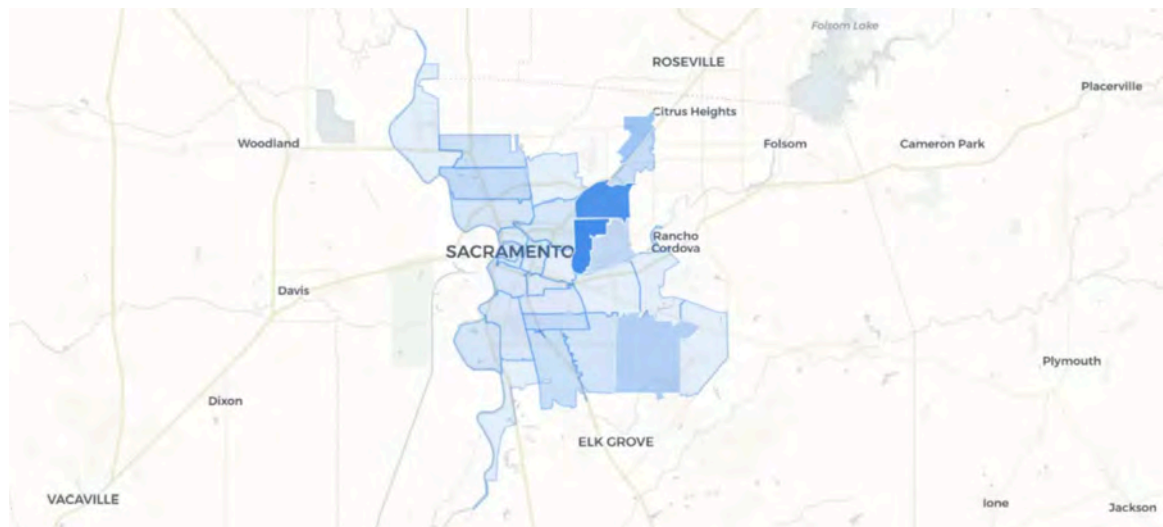


Fig 3. Map of Sacramento showing population with Afghan heritage by zip code (Source: <https://zipatlas.com/us/ca/sacramento/zip-code-comparison/percentage-afghan-population.htm>)

3. METHODOLOGY

The study is designed into two-step investigation. The first phase is to construct a detailed framework based on refugee integration theory, urban social sustainability theory, and social cohesion theory. This step involves archival studies and interviews with community leaders and resettlement agencies to help verify areas of examination and their measurements. Next, I conducted a case study of Sacramento, CA using the convergent mixed methods. Refugees' voice will be reflected from semi-structure interviews about their experience. Architectural methods include physical environment observations, morphology analysis, and community surveys. Refugees' voice and architectural methods will be conducted concurrently. Collected data is then triangulated with data from Stage 1 for the proceeding analysis and interpretation phase.

In order to compare how spatial characteristics of each site impact social behaviours of a receiving community, the study is designed with the following variables:

- **Independent variable:** Different neighborhood morphologies, housing typologies, and urban form
- **Dependent variable:** Neighborhood experiences and social outcomes after the resettlement
- **Controlled variable:** Demographic group of the refugees – Afghan immigrants and refugees
- **Extraneous variable:** Individual profile such as education attainment, language proficiency, personal values, socioeconomic status prior to their migration to the United States.

The fieldwork was completed in June-July 2023. During the time, there was an Islamic religious celebration of Eid al-Adha or the Feast of Sacrifice. I and my research assistants visited 20 private residences, interviewed refugee resettlement agencies and 40 individuals Afghan participants both males and females, observed parks, retails, and ethnic stores, and collected online survey responses.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Residential Buildings

Affordability, family ties, and personal connections are main driver that impact decision of where to live and which city to settle in the United States. These conditions impact how Afghans concentrate in a certain apartment complex and a specific neighborhood, especially in the early years of migration before they are able to afford to move to a place of their choice. As Afghans choose to live where they know someone it contributes to the formation of Afghan residential blocks where Afghans become majority in that area.

Obviously, lack of social cohesion in Afghanistan has impact social bond among Afghans in Sacramento. Although they reside in the same complex or neighborhood, they have limited interactions from carrying bias as well as different native languages. People would prefer not to be friend with another family if they are from a specific ethnic group that have conflict with them back in Afghanistan. Housing typologies exhibit significant impact on social bridge. Research participants demonstrated positive interaction to their non-Afghan neighbors especially those who live in a single-family home. A single-family home has more privacy, presence of in-between space, and clear threshold which contribute to a neutral perception and tolerate their differences and thus lead to more positive interactions. In contrast, apartment complex lacks these design considerations making people judge each other personal's life before getting to know each other. For example, an interviewee stated "I don't want my kids to play outside because I see alcohol bottles around my neighbor's unit. This makes me feel like I cannot trust people around here." Another interviewee residing in an apartment complex with more than 80 percent Afghan families mention lack of privacy. She said "When I

walked around [Afghan] men are looking at me. They know my husband and they wonder why his wife is walking outside. I don't go out because I don't like that. I don't feel comfortable. When I move here [to this single-family home in suburban area], there is no Afghans around. Some neighbors say hello and some ignore me because of my hair scarf but I feel more comfortable here.

Furthermore, the investigation shows that while housing may not directly promote integration and positive social cohesion, location of housing directly impacts their integration due to its correlation to school districts. Interviewees stated that they would like to move away from North Highland neighborhood to Roseville because of a better school rating. Quality of schools have a huge impact on their residential location choice as it offers a better opportunity for their children, especially when family of Afghan origin prefer to have many children. Research participants report positive experience for their kids when a school has less diverse demographic body.



Fig 4. (Top) Apartment complexes with more than 80 percent Afghan residents. (Bottom Left) Inside one of Afghan family home during Eid celebration. (Bottom Right) A garage of a single-family house converted into an Afghan cloth store. (Photo: Author, 2023)

In addition, moving out of an apartment into a single-family home also offers economic opportunities for many Afghan ladies. While many Afghan women secure their jobs as white-collar, many choose to open their

own business. Because large numbers of Afghan women are illiterate making it not possible for them to obtain a driver license. Their house become part of their work opportunity. Clothing business, childcare, home food services are among popular choice for Afghan ladies to make their living.

4.2. Ethnic Businesses

The concentration of people of Afghan origin in Sacramento, ethnic businesses are dispersed throughout the county. With Afghan entrepreneurial nature, Afghan restaurants, ethnic grocery store, clothing, jewelry, and household item stores can commonly be found especially in Arden-Arcade neighborhood and some in West Sacramento where there is a strong presence of the Afghan community. These businesses allow Afghan people to form an ethnic enclave as stores offer work for case for many undocumented Afghan immigrants and alyssum seekers as well as those who cannot speak English. Their location also impacts residential location as many people choose to live nearby because they can walk to work.



Fig 5. (Top) Exterior and interior of ethnic grocery store located in Arden-Arcade. (Bottom Left) Afghan clothing stores. (Bottom Right) A carpet store own by an Afghan family (Photo: Author, 2023)

Beside their economic importance, these stores make people feel like home far away from home. Shoppers mentioned that they are back in Kabul when they shop at these places. They find the same food they used to have, and they can decorate their house like what they have in Afghanistan: “I feel Sacramento is my home because of these stores. I’m back to Kabul here and it makes me miss home a little less.”

4.3. Parks and Recreations

Parks are used extensively for both leisure and cultural purposes. A community leader organized Eid al-Adha with helps from his families, friends, and community members. During the event, a group of more than two hundred Uzbek Afghans gathered to celebrate this religious event along with a few non-Afghan friends who joined to observe. People ate, prayed, and gave away money to kids and then enjoyed their afternoon picnicking in the park. The community leader asserted that parks are very important for their recreation. They organize soccer club that youths come together every weekend. In addition, there are family trips that people arrange to visit different state parks together every other month or so. Afghan people here enjoy the park system in California. Having access to these places allow them to arrange their social events and activities that while mostly promote social bonding, it makes their presence more visible in a public realm.

While Afghan community tends to enjoy big parks; they however do not hold positive views for small parks and playgrounds located in residential areas citing hygiene and safety concern. Families prefer to use a green outdoor space within a gated community rather than neighborhood parks.



Fig 6. (Left) Eid al-Adha celebration at William B. Pond Picnic Facilities in Sacramento. (Right) Eid al-Adha celebration at Salam Masjid in Sacramento (Photo: Author, 2023)

Afghan people also built masjids and get together at mosque or masjid. Salam masjid is one of many masjids visited by Afghans. The masjid also organized public event for Eid celebration. They welcome people of all origins and faith making it help promote social bridging among Afghans and other Muslims and non-

Muslims. A community center became a banquet hall and open space within the masjid area was then occupied with a bouncy castle, popcorn and candies carts, and more for kids' activities. In addition, mosques and masjids also provide resources to help newly arrival refugees and immigrants connecting people to government and private organizations to assist their needs such as mental health services, languages, legal assistants, and housing.

5. CONCLUSION

First, to answer the question of *how can housing promote refugee integration and social cohesion*, I argue that residential typologies offer different degree of privacy which directly impact a level of comfort one decides to interact with others. Unlike a traditional view of social cohesion in which people share the same value, this investigation demonstrates that social cohesion is highly influence by the absence of bias regardless of their differences. Second, *how do the physical environments, locations, and spatial patterns encourage social bonds and social bridges?* Physical environments impact perception of safety which in turns influence a way people go out and interact with others in their daily life. With limited public transportation system, residential location highly affects their mobility especially for newly arrivals and those who do not drive. A location also impacts to their economic and educational opportunities, key indicators of integration. Residential distribution patterns are related to affordability of housing within Sacramento area and a housing typology within that area. Concentration of residential pattern encourage a formation of ethnic enclave. Opinions toward the enclave are divisive. Some people feel comfortable and benefit from their economic potentials while some people feel overcrowded and lack of privacy. Uses of public spaces and availability of ethnic stores directly increase their social bonding among Afghans compatriots. However, social bridges rely more other factor such as removing language barrier, opportunities to meet non-Afghan people, and personality.

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