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Editor’s Note

This issue of Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review is dedicated to the 2014 IASTE conference, to be held in December in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. As with previous TDSR conference issues, its purpose is to provide individual and institutional members who are not able to attend with detailed information about the conference’s content. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing abstracts of all papers that will be presented.

The theme of the fourteenth IASTE conference is “Whose Tradition?” Past IASTE conferences have called on scholars to consider tradition’s relationship to development, utopia, and most recently, myth. In response, scholars have advanced multiple perspectives regarding the construction of traditions in space and place. Behind the construction or deconstruction of any tradition also lies the subject, whose interests in the present are often hidden. To reveal this process of agency, one may ask: Tradition, by whom?

In examining themes of authorship and subjectivity, participants in this year’s conference will seek to uncover in what manner, for what reason, by whom, to what effect, and during what intervals traditions have been deployed with regard to the built environment. Our current period of globalization has led to the flexible reinterpretation of traditions via the mass media for reasons of power and profit. A proliferation of environments, for example, adopt traditional forms of one place and period in a completely different contextual setting, while new design traditions may privilege image over experience. At the same time, the advent of new mobile technologies with the power to compress and distort traditional configurations of space and time has allowed for the flourishing of new, empowering practices. Such practices have led to new traditions of urban resistance and uprisings that travel fluidly between diverse locales and give voice to certain populations previously excluded. Questions of power, the other, and changing configurations of time and space will open up discussions of the ways in which traditional practices shape the histories and futures of built environments.

Hosted by the Universiti Putra Malaysia, this conference brings together more than 160 scholars and practitioners from a variety of backgrounds to present papers structured around three broad themes: “WHO: Power and the Construction of Traditions”; “WHAT: Place and the Anchoring of Traditions”; and “WHERE: Mobility and the Reimagination of Traditions.” We would like to thank our own institutions as well as the other conference sponsors who have provided different forms of support.

Nezar AlSayyad
SILENT HISTORIES OF THE CITY

Eleni Bastéa
University of New Mexico, U.S.A.

Drawing from a broad spectrum of contemporary literature and focusing on Greece and Turkey, the presentation examines the erasure of selective historical urban narratives following the relentless twentieth-century nation-building project and the complexity of putting history “back on the map” in the twenty-first century. How do states and municipalities commemorate and reintegrate the urban histories of minority or even majority populations who are not part of the contemporary city’s fabric any more? How do they educate the current residents of a city’s multicultural past?

Current examples include new memorials and museums commemorating not only the Holocaust in Greece during the German occupation, 1941–44, but also the centuries-old presence of Muslims and Christians in modern-day Greece and Turkey, respectively. Even though these complex and layered pasts are still evident in the built environment, their histories have been silenced, remaining mostly absent from high school history books and the general discourse.

Understanding the politics of memory and the unique tensions between representing the past of “others” on a city’s canvas while forging an inclusive future will allow us to honor the surviving physical representations of the past and reincorporate their history into each city’s collective memory.
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Ashraf Salama  
University of Strathclyde, U.K.

IN WHOSE TRADITION? JAKARTA MEETS THE NEW GOVERNOR  
Abidin Kusno  
University of British Columbia, Canada

Focusing on major evolutionary developments on the Arabian peninsula, the presentation offers a positional interpretation and interrogates missing conceptions and misconceptions relevant to identity, tradition and modernity, how they are absorbed, and what some of their manifestations and representations are. Two critical questions lie at the crux of this discourse. How did the contemporary urban condition on the peninsula come into being? And who has shaped it? Within the notion of “human agency” and issues of “newness,” “nowness,” “being,” and “becoming,” the presentation endeavors to offer answers to these questions.

The presentation also brings into focus three approaches for comprehending both evolutionary and contemporary urban traditions and the lived space on the peninsula. The first attempts to portray the peninsula’s architecture within contextual geo-cultural politics, and the amalgam of influences it enjoys, including “Mediterraneanism,” “Middle Easternism,” “Pan-Arabism,” and “Islamism.” Notwithstanding these stimuli being constructs serving political and ideological ends, they are of heuristic value, posing questions of meaning and the sharing of urban and existential values. The second approach traces key socio-political and socioeconomic incidents, and examines their impact while mapping their relevance on examples of urban interventions and the messages they convey. The third approach examines the impact of the evolving global condition, the rise of a connected global society, and multiculturalism on architecture and place typologies in selected cities.

While one approach might be more pertinent to some contexts on the peninsula than others, assimilating and accommodating all three enables better insight and understanding of contemporary urban traditions while recognizing key aspects of lived space in a rapidly growing globalizing context.

The presentation considers recent transformations in Jakarta’s urban governance and the politics of the city. In particular, it examines the ways in which the city’s new leaders (in the form of Governor Jokowi and his deputy Ahok) are presently imagining/resolving urban “problems.” The presentation explores the conceptual underpinning and aesthetic iconoclasm the new leaders have adopted to distance themselves from their ambiguous role in the circuits of traditional rule. And it shows how the changing climate of the post-authoritarian era, the neoliberal withdrawal of the nation-state, the proliferation of social and ecological movements, and the widening of the social gap between the rich and the poor have produced a context for the emergence of a particular kind of leadership and a particular form of city politics. But onto what kind of practices have they opened? And what theoretical, cultural and political shifts do all these suggest?
A.1 RETHINKING TRADITION: DYNAMIC RESILIENCE

NEW THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND ENACTING PRACTICES
Robert Mugerauer
University of Washington, U.S.A.

THE NEOLIBERAL LOGIC OF PRESERVATION: LANDSCAPE HERITAGE AND TRADITION IN MOUNT EMEI AND CHENGDU PLAIN, CHINA
Jiawen Hu
University of Washington, U.S.A.

REVAMPPING TRADITION: CONTESTED POLITICS OF THE “INDIGENOUS” IN POSTCOLONIAL HONG KONG
Shu-Mei Huang
Chinese Culture University, Taiwan

TRADITION AS AN IMPOSED AND ELITE INHERITANCE
Jayde Roberts
University of Tasmania, Australia

NEW THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND ENACTING PRACTICES
Robert Mugerauer

It is a common misconception that traditions are static such that in resisting, or even precluding, change, they need to be evaluated negatively against modernity’s privileged criteria of change and growth. In fact, this view rests on a double mistake: that phenomena which appear stable are static, and that significant changes do not manifest deeper patterns of coherence. Recent work in complexity theory, self-organization, and enactivism (Maturana and Varela) can fruitfully be brought to bear to reinterpret both how tradition may emerge as successfully resilient, maintaining or recovering its organization in the wake of perturbances, and how resilience itself may yield to discontinuous transformation to create an alternative, stable, social-natural regime (Holling).

Maturana and Varela’s primary work on organisms has broader applications to other open, dynamic systems — for example, social systems and cities. Their work distinguished two domains of self-organizing phenomena (such as hurricanes, organisms, or ecosystem relationships). On the one hand, the identity of a given phenomenon may be defined by a closed or invariant internal organization; on the other, open bio-physical-chemical-social exchange with a containing environment may generate and maintain that stable organization. In the case of a living system, its autonomy — autopoiesis — is maintained as it distinguishes itself from its environment (e.g., via a membrane). But this is possible only through an interlocked history of mutual selection and transformation — structural coupling — between the organism and the structurally plastic systems of its environment.

In parallel, a living tradition may manifest the same interactive quality by maintaining open, changing interactions with its natural and built environments and with other social systems. Here, the many sub-elements (biological, cultural, ecological) respond to the impact of what is internalized from the outside; they continually readjust themselves to one another’s modulations; and, finally, they feed back to the external context. Thus tradition is enacted — its embodied actions (building, constructing narratives, remaining true to the myths in daily and ritual life, etc.) learn from variations, and construct invariances, establishing the given lifeworld. If the coupled dynamic between inside and outside can be maintained (or recovered when perturbed) in a range characteristic of the regime of the tradition, then the system achieves homeostasis. The continuous tradition emerges as resilient.

Alternatively, if the structural coupling cannot maintain the tradition in its base identity, the tradition expires or shifts to another possible regime. However, in the case of human systems (unlike, say, a eutrophic lake), the matter is not at all simple. This is because the question of identity itself is open, with no general formula for determining whether it has been lost, transformed into something altogether different, or morphed within the plasticity that characterizes individual humans and cultures. Because social-natural environments may have multiple possible states, dramatic changes (bifurcations) can occur, in which a system jumps discontinuously across a threshold to an alternative stable regime. Thus, the question of which stable state should persist — and who should decide — is continually contested politically, and can be “resolved” and interpreted only in terms of each historically evolved system. Only detailed studies of particular cases can come closer to understanding whether a traditional built environment is obliterated, transformed, or resilient.

With its magnificent landscape and long history, Mount Emei in Sichuan, China, is listed as a World Heritage Site both for its natural and cultural significance. The tradition of Buddhist and Taoist pilgrimage, practiced here for centuries until it was forbidden during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), has been revived since the 1970s. However, driven by the idea of development in the name of preservation, spiritual places have now been turned into commercial sites with the aim of attracting tourists and promoting the local economy. Actual pilgrims and local residents (primarily rural people who used to live and farm on the mountain) are thus largely excluded from the site today or relegated to the bottom of a new hierarchical system.

Chengdu, the capital city of Sichuan Province, is the major metropolitan area of southwest China. But the lands surrounding it on the Chengdu plain are still structured according to the traditional form of linpan (an integration of groves, housing and fields), creating an agricultural ecosystem that provides aesthetic value, food, and other services. Although farmers and environmental NGOs are struggling to keep this agricultural tradition, the area has not been as lucky as Mount Emei in terms of its preservation as heritage. In particular, the municipal government is today promoting “New Socialist Rural Reconstruction” and “Urban-Rural Integration,” claiming that such planning approaches will improve citizen well-being. However, the main strategy behind these policies is to encourage the consolidation of agricultural land and rural housing into industrial-scale farms and collective residential areas, and this inevitably requires relocating residents from their traditional living and farming environments.
Preservation criteria have been widely debated and written about in various conventions, manifestos, and other legal and public documents — most of which provide approaches to assessing the value of heritage. In many situations, current use and the immediate value of heritage assets are considered in conflict with the larger value of heritage and its long-term benefit for humankind. However, these two cases challenge the way preservation is practiced, as well as the idea of conflicting interest. Individuals whose everyday lives take place in a particular landscape are the main agents keeping local religious and agricultural traditions alive. But their immediate interests and well-being may be largely overlooked in the heritage decision-making process when it comes to either preserving the landscape or not. Instead, neoliberal logic and economic power drive preservation practices, and outside players ultimately benefit from this process. This ultimately leads to the establishment of new spatial orders based on a discourse of preservation, modernization and development.

The two cases described here raise the intriguing questions of whose tradition is kept and how this practice is anchored in space and place. The paper discusses the roles of different participants in preservation efforts in Sichuan, and examines their practices in the context of rapid urbanization, economic development, and the inequality between social classes in contemporary China.

REVAMPING TRADITION: CONTESTED POLITICS OF THE “INDIGENOUS” IN POSTCOLONIAL HONG KONG

Shu-Mei Huang

Walled villages, poon choi (a Cantonese dish served in big bowls), and three-story “village houses” dominate representations of the indigenous inhabitants of Hong Kong, who occupied the “New Territories” between Shenzhen and Kowloon before these areas were transferred to the British colony in 1898. Though this indigenous culture is not as frequently celebrated as is Hong Kong’s image as a global city, the power of the indigenous has become central to land and identity politics in the area in recent years as the New Territories have become the frontier for the economic integration of Hong Kong and Shenzhen. This paper unpacks the historical conflation of tradition, heritage and indigeneity in Hong Kong, as well as the inherited privilege of the indigenous granted by British colonial power. Among other rights, indigenous men in the New Territories were accorded the right to build small village houses in the name of preserving tradition. This privilege was originally intended to forestall political crisis during the 1970s, but it has since created serious land disputes because it has set up a striking contrast between those in the area who can claim indigenous roots and those who cannot. Most of the latter residents are descended from farmers who migrated to the area after the Chinese revolution in 1949. Since then, they have contributed much to the survival of agriculture in Hong Kong. Yet, as landless farmers without ancestral settlements or officially recognized traditions, their nonindigenous settlements, mostly developed from the 1950s to the 1980s, have been targeted as sites for new towns and massive infrastructure projects. This has been justified in the past decade by the eclipse of agriculture in the area and the need for a better link between Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

In contrast, the privileged indigenous, who hold most rights to the land, but who rarely practice agriculture today, have no reservation against selling their rights and lands to developers. Meanwhile, they continuously exploit the power granted by “indigeneity” and “tradition” to protect their ancestor halls in walled villages from similar development. Inequality has been manifest in the ways in which the development project has collided with indigenous communities in the name of tradition.

TRADITION AS AN IMPOSED AND ELITE INHERITANCE

Jayde Roberts

If tradition is something handed down from the past to the present, the city of Rangoon/Yangon stands as an odd inheritance — not so much bestowed as cast aside by the British, and not so much affirmed as acquiesced to by the Burmese. Having fought to gain freedom from rapacious British colonial rule, after World War II the new Union of Burma and most Burmese people initially maintained a critical stance against all things British. Thus, from 1948, when Burma gained its independence, to the present, Rangoon’s imposing colonial buildings were generally neglected, and only periodically repurposed. After the war, Burma first had to rebuild itself as a nation before it could attend to the maintenance of colonial buildings, however grand. This is a nation-building project that continues today.

Since the initiation of reform by President Thein Sein in 2011, Burmese expatriates and the country’s educated elite have begun to campaign for the preservation of Rangoon as a shared heritage that expresses Burmese history. They have described the city as a rare gem in globalized Southeast Asia because its colonial stock stands largely unadulterated. And they have defined Rangoon’s downtown as an opportunity to showcase how development can proceed without destroying heritage. However, what that heritage is has yet to be discussed in any depth.

In the current reframing of Rangoon through a neoliberal development agenda, romanticized images of the city have been broadcast on international television and popularized through newspaper reports. However, the target audience for this preservation project has been the local and international elite, including President Thein Sein and organizations such as the UNESCO World Heritage Center and the Global Heritage Fund. There is a glaring lack of local participation from the less privileged classes. This situation demands an interrogation of who is claiming, naming, and shaping this tradition.

As the Myanmar government aggressively pursues economic growth through foreign direct investment, global capitalism will once again shape Rangoon. The paper examines tradition in Rangoon as a paradoxical legacy. A city fabricated by colonial capitalism is now being celebrated by the elite as a symbol of a modernizing Burma on the path toward capitalist modernity.

Note: In the field of Burma studies, nomenclature has been a persistent problem that has at times served as a symbol of political allegiance (for or against the military government). I generally follow the example set by the Burmese people who use Burma and Myanmar, Rangoon and Yangon, interchangeably. All four names are historically legitimate. The only exception in my use of Burma and Myanmar is when I refer to the post-1990 government. In this case, I always use the name Myanmar, as that is the name chosen by the state, even if its rule is contested.
B.1 TRADITION OF THE HOUSE

CAIRENE HOMES OF MODERNITY: THE CHANGING ARCHITECTURE OF THE HOME IN EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY CAIRO
Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem
Queen’s University Belfast, U.K.

THE CRUMPLING “DREAM” HOUSE: POST-INDEPENDENCE PUBLIC HOUSING TRADITIONS IN KUWAIT
Amina Al-Kandari
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

IDENTITY OF A CONSERVED HOUSING ESTATE: THE CASE OF TIONG BAHRU, SINGAPORE
Kien To, Alexandria Zhuo Wen Chong, and Keng Hua Chong
Singapore University of Technology and Design

WHOSE NEIGHBORHOOD? COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, IDENTITY POLITICS, AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN ST. LOUIS
Susanne Cowan
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

CAIRENE HOMES OF MODERNITY: THE CHANGING ARCHITECTURE OF THE HOME IN EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY CAIRO
Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem

The rights of women were at the center of the cultural reform movement that took a firm stand against patriarchal Egyptian society at the turn of the twentieth century. Having experienced the social and political structures of nineteenth-century Europe, a Western-educated Egyptian elite used public institutions to create new legislative structures and procedures that ruled out traditional housing forms and spatial systems.

The paper examines the direct and indirect impact of these measures that informed spatial aspects of the change to modern living practices in Egypt during the first quarter of the twentieth century. At that time, modern Egypt was exemplified in the “new man,” whose position toward the liberation of women, tyrannical society, and domestic manners would determine whether Egypt was ready to join the modern world and be capable of ruling itself. The paper analyzes socio-spatial practices and changes in modes of living among ordinary Cairenes, using social routine and interaction to explain spatial systems and changing house forms and designs during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The underlying research relies on archival documents, accounts, formal decrees, and novels of the time, as well as on a survey of house forms and spatial organization in Old Cairo.

The paper argues that while the liberal values of modernity were embodied in a nationalist agenda that attempted to break with the deeply rooted traditions and mystical culture of the past, the change in spatial systems and house forms was influenced to an even greater degree by changes in the social structures and economic capabilities of residents of the old city. It reports that this influence may be traced through three pathways of change in Cairene homes: restructuring the legal system that governed the design and construction of houses, reforming education to focus on domestic manners and behavior, and founding professional training on ideals of modern architecture.

THE CRUMPLING “DREAM” HOUSE: POST-INDEPENDENCE PUBLIC HOUSING TRADITIONS IN KUWAIT
Amina Al-Kandari

This paper focuses on the nature of public housing in Kuwait from 1961 to the present, and how the detached single-family house became the “tradition” when allocating homes to Kuwaiti families through newly established welfare policies. These policies have been used by the government as an apparatus for wealth distribution and a means to establish the political legitimacy of its ruling family. Over time, this form of housing has also become part of “Kuwait identity” — i.e., a basic right for all.

The detached single-family house prototype was first imported to the region by the British, who used it to house employees of the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) in Al-Ahmadi town in 1946. Later, in 1957, after the fortification walls of old Kuwait were demolished, a small number of detached single-family houses also sprung up in new, empty suburbs attached to the old town. At that time the Kuwait Suburbanization Project was moving residents from the old town to the suburbs as part of the city’s modernization, and most of these people were rehoused in private villas built on separate plots in exchange for “traditional” extended-family courtyard houses in the old town.

After independence in 1961 the government of Kuwait, led by Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem Al-Sabah, began construction of a modern welfare state. One of its first policies was to provide public housing for low-income families. By the 1970s, after becoming a right for all Kuwaiti families, public housing programs were then extended to include middle-income families.

State construction of only one housing type, the detached single-family house, in segregated Kuwait-only suburbs, soon led to a cultural phenomenon, the identification of a “modern Kuwaiti family’s” way of living. This further increased demand for separate plots, and solidified demand for detached single-family dwellings as a form of public housing.

From the late 1970s to the present, however, the government has faced a crisis due to the high demand for and shortage of public housing. In 1977 it responded by introducing an alternative housing type — high-density apartment buildings — in the Al-Sawaber project. But this has not succeeded in replacing the detached-single family house as the desired Kuwaiti model. Rather, the single-family house remains the ideal and “traditional” exemplar of housing for most Kuwaiti families.

Today the government of Kuwait is facing public criticism from its citizens, who insist on their right to public housing. In a milieu of unsustainable wealth distribution, however, these welfare polices and a “mythical” archetype of public housing necessitate a reexamination of historical and contemporary practices. In a search for unconventional solutions, this paper unfolds the political and social promises this government program has created, and the ways in which the dream it represents is no longer sustainable, even in the rich, oil-producing nation of Kuwait.
IDENTITY OF A CONSERVED HOUSING ESTATE: THE CASE OF TIONG BAHRU, SINGAPORE
Kien To, Alexandria Zhuo Wen Chong, and Keng Hua Chong

This paper is based on research exploring how identity — the key input with regard to the conservation of culturally and historically valuable housing estates — is perceived and valued by different groups in Singapore. In recent years there has been a growing tendency for new businesses to try to establish themselves in Singapore’s mature neighborhoods, primarily because these areas have developed distinctive local charm and character. However, the physical modification these businesses bring to the neighborhoods and the crowds of customers, visitors, and business-related people they draw have gradually created a dichotomous social and spatial condition. In some cases they have even initiated unintentional gentrification processes.

The paper reviews the rise of new businesses in mature neighborhoods in Singapore and the consequent transformation of these areas into hip enclaves. It takes Tiong Bahru, one of the oldest housing estates in Singapore, as a case study. The partially conserved estate is renowned for its eclectic mixture of modified “Streamline Moderne” prewar buildings and “International Style” postwar flats.

Using quantitative analysis and urban mapping, the paper describes a divergence of spatial identity and intensity of use within the neighborhood. More significantly, it looks at the effects of conservation from a grassroots level, with a focus on the experience of long-time elderly residents, who form a significant fraction of its population. Through social surveys, qualitative analysis, and “PhotoVoice” methods, it explores these residents’ “insider” perspectives and narratives regarding the transformation of the estate’s once-familiar townscapes. It argues that the Singapore government’s conservation efforts primarily reflect the expert view of planners, who set the system of identity and values to be conserved.

Ultimately, the research aims to address gaps in the current conservation approach (particularly with regard to intangible aspects). It calls for a more human-centric, ground-up, “insider” approach to the discourse and implementation of conservation.

WHOSE NEIGHBORHOOD? COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, IDENTITY POLITICS, AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN ST. LOUIS
Susanne Cowan

In the 1970s, as urban neighborhoods began to experience vacancy and decay in the face of “white flight” and deindustrialization, many community groups began to tout historic preservation as a means of revitalization. Such efforts were concentrated primarily in neighborhoods with a prewar single-family housing stock that were experiencing a “rent gap” and the early stages of gentrification. In St. Louis this meant that high-vacancy African-American neighborhoods near public housing projects in the north of the city were slipped over in favor of previously wealthy white areas such as the Central West End.

In 1972–73 the formerly fashionable Lafayette Square neighborhood, the site of many Victorian mansions, was the first area of St. Louis approved as a national and a city historic district. Following this model, the adjacent working-class and more industrial neighborhood of Soulard also started to push for historic status. Young professionals began to move into the area, buy and restore houses, and form new community organizations. The Soulard Restoration Group served as a conduit for promoting the interests of the new gentrifiers. Indeed, it encouraged interest from pioneer homebuyers by hosting neighborhood tours to show off its ornately detailed, French-style, row-house architecture. Working with the City of St. Louis, the group successfully established the neighborhood as a National Historic District in 1972. However, unlike the case of Lafayette Square, it took several years to approve the city district plan.

It was during this interval that the neighborhood became mired in conflict, as the community divided between new and old, insider and outsider. In particular, tension rose between the elitist Soulard Restoration Group and the more paternalistic Soulard Neighborhood Services Association. The latter sought to balance the needs of newer, wealthier residents with those of existing, poorer ones through philanthropic outreach. It also commissioned a local urban design and social work student from Washington University to lead a community design process for the historic preservation plan. Using radical organizing techniques inspired by Saul Alinsky, the student tried to help protect long-term residents from excessively strict aesthetic restrictions on the use of their properties or from dislocation due to rising rents. The neighborhood historic plan was further complicated by two other proposals: a clearance and redevelopment plan by the city’s most prominent architecture firm, HOK; and a loan-access program by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The historic preservation plan was eventually passed in 1975, protecting the neighborhood from demolition — but with few concessions for long-term, poorer residents of the area. The historic district thus became a stimulus for slow local demographic change.

Throughout this process the neighborhood underwent a struggle of identity. It was defined by newcomers and outsiders through historic preservation of its historic, traditional, French-style, row houses. But these same people also tried to eradicate the inconvenient social practices and material culture of its long-term working-class residents. This paper will highlight how the involvement of institutional actors in historic-preservation processes may lead to certain community voices being amplified or silenced, ultimately influencing whose traditions and history are conserved.
C.1 TOURISM AND AUTHENTICITY

BORDER-CROSSING AND PLACEMAKING: NEGOTIATING AND REIMAGINING TRADITIONS IN THE TRANSCULTURAL CITY
Jeffrey Hou
University of Washington, U.S.A.

COMPROMISED AUTHENTICITY: THE PRESERVATION OF XIJIN FERRY IN ZHENJIANG, CHINA
Kuang-Ting Huang
Chinese Culture University, Taiwan

CROSSING (NEO)LIBERAL LINES: THE JAPAN PAVILION AT THE GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION
Lynne Horiuchi
Independent Scholar, U.S.A.

TRADITION AS REPRESENTED IN TOURISM: ADAPTIVE REUSE OF OLD HOUSES AS BOUTIQUE HOTELS IN BANGKOK
Saithiwa Ramasoot
Kasetsart University, Thailand

In cities and regions around the globe, migrations and movements of people have continued to shape the making and makeup of neighborhoods, districts and communities. In North America, new immigrants have helped revitalize decaying urban landscapes, creating renewed cultural ambiance and economic networks that transcend borders. Across the Pacific, foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong gather on Sundays in Central to turn the deserted office district into a carnivalesque site. However, while contributing to the multicultural vibe of cities, migration and population movement have also been accompanied by tensions, competition, negotiation, and clashes of cultures and traditions between different ethnic communities, old-timers and newcomers, employees and employers, individuals and institutions. As destinations for migration, how can cities and urban places serve as vehicles for cross-cultural learning and understanding rather than just being perceived as turf and battleground? How can cross-cultural understanding be engendered through social and spatial practices in contemporary urban environments? How are notions of culture and tradition negotiated in the continued process of placemaking?

This presentation examines the outcomes of a recent collaborative research project funded by the Worldwide Universities Network (WUN) that addresses the above questions concerning the relationship between immigration, placemaking, and cross-cultural understanding. The project compares cases of transcultural placemaking from Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America — ranging from a community garden as a place for cross-cultural learning in Oakland, California, and the forging of social ties among immigrant public housing residents in Seattle, to the role of Brazilian restaurants as a transcultural third place in Tokyo and immigrants’ perceptions of open space in Sheffield, in the U.K. Developed by a multidisciplinary group of scholars in architecture, art, environmental psychology, geography, landscape architecture, political science, social work, and urban planning, these cases provide windows into the intercultural complexity of today’s changing cities and communities. They reveal both the challenges and opportunities for communities when it comes to negotiating conflicting or competing claims to urban places and identities.

The project concluded with six observations of placemaking that contribute to understanding between cultures and communities. These include supporting everyday sites of interactions, making safe space and time, developing media of understanding, learning from interstitality, working with transcultural agents, and turning conflicts into opportunities. Together, these findings speak to the recent literature on intercultural cities and everyday cross-cultural interactions. At the same time, they go further in articulating “transcultural placemaking” as a framework for inquiry and for actions that address the role of design and placemaking in today’s shifting cultural and demographic terrain. By challenging the narrow lens of placemaking as simply involving symbolic and territorial claims, this study suggests possibilities for negotiating and reimagining traditions in cities and communities shaped by movement and migration.

COMPROMISED AUTHENTICITY: THE PRESERVATION OF XIJIN FERRY IN ZHENJIANG, CHINA
Kuang-Ting Huang

Ever since the 1964 Venice Charter, which adopted the concept of authenticity to codify a set of preservation standards for cultural heritage, there has been growing debate over what is authentic and how to assess it. Especially in a developing country like China, the high demand for physical development and the growing popularity of cultural tourism have posed serious challenges for the preservation of cultural heritage. Here the issue of how to balance the enforcement of authenticity against the desire for local tourist development has also become a major public issue. The fundamental paradox is that the primary motivation for heritage preservation does not necessarily involve the protection of cultural identity and traditional values. Depending on social circumstances, the concept of authenticity should therefore have different definitions and applications.

By examining the decade-long process of preserving Xijin Ferry in China, this paper explores three compromised forms of authenticity, each of which represents one aspect of its local adaptation. First, even if the initial success of the government-funded Xijin Ferry project was proven when it won the 2001 UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Award, subsequent real estate development has totally changed its historical setting. Second, since the government’s takeover of Xijin Ferry’s preservation and redevelopment, the voice of authentic local residents has been largely replaced by that of outsiders who have moved into the area. Third, most of the bricks and tiles used in Xijin Ferry’s preservation were recycled from buildings demolished in downtown Zhenjiang, and despite their aesthetic quality, none is necessarily authentic in terms of material and historical value.

In sum, because heritage preservation necessarily involves the transformation of its surrounding area, what really matters in terms of final outcome, as revealed in the case of Xijin Ferry, is not a distinction between old and new, original and replica. Rather, it is the underlying mechanisms of compromise that determine the future of the preserved authenticity.
CROSSING (NEO)LIBERAL LINES: THE JAPAN PAVILION AT THE GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

Lynne Horiuchi

A local site is often imagined as being stable, with set identities that may be transformed but may continue to be identified with it, and consequently with a specific community or nation, across generations. By focusing on performances by Japanese and Japanese-American women in the Japanese Pavilion at the Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE) in 1939–1940, this paper explores unstable and ephemeral urban spaces affected by war, forced movement, or the conditions of neoliberal economies.

The paper describes three case studies of performance and identity that engage, in turn, Japanese immigrant women, Japanese-American women, and the Takarazuka Girls Opera in the ephemeral space of the GGIE. The fair was held on Treasure Island, in the middle of San Francisco Bay, to celebrate the completion of the Golden Gate and Oakland-San Francisco Bay Bridges. The identities of the women in the three case studies, as Japanese or American, became entangled with their performances as representatives of Japanese culture at the GGIE.

The first case is that of Chizu Iiyama. Although she had never been to Japan, as a sixteen-year-old American student at the University of California, Berkeley, she was chosen to work as a tour guide at the Japanese Pavilion during the summer of 1939. To Iiyama, the spare modern exhibits did not illustrate the Japan she knew from her parents, but rather “the ancient Japan.” The second case is that of Shizuko Mitsui, a kibei, or Japanese American who had lived in Japan (after a short stay in America she had returned to Japan to care for her grandmother). Following a national search to represent Japan at the GGIE, Mitsui was chosen as one of four “silk girls” who would demonstrate the reeling of thread from silk cocoons. Mitsui later married Itaru Ina, another kibei, in San Francisco, in March 1941.

The third case is that of the Takarazuka Girls Opera, an all-female Japanese theater troupe who performed the Grand Cherry Show at the Japanese Pavilion in 1939. This program of carefully crafted Orientalist interpretations of modernity and tradition was typical of the gendered narratives of the Japan Pavilion, which promoted Japan’s drive to create an East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Each case played into different historical trajectories as agents/subjects of Japanese and American imperialism.

In her book Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis, Katharyne Mitchell argued that global flows of transnational migrants “are central to neoliberal state formations but also are deeply disruptive to national liberal, social, and political narratives as they have developed and become embedded through time in the crusty layers of urban social life.” Extending Mitchell’s argument to historical cases, this paper examines how the histories of Japanese and Japanese-American women performing at the Japan Pavilion at the GGIE may be identified with gendered, Orientalized, fascist narratives. These performances existed at a crossroads of global flows and expressed complex vectors that masked the underlying military and economic aggressions that would soon explode into a global conflagration and result in the incarceration of Japanese Americans in the U.S.

TRADITION AS REPRESENTED IN TOURISM: ADAPTIVE REUSE OF OLD HOUSES AS BOUTIQUE HOTELS IN BANGKOK

Saithiva Ramasoot

The growth of tourism and the need to preserve historic architecture have combined in Thailand to create a trend of boutique accommodations in old, converted structures. Such adaptive-reuse projects extend the economic capacity of existing resources by capitalizing on their cultural and historical value. However, such a treatment has also contributed to the artificial display and transformation of tradition and culture as embedded in the old facilities and the services they offer. This paper questions the potential transfer of tradition via heritage properties as they are opened to the public as boutique hotels. What “media” are involved? How is tradition being represented? And how is it perceived by visitors?

The research principally examined five old houses in Bangkok, of different origins and styles, which have been converted into heritage accommodations through various levels of physical modification. The case studies share common characteristics in that the architecture, interior decoration, furnishing, selection of services, branding, graphic design, and advertising involved in each sought to convey and capitalize on aspects of traditional culture, either tangible or intangible. The adaptations open an opportunity for visitors, especially foreigners, to learn about local tradition and history through the intermediary representations of a hotel. However, intentionally or not, the research found that tradition was frequently redefined, reinterpreted, or even reconstructed by the businesses involved, causing the perception of tradition to differ from its original manifestation one way or another. At the same time, the adaptive reuse must negotiate between architectural authenticity and business optimization.

The paper discusses the benefits and possible distortions of history and tradition manifest in the transformation of traditional houses into boutique hotels. It points out how boundaries of tradition also tend to dissolve in such treatments.
A.2 DIALECTICS OF TRADITION AND MODERNITY

RECLAIMING TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY PLANNING AND DESIGN DISCOURSE: “HISTORY” OR “TRADITION”
Timothy Imeokparia
University of New Mexico, U.S.A.

THE CAPITOL COMPLEX AT DHAKA: INSTITUTION? SPECTACLE? LANDSCAPE?
Maryam Gusheh
University of New South Wales, Australia

VERNACULARS: CREATION OF MODERN VERNACULAR TRADITIONS
Alissa de Wit-Paul
Rochester Institute of Technology, U.S.A.

SITE STRUCTURES: FROM EVOLUTIONISM TO STRUCTURALISM IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ARCHITECTURE
Julian Garcia
Polytechnical University of Madrid, Spain

THE REINTERPRETATION OF URBAN SPACE AND THE MODERNIZATION AGENDA IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
Timothy ‘Seyi Odeyale
University of Lincoln, U.K.

RECLAIMING TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY PLANNING AND DESIGN DISCOURSE: “HISTORY” OR “TRADITION”
Timothy Imeokparia

This paper is concerned with how tradition is deployed in the construction and legitimation of indigenous identities. It posits a “thick” concept of tradition as a framework to advance the possibilities of dwellings and settlements as clearly articulated forms of identity. Although much critical attention has been paid to problematic aspects of tradition as a concept in contemporary planning and design discourse, scholarship seems to focus on challenging the supposed binary opposition between assimilation and fragmentation of the exotic other.

However, it was not only the variety of meaning and the contested and polarized claims that characterized this discus-
sion. Through a close and synthesized reading of these interpretive strands, the paper will highlight a common tendency to avoid definitive conclusions, as if there were a tacit agreement that an alternative, even opposing, reading of this project was permissible. Thus exposed is the allusive condition of this enigmatic work and its resistance to easy classification. It is a conscious tension between this architecture and its contemporary situation, the paper finally speculates, that has opened this building to multiple meanings, allowing its persistence as a vital monument both in Dhaka and in architectural history.

VERNACULARS: CREATION OF MODERN VERNACULAR TRADITIONS
Alissa de Wit-Paul

Many sustainable architectural design projects reference vernacular technologies and use them to try to solve general environmental problems. Publications have created a variety of terms to describe these amalgamations — among which are “contemporary vernacular,” “new vernacular,” and “neo-vernacular.” No strict definitions of these modern concepts have been developed, and they are often used interchangeably. Nevertheless, there are subtle differences in the use of these terms. “Contemporary vernacular” tends to merge preindustrial local traditions with modern technologies. The professionals who produce such buildings specifically respond to globalization and environmental degradation. In this case the services of a design professional, specifically an architect, are mandatory. By comparison, the products of the “new vernacular” stress nostalgic reproduction of historical and local traditions. The results here are object oriented and attempt to “fit into” traditional models. But, again, this model requires an architect. With “neo-vernacular” designs, the desire is to create future transformation and cultural change using nonindustrial technologies. These projects do not reproduce historical nostalgic aesthetics but utilize the vernacular as an example of process. And in this case, unlike the other two, architects mainly serve as consultants. Their influence comes through publications, books, magazine articles, blogs, etc. that describe how owner/builders may create atypical buildings. Their direct design services are not mandatory.

This presentation will further define and give examples of each of these three modern vernacular expressions in the built world. All three of these design expressions deserve study; however, the neo-vernacular remains the most controversial, because it not only tries to break the modern/vernacular dichotomy, but it attempts to redefine the architectural profession’s role in the process. In some sense, architects following this path are attempting to bring back a vernacular based on collective knowledge. They are hoping to work themselves out of a job.

SITE STRUCTURES: FROM EVOLUTIONISM TO STRUCTURALISM IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ARCHITECTURE
Julian García

Nowadays the linear and Eurocentric readings that nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropologists once drew, in an effort to systematize cultures that did not belong to the central European area, may look naive, obtuse, or just hideous. For those early anthropologists, any culture outside this geographical context was only in an intermediate stage. A little or very much behind the ideal it would eventually converge with what then seemed the ultimate end (at least with regard to technology and social organization) of the human species: the great Western culture, in all its manifestations — whether they were Germanophile, Anglophile or Francophile.

Fortunately, anthropology soon began to question this very unscientific notion, and after two or three decades of the twentieth century these ideas gave way first to functionalist studies and then to structuralism. These new approaches considered the analysis of cultures and societies not in terms of inferiority or superiority, but in terms of adaptation to the environment via means and resources — an approach that, with variations, is now being pursued by most cultural studies. By mid-century, functionalism put the emphasis on known data, on the study of the institutional phenomena of each culture, and on its systemic condition. For this purpose, the concept of social structure, as the sum of observed social relations, was developed.

Somewhat later, structuralism would move this idea of social structure to the center of the discussion, denying that it can be reduced to the observed relationships, giving it functional autonomy and overlapping it with all cultural manifestations, from architecture to language. Studies of vernacular architecture and building traditions have only partially benefited from these non-evolutionist readings. Architecture schools have essentially worked on vernacular architectures in two different but related areas — architectural typologies and materials and construction features — in most cases inseparable of typological issues. However, there are very few cases in which those schools have claimed to focus on the study of construction processes, and with them the social structures that lead to the creation of such architectures. If we look for an analogy with anthropology, we might say that architecture schools abandoned long ago their original sin — the nineteenth-century evolutionism present in the first treatises on architectural history — to embrace with some delay a special kind of functionalism — the kind that vindicated the materiality of the traditions they studied. Few have even become concerned by problems vindicated by structuralism, let alone by the approaches of contemporary anthropology.

The paper deals with some of the most interesting contacts produced among vernacular architecture and contemporary anthropology, and will propose, through the study of three small specific examples — located in Spain, Equatorial Guinea, and India — an approach to studies on vernacular architecture from the poststructuralist perspective, in the belief that this will provide a better understanding of the emergence of technical globalization.
THE REINTERPRETATION OF URBAN SPACE AND THE MODERNIZATION AGENDA IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
Timothy ‘Seyi Odeyale

This paper examines conflicts, tensions, and power negotiations that may arise between those residents embedded in traditional market space and other residents pursuing a modernization agenda when new food markets are introduced to a city. Specifically, it examines the processes of transformation in the architecture and spatial character of traditional markets in Akure, a Nigerian city, through the various practices of producing, selling and consuming. The paper demonstrates that in order to understand how the built environment is made, unmade and reassembled, it is necessary to know how the worldviews of market users, sellers and policymakers are culturally and socially constructed.

The paper employs interpretive anthropology and Actor Network Theory to explore the unwritten ritual practices, persistent traditional values, conflicts, and socio-cultural transformations that underlie the physical marketplace. The research shows that the architectural character of the marketplace within the city is not simply an outcome of rational decision-making. Rather, it is driven by the cultural preferences and diverging social interests of “actants” as they make choices and negotiate the process of change between tradition and modernity. In Akure, the interdependent relationship between traditional market space and the city is being challenged, adapted, and simultaneously undermined by the city’s rapid growth and modernization. As a result, meanings attached to the market and its built environment have changed on several levels, and where once these were derived from a symbolic, sacred, religious frame, they now reflect a more commercial and mundane one. At the same time, the market itself has taken on new spatial forms to sustain the life of the city, largely as the result of the various actors, as predicated on their worldviews.

The increasing globalization of food production and consumption is undermining people’s preferences for a lifestyle encompassed by traditional food markets. This has restricted their choices in favor of more “modern” patterns of life that are actually unsustainable. Consequently, the paper argues the following: first, that actants continuously struggle to reconcile broadly Western influences with indigenous ethno-cultural influences in relation to the changing nature of the city; and second, that “tradition” is constructed in the present and becomes a “weapon,” which both hinders and allows actants to negotiate contradictory and challenging situations. Who wins and who loses in the struggle is not determined by the “right” or “wrong” of a situation, but by the extent of the weaponry available to the different sides in the struggle, and to the efficacy with which it is deployed.

The study further argues that the middle class and the elite (“powerful actants”) have visions of the built environment anchored in their own self-interest, belief systems, and interpretations of what a sustainable environment should be. This does not necessarily reflect the broader interest of the lower classes or the common people. The paper concludes that part of the problem with cities and built environments in sub-Saharan Africa, as evidenced in the situation in Akure, is rooted in the way different groups act in accordance with differing interpretations of the world.

B.2 TRADITION IN HISTORIC SETTINGS

TRADITION ALONG THE EDGE: THE LAND WALLS OF ISTANBUL
Funda Butuner
Middle East Technical University, Turkey

DID RUPTURE OCCUR? CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE CAIRENE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT FROM 1798 TO THE 1950s
Mostafa A-Y. Ibraheem
Cairo University, Egypt

REPOSITIONING CHAU & LEE ARCHITECTS IN HONG KONG IN THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1930s–50s
Prudence Leung-Kwok Lau
Hong Kong Institute of Education, China

PARADOX OF (NON)EXISTENCE: CASE STUDY OF PASAR CEPI, OR SANDWICHED MARKET, IN MAGETAN, EAST JAVA
Triatno Yudo Harjoko and Wendi Ivannal Hakim
Universitas Indonesia

MAPPING MOUNTAINS: TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH
Monojit Chakma
Queensland University of Technology, Australia

TRADITION ALONG THE EDGE: THE LAND WALLS OF ISTANBUL
Funda Butuner

This research explores the centuries-old traditions along the Land Walls of Istanbul and discusses their dereliction in recent decades as the result of attempts at urban development. An important part of the defense system of Byzantine Constantinople, the walls outlined the secure territory of the city for more than ten centuries, from their construction in the fifth century until the Ottoman Conquest in the fifteenth. Besides their military purpose, the Land Walls were involved with the political, symbolic, economic, social and urban life of the city. Defining the frontier between the inner city and the outer world, they served to include and exclude people, places, goods and traditions. In this respect, they also emerged as a productive frontier, which generated and sheltered spaces, rituals, memories and traditions of its own. At the city’s edge, they created a territory that allowed for particular forms and practices (cemeteries, vegetable gardens, sacred places, manufacturing, and transportation) that could not exist in its other parts.

These spaces and traditions have remained, around and along the walls, and exposed an unusual continuity. Throughout history, this has been challenged periodically by radical changes in the char-
were strong enough to reveal aspects of continuity, but no rupture. At the universal level, the main finding was that although the inhabitants' encounter with strangers was found to be the most variable, revealing a rupture across time and socioeconomic groups. Meanwhile, the patterns of encounter between inhabitants, themselves, were relatively unchanged.

I argue that the universal pattern provides empirical evidence of the existence of a shared cognitive understanding that underlies both the designed spatial structure of dwellings and the actual use of space. I postulate that the topological clusters of activities in space and time provide a descriptive account of the initial formal domain (topology) into which cognitive processes are built. This arguably occurs because clusters bear structural similarity to the cognitive classificatory structure of privacy levels existing in the shared cognition. This is where culture is initially maintained.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Hong Kong and other Chinese cities were undergoing societal and political change. From the new sense of nationalism at the founding of the republican government in 1912 to the new political and literary movements in the 1920s, China experienced an age characterized by the rejection and reinterpretation of traditions and the embrace of new creative, literary and artistic productions. These movements have been well documented and researched, particularly the flowering of "new" and "modern" cultures, particularly in cities like Shanghai. However, the main focus of this work has been on print culture, cinema, and the literary scene, instead of spatial and architectural production.

In comparison to Shanghai, the British colony of Hong Kong was often deemed to be a lesser "other." And as Lee Ou-Fan described in his 1999 book Shanghai Modern, the "island [of Hong Kong] did not go through architectural transformation in the 1930s as Shanghai did." Exactly a decade and a half has passed since Lee made this comment, and renewed academic research and discoveries, including those described in this paper, have begun to provide a new perspective on the previously underrated and neglected architectural history of Hong Kong.

Apart from one brief publication by Ng Kai Chung and Sid Chu, Jianwen zhuji: Xianggang diyidai Huaren jianzhushi de gushi [Shanghai Modern] [The Story of First Generation Chinese Architects in Hong Kong] (2007), there is little material available on early modern Chinese architects in Hong Kong. The practice of Chau & Lee Architects, although relatively short lived (surviving for just more than half a century from 1933 to 1991), was one of the first practices established by local Hong Kong architects. Its origins lay in the golden interwar decades, but it flourished well into the postwar era. Early designs by the practice — particularly medical, religious and educational institutions that received funds from local Chinese philanthropic organizations — were significant in expressing modern and often Art Deco expressions that reinterpreted traditions of colonial and Chinese architectural prototypes, and essentially established a watershed in early modern Hong Kong architecture. However, this work has not been documented nor addressed in academia, and some buildings have already been demolished or are in a state of neglect.

**DID RUPTURE OCCUR? CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE CAIRENE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT FROM 1798 TO THE 1950s**

Mostafa A-Y. Ibraheem

From the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, Egypt was subject to successive periods of Western encounter. These led to major socioeconomic and urban transformations, especially during the nineteenth century. Existing scholarship has established the underlying assumption that during this period Cairo witnessed a rupture, or break, in cultural continuity in both social and material terms from traditionalism to modernism. But such an assumption has never been empirically investigated at the material level, particularly in terms of Cairo’s domestic environment. This paper briefly reports on a study by the author of 109 sample plans, which investigates the alleged rupture of Cairene dwelling traditions from the vantage point of privacy across three time periods and two socioeconomic groups.

The central assumption underlying the research is that cultural ideas are present both in the spatial organization of residential environments and the way these spaces are used by inhabitants. The research developed a way to take into account the combined effect of space and time in assessing socio-cultural implications of sample building plans. It considered three categories of encounter: between the inhabitants and strangers, between the inhabitants and visitors, and between the inhabitants, themselves, within a dwelling unit. Statistical methods were utilized to compare changes in privacy differentials for each domestic activity at different categories of encounter in samples across time and socioeconomic groups. Topological graphs were then utilized to compare spatial configuration and search for patterns.

The results of the study were interpreted at two levels of hierarchy: a universal/structural level related to the way Cairenes organize activity spaces into clusters of differential privacy levels; and a local level related to how each individual activity was allocated in space and time. At the universal level, the main finding was that although dwelling patterns appeared to be in a stage of transformation, they were strong enough to reveal aspects of continuity, but no rupture.
The question considered by this paper is how was the architecture of Chau & Lee able to respond to prevailing modern architectural trends and yet adapt and reinterpret traditions that suited local needs and perhaps aspirations? What did these modern designs signify in the society, considering that the patrons mostly came from the local Chinese community? Did the architecture attempt to act as mediation or contestations against colonial architecture, an overriding agenda in Hong Kong during the interwar years that is so often regarded as the main power structure by academics? The paper seeks to reposition such a modern Chinese architectural firm in academia, and to inform new dialogues of international research with the basis on a historic architectural practice.

PARADOX OF (NON)EXISTENCE: CASE STUDY OF PASAR CEPIT, OR SANDWICHED MARKET, IN MAGETAN, EAST JAVA
Triatno Yudo Harjoko and Wendi Ivannal Hakim

... nothingness surrounding being on every side and at the same time expelled from being. Here nothingness is given as that by which the world receives its outlines as the world.

Existence — Concrete, individual being here and now. Sartre says that for all existentialists existence precedes essence. Existence has for them also always a subjective quality when applied to human reality.

— J.P. Sartre, Being and Nothingness: A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology

Pasar Cepit, or sandwiched market, is a traditional market in a small town, Magetan, in East Java. Magetan can be conceived according to the phenomenon of desa-kota, which describes areas where urban and agricultural land and settlement intermingle intensively. The city of Magetan, which was previously dominated by agriculture, is now transforming into a desa-kota. Thus, statistics show that agricultural land is decreasing: where there were 41,372 hectares of agricultural land in the town in 1980, by 2011 there were only 25,563.

Pasar Cepit, as it is called by local people, developed erratically in spatial terms in the kampung settlement nearby right after the renewal of the old Pasar Wage or Kulon by the Magetan municipality. The etymology of pasar is of a place for selling and buying. Pasaran employs the suffix an to designate a weekly cycle in a five-day system. In ancient times especially, the Javanese economic distribution system was regulated by the division of places where people could buy and sell (pasar) into pancawarna representing the five cosmic points (east, south, west, north and center). Thus, Pasar Legi was located in the east, Pasar Pahing in the south, Pasar Pon in the west, Pasar Wage in the north, and Pasar Kliwon in the center. Following the cycle of pancawarna, each market would alternate being open.

The research examines how Pasar Cepit emerged and developed within the kampung settlement close to the new pasar of Magetan. This seeming revival of the old pasar of Magetan has taken place despite the development of a modern market in the area. The research focuses on the micro-space formation of Pasar Cepit. Why has such a traditional pasar, being rhizomaticus, come into existence and persevered despite the redevelopment of old pasar by the local government? How has it merged and developed along the gang, or alleys, of the kampung settlement?

To answer these questions, the research explores the habitus of various actors involved in its spatial formation. The investigation attempts to uncover themeta-space, as perceived and conceived by different actors involved in the formation of Pasar Cepit. The paper shows that belanja and pasar survive within the culture of traditional society, and live in it. Pasar exist in the mind of the common people.

MAPPING MOUNTAINS: TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH
Monojit Chakma

The Chittagong Hill Tracts, a hilly area of Bangladesh at the border of South and Southeast Asia, is home to a culturally diverse highland population recognized for its various ethnicities, languages, attires, creeds, social practices, and settlement patterns. This frontier region, often contested between minority highlander and majority plains populations, evokes a sense of place that is open to multiple interpretations for diverse culture groups. However, as urbanization spreads to erstwhile peripheral regions, the highland groups’ spatial traditions are undergoing rapid transformation in emergent hill towns.

The paper examines the traditional neighborhoods of the highland groups in the towns of the Chittagong Hill region. It provides a preliminary exploration of their ongoing transformation and the implications for the hill groups’ sense of place. The research attempts to understand continuing patterns of diffusion, adaptation and acculturation within these settlements in terms of placemaking against the backdrop of urbanization in a highland border region.

Faced with cartographic constraints in this culturally diverse region, a framework was developed that combined quantitative and qualitative methods to facilitate data collection. This framework may be useful in investigating geographic areas with similar socio-cultural complexities. The research findings, based on the traditional neighborhoods of multiple culture groups in a border region in the uplands of Asia, may also have relevance in similar geographical and cultural contexts. In a broader extent, the research was concerned with the phenomenon of urbanization and its effects on neighborhood forms in the hill towns of Asia.
C.2 Colonialism and Tradition

How the Past and Future Influenced the Design of Guam's Government House

Marvin Brown
URS Corporation, U.S.A.

Empire in the City: Memorials of Colonialism in Contemporary Portugal and Mozambique

Tiago Castela
University of Coimbra, Portugal

The Missing “Brazilian-ness” of Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Art and Architecture

Pedro Paulo Palazzo
University of Brasilia, Brazil

Mediating Power in British Colonial Architecture: Post-1931 Cyprus

Nilay Bilsel and Ozgur Dincyurek
Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus

Decolonizing Patrimony: Institutions, Nationhood, and the Construction of Heritage in Bourguiba’s Tunisia

Nancy Demerdash
Princeton University, U.S.A.

How the Past and Future Influenced the Design of Guam’s Government House

Marvin Brown

Each party in the conception, design, construction and reconstruction of Guam’s Government House has, throughout the dwelling’s brief but architecturally tumultuous sixty-year history, cast one eye back to a particular past and the other forward to a distinct vision of the future. A progressive American naval officer and modernist Vienna-born architect, a conventional Pacific Northwest governor and his resolute wife, and a martyred Chamorro native son each turned to different but legitimate histories for inspiration. Each also attempted to mold the governor’s residence into a representation of his or her vision of the island’s past, present and future.

The meaning of Guam’s history is contentious, but there are certain set facts. For 450 years the island has been a colonial possession, first of Spain, then of the United States. Guam has its own language, Chamorro, and some precontact inhabitants lived in traditional dwellings raised high on mushroom-capped columns called latte stones. Its native Chamorro people relish outdoor barbecues and festivals. The opening of this paper addresses this history, with a focus on indigenous and colonial architecture.

The bones of Guam’s history resonated in markedly different tones with the builders of the highly visible governor’s residence, known as Government House. Carlton Skinner and Richard Neutra, the officer and the architect, believed that open-air modernist design best projected the island’s past and present into the future. But Governor Ford Elvidge and his wife, Anita, responded to the presence of an alien people and land replete with outsized storms and insects by literally walling it out. Focused on the present, they cast a message of exclusion toward the future. The paper explores the actions and motivations of these individuals, all of whom were outsiders.

The paper then considers Ricardo Bordallo, the last major shaper of Government House, in detail. In crucial ways he was the most complicated of the building’s constructors and the most invested in its symbolic power. Bordallo was both worldly and a man of the people. He attended college in San Francisco and married a native Minnesotan, yet he was raised in a nationalist family and elected Guam’s first Chamorro governor. Bordallo traveled to other Micronesian islands and saw the physical legacy of their varied colonial pasts, and was also familiar with Guam’s vernacular architecture. He publically took his own life, surrounded by nationalist messages he had written in Chamorro, instead of reporting to a California prison.

The paper closes with a consideration of why Ricardo Bordallo rejected American architecture intended to respect Chamorro traditions, and yet accepted Spanish architecture designed to promote the putative superiority of Guam’s longest-lived colonial occupier, all in the cause of a new national architecture for his island.

The paper explicates the importance of identifying the various constructors of a symbolic building and then considers how these individuals utilized selective views of the past to address perceived present needs as a way to project their broad visions into the future.

Empire in the City: Memorials of Colonialism in Contemporary Portugal and Mozambique

Tiago Castela

This paper examines memorials of colonialism in contemporary Portuguese and Mozambican cities, exploring how twentieth-century visual and sculptural representations evoking the European occupation of southern Africa have been managed since the former Portuguese colonies achieved political independence in 1975. In particular, the paper addresses how state management of memorials of colonialism was articulated differently following the formation of postcolonial political orders in Mozambique and Portugal.

The paper focuses first on the collection of monumental sculptures of male Portuguese figures removed from urban foci in the Mozambican capital Maputo and then assembled at the central “Fortaleza,” a 1940s museum built on the site of the former Portuguese fort. The paper argues that this assemblage can be understood as part of the revolutionary spatial pedagogy deployed by the postcolonial state in late-1970s Mozambique, which was aimed toward a decolonization of urbanity. Second, the paper foregrounds an understanding of the history of the numerous urban representations of African bodies in present-day Portugal. These may be found in exhibitionary spaces like Lisbon’s Tropical Garden or Coimbra’s Portugal of the Little Ones, in both privileged and ordinary spaces of consumption in Porto and Lisbon, and in institutional spaces like the former headquarters of the Bank of the Atlantic in Porto. While in postcolonial Mozambique sculptural representations formerly celebrating domination have been redeployed by the state as a means of fostering autonomy, in contemporary Portugal political democratization has not entailed challenging a colonial rationality that operated partly through a pedagogical aesthetics of “racial” inequality. Instead, the violence of the spatial division inherent in the representation of unequal bodies has been neglected in relation to a sustained and hegemonic discourse on a Portuguese imperial reason founded upon a developmental valuation of cultural difference.
The paper reports results of a project entitled “Urban Aspirations in Colonial/Postcolonial Mozambique: Governing the Unequal Division of Cities, 1945–2010,” undertaken for the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology. It draws on archival research in Maputo, Lisbon and Johannesburg, complemented with observation and in-depth interviews. The project aims to provide tools for imagining modes of political urban government that acknowledge the potentialities of actual urbanities, and for challenging the persistence of a colonial rationality in present-day urban planning.

THE MISSING “BRAZILIAN-NESS” OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRAZILIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE
Pedro Paulo Palazzo

Despite their ideological differences, Brazilian modernists and eclectic nationalists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had one stance in common: both agreed that the country’s art and architecture since the second half of the previous century had lacked national character and evidence of adaptation to Brazil’s particular climate and social conditions. This postulate has been partly refuted in Portuguese-language scholarship published since the 1960s, exposing the persistence of colonial-era patterns in the hinterland and, in a few cases, in urban settings. However, in the rush to rehabilitate nineteenth-century Brazilian art and architecture, the actual discourses by which it came to be ostracized were themselves suppressed from scholarship.

This paper examines a few landmark narratives on the issue of national character published between 1882 and 1940. Among their major authors were the academic art critic Luiz Gonzaga Duque Estrada (1863–1911), the neocolonial engineer Ricardo Severo (1869–1940) and the physician José Mariano Filho (1881–1946), the Beaux-Arts architect Adolfo Morales de los Ríos Filho (1887–1973), the writer Monteiro Lobato (1882–1948), and the modernist architect Lucio Costa (1902–1998).

The first part of the paper examines these authors’ writings with regard to their definition of a Brazilian character and the purported lack thereof in works produced in the generations that preceded them.

In its second part, the paper then argues that the discourse on the lack of national character put forward in these narratives stems both from well-documented aesthetic agendas advanced by these authors and from a less frequently acknowledged difficulty in dating Brazilian vernacular architecture due to its marked continuity and stability. This brings attention to the matter of how canonical examples of Brazilian art and architecture were cherry-picked, then often tampered with, to conform to certain expectations regarding national character.

Finally, the paper argues that the authors’ aesthetic agendas were less relevant to how each addressed the matter of Brazilian-ness in art than was their understanding of the nature of artistic and building professions.

MEDIATING POWER IN BRITISH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE: POST-1931 CYPRUS
Nilay Bilsel and Ozgur Dincyürek

Located centrally at the crossroads of European and Middle Eastern civilizations, Cyprus has been an important meeting place throughout world history. The different civilizations brought to the island by its conquerors have left many traces on its architecture. The main aim of the paper is to examine the relationship between politics and architectural style with reference to Cyprus’s public buildings during the British colonial period, 1878–1960.

During the early decades of British rule, Ottoman architectural characteristics (such as oriel and broad eaves) were discarded and a Neoclassical style was introduced. The shift was understandable considering that a number of British governors of Cyprus had been trained in Classics at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where the Greek style was considered the essence of Western civilization. A turning point in the British stylistic influence came in 1931, when Greek Cypriots revolted. Demanding Enosis (union with Greece), they marched on Nicosia, setting the Government House on fire. The result was a dramatic change in the attitude of the colonial regime. In an attempt to fight Greek nationalism, it tried to inculcate a local Cypriot identity (“Teocypriots”), which was neither Greek nor Turkish. This policy found representation in a new architectural style for public buildings — a mixture of all past styles (Gothic, vernacular, Ottoman, etc.), which carefully excluded anything Hellenic.

One of the best examples of the style was the new Government House, completed in 1937 using sandstone as its main material. The building was an unharmonious mixture of past “authentic Cypriot” architectural styles, and included such features as Frankish-Gothic pointed arches, modernist balustrades, round-arched openings at the ends of facades, and Ottoman domes. Typical of this confusion, the arches of its rear arcade were pointed, while those of the verandas just above were round. Meanwhile, the front facade was interrupted by an unevenly large porch, and an oversized British coat of arms was carved there, no doubt to convey the message of British colonial power.

DECLONIZING PATRIMONY: INSTITUTIONS, NATIONHOOD, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HERITAGE IN BOURGUIBA’S TUNISIA
Nancy Demerdash

Following Tunisia’s political independence from France in 1956, the country actively set out to preserve its built heritage and cultural monuments. This took place first through establishment, in 1957, of the Institut National d’Archéologie et d’Art (INAA), and later, in June 1967, of the Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina de Tunis (ASM). These institutions were the first of their kind in the Middle East or North Africa to promote a coherent notion of heritage. Yet the theoretical underpinnings of both the INNA and ASM were modeled after France’s “Loi Malraux” of 1962 for protecting cultural patrimony.

Chartered with the task of preserving Tunisia’s great historic cities, the association focused less on restoring monuments to their initial glory and more on recovering the timeworn urban fabric to a viable, livable state. With many decrepit low-income homes at risk of destruction — in part due to President Habib Bourguiba’s formal decree of 1957 demanding the razing of gourbivilles, or mud-built slum districts — certain areas received the privilege of preservation while others were neglected.

This paper — which constitutes a chapter of my dissertation — questions the construction and self-evidence of heritage in Tunisia, illustrating how the voices of certain social strata have been suppressed in its making, while those bolstering its legitimacy have served the project of nationhood. In the case of preservation, how does the construction of the vernacular forward a politics of indigeneity? The paper illuminates the complicities and ambivalence of the postcolonial nation-state, and how the translations of utopic, state-sponsored rhetoric into programmatic aestheticization and demolition, have clashed with ever growing crises of habitation.
A.3 READING TRADITION

GOTTFRIED SEMPER IN MANILA
Thomas Mical
University of South Australia

NEW PLACE ANCHORS: TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS RE-CREATED AND REIMAGINED
Leigh Shutter
Griffith University, Australia

EPIGRAPHS: NARRATORS OF MEMOIRS
Emine Eyüce
Bahcesehir University, Turkey

TADASHI SEKINO’S INVESTIGATIONS INTO KOREAN TRADITIONAL HOUSING AND ARCHITECTURE, 1904–1924
Yoonchun Jung
McGill University, Canada

THE MAKASSAR CULTURE OF SOLIDARITY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE MARISO WATERFRONT SETTLEMENT
Edward Syarif, Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto, and I Gusti Ngurah Antaryama
Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology, Indonesia

GOTTFRIED SEMPER IN MANILA
Thomas Mical

This essay proposes a materialist-historical reading of the proliferation of informal urbanism and improvised tectonics in the range of building practices in Manila. It focuses particularly on representations of traditional modes of dwelling in the Philippines as presented or preserved in sites in Manila. It then examines an emergent new informal vernacular.

The essay employs a time-machine conceit, investigating a fictional encounter between the nineteenth-century German architect Gottfried Semper and the complex riot of construction in contemporary Manila. The focus of the presentation involves Semper’s theories of material tectonics in light of this new type of urban assemblage (Semper, himself, was influenced by Polynesian sources). Specifically, the paper seeks to contemporize Semper’s insights, while activating the cultural and temporal dissonances of these nineteenth-century theories of origins with twenty-first-century responses to globalization. The essay considers this confrontation in light of theories of alterity to posit the encounter with the unknown other as formative of architectural theory. This hypothetical, retrospective, cross-cultural encounter will function as a source of critical tension and opportunity for reflection on the question of 1:1 details as generative of larger systems of informal spatial consequences.

NEW PLACE ANCHORS: TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS RE-CREATED AND REIMAGINED
Leigh Shutter

Cresswell has established a taxonomy where the idea of “place” is classified in three ways: 1 A descriptive approach to place. 2 A social constructionist approach to place. 3 A phenomenological approach of place.” Each of these classifications and understandings provides a platform for the study and analysis of place. Each also establishes key qualities that together provide a complete physical, personal and social description and conceptual framework.

In his conceptual framework, Cresswell considered the first of these classifications, “a descriptive approach to place,” to “… most closely resemble[ing] the common-sense idea of the world being a set of places each of which can be studied as a unique and particular entity.” Place in this sense is defined as a particular and unique physical setting, a physical entity that exists at a particular location in space and time.

For the study of traditional environments, this understanding of place retains an important function and currency. The task of measuring and recording the physical setting of a built environment is one of the fundamental activities in establishing a point of reference for the consideration of the “traditions” of that place. The dynamic relationships between the physical setting and the people who live in, work in, visit, or engage in some other way with that place is at the core of the question “Whose Tradition?” — the theme of the 2014 IASTE conference.

This paper examines the changing nature of “the descriptive approach to place,” probing new techniques for recording, and then re-creating and reimaging, traditional environments. In particular, it considers digital techniques for surveying and mapping those environments in three dimensions, the virtual models created by this method, and the storage and use of this material. These new techniques are able to create virtual places and environments that can be accessed and used by anybody. In this context, the question “Whose Tradition?” and its various subthemes becomes an even more potent and challenging provocation. The paper will probe the circumstance of this emergent technology and practice, examining issues, challenges, and new opportunities.

EPIGRAPHS: NARRATORS OF MEMOIRS
Emine Eyüce

Built environments not only reveal the material culture of a society, but also their aesthetic and formal preferences, aspirations and traditions. A building may be said to be a work of architectural art, but at the same time it serves as a text whose every part discloses the nonmaterial cultures and traditions of a society. Besides the buildings themselves, some of their constituent parts — such as epigraphs and inscriptions applied as an alternative mode of decoration, and also epitaphs — may speak explicitly, in their own form and content, making declarations about the beliefs, worldviews, power and protective nature of the people for whom buildings are ordered to be built. They also reveal the spiritual themes, traditions, and organizational structures of the society in which the edifice is realized. Epigraphs or inscriptions are written messages engraved into stone or other durable materials or cast in metal to form a lasting record in the name of a person, a culture, or a tradition. Epigraphs have been used as part of architectural decorations in almost every culture throughout history. Among the most valuable sources of information about past cultures are Greek architectural dedicatory inscriptions carved on architraves as early as the sixth century BC.
Egyptian hieroglyphs on Ptolemaic-era stele from 196 BC, Orkhon inscriptions around the eighth century AD, inscriptions on marbles in mosques and fountains with Arabic lettering, and inscriptions in Latin as on Trajan’s Column. In architectural history, epigraphs appear commonly on every type of building, either as representations with religious purposes, symbolic meanings, or informational purposes, as for commemorations and dedications. Epigraphs are also invaluable sources of information in architectural research on Islamic art and architecture, in which written materials are preferred to narrative figural imagery as a means of ornamentation to convey references to social life and religion.

During its long history as a capital city — almost 1,500 years — Istanbul developed an extensive built heritage as a result of the multicultural structure and rich ethnoreligious composition of its population. Most of the city’s historical buildings contain epigraphic sources, some in Latin and some in Arabic lettering. Classifying these epigraphs as to their cultural context and date, elucidating them, and assessing conclusions that may be deduced from them is a necessary task to bridge between cultures. The paper first briefly discusses the role and importance of epigraphy in terms of power and the construction of traditions. It then evaluates selected examples of epigraphic heritage in Istanbul within the historical/cultural context. Finally, it elucidates the particulars of the selected inscriptions and assesses their contemporary importance and meaning.

TADASHI SEKINO’S INVESTIGATIONS INTO KOREAN TRADITIONAL HOUSING AND ARCHITECTURE, 1904–1924
Yoonchun Jung

It is widely known in related fields that Tadashi Sekino’s (1868–1935) archaeological investigations in colonized Korea focused mainly on historicizing Korean (mainly Buddhist) art, relics, and architectural remains. In his research, Sekino tried to identify not only the stylistic similarities between ancient Korean and Japanese architectural traditions, but also the gradual decline of the former, especially during the latter part of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). Naturally, his analyses came in handy when the Japanese government-general attempted to legitimize its colonial rule of Korea.

However, there is another facet that needs to be taken into consideration to fully understand Sekino’s perspective on Korean architectural traditions. It is important to acknowledge that there had been a series of changes in Sekino’s analyses and understanding of the historicity of Korean traditional housing and ordinary architecture. Basically, his narratives changed over time, introducing many inconsistencies in his work.

From the mid-1910s, Sekino started to focus on the fundamental differences between native Korean and Japanese housing, rather than continuously maintaining his previous position on the underdeveloped conditions of the former, as he did in his 1904 writings on the subject. The change in Sekino’s perspective became increasingly apparent in two works: Joseon no jutaku kenchiku [Korean Dwelling Architecture], of 1916, and Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku [Japanese-Korean Architecture Seen from the Perspective of Climate and Geological Features], of 1924, wherein he described the regionally developed Korean and Japanese housing and architectural styles.

Sekino’s newly introduced ideas, influenced by environmental determinism, reflect the complexity of Japan’s interactions with the West beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Particularly around the 1900s — after achieving material and industrial modernization, winning several wars that challenged the role of the West in the region (i.e., the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905), and arriving at a determination to be recognized as a strong, modern nation — Japan started to invent historical narratives based on its peculiar geographical and cultural conditions that highlighted its “uniqueness” compared to its Asian neighbors. These narratives became a theoretical foundation for the Japanese pan-Asiatic propaganda of the 1920s. Undoubtedly, they also prompted Sekino to identify differences between Japanese and Korean housing and architecture.

THE MAKASSAR CULTURE OF SOLIDARITY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE MARISO WATERFRONT SETTLEMENT
Edward Syarif, Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto, and I Gusti Ngurah Antaryama

This paper discusses the Makassar culture of solidarity in relation to its influence on the changing morphological characteristics of a waterfront settlement. In particular, it studies the Mariso people living in a waterfront area of the city of Makassar on the island of Sulawesi (also known as Celebes) in Indonesia.

The Mariso waterfront settlement is an example of a culture of solidarity both in terms of the spatial configuration of the settlement and its house forms. This coastal community has experienced gradual change due to land reclamation and development over the last thirty years. As a consequence, buildings in it have grown both in terms of number and size, and have also developed to accommodate different functions.

Formation of the settlement is governed to some extent by the local Makassar social concepts of passaribattanggang and sipakatau. Passaribattanggang is a sense of brotherhood, while sipakatau is a sense of equity. These two concepts are the basis of a way of life in the Makassar community, and guide how community members engage in daily activities and form harmonious relationships. Such characteristics are considered important to the formation of settlements and result in a greater sense of solidarity and greater interaction between family members or among members of an extended family. Such communities sometimes find it convenient to assemble in an open space surrounded by their houses. These clusters, on a larger scale, become a main component of their structure. Such social and cultural characteristics have long been considered important to the formation of the built environment. Their influence is clearly marked in a place where traditional socio-cultural practices are both observed and maintained.

The method of space syntax was used to study the Mariso waterfront area. Diachronic analysis also helped identify and understand changes in its morphological characteristics. Data was gathered through site observations and interviews. The study showed that the Makassar culture of solidarity — i.e., based on passaribattanggang and sipakatau — is manifest both in the spatial formation of the settlement and in its house forms. Integration of each individual through bonds of kinship governed how the Mariso community configured spatial requirements as well as individual houses.

In short, the study answered which versions, particularities, or specificities of tradition emerged and were subsequently anchored in which specific places within the Mariso waterfront settlement in Makassar.
MUZHARUL ISLAM’S ARCHITECTURAL MODERNISM AND BENGALI NATIONALISM
Adnan Morshed
Catholic University of America, U.S.A.

THE SLEEK TORRE AND THE MAKESHIFT RANCHO: POLITICAL AND URBAN/ARCHITECTURAL MODELS IN CARACAS’S TORRE DAVID
Clara Irazábal and Irene Sosa
Columbia University and Brooklyn College, U.S.A.

CREOLIZATION AND COMMERCIAL CULTURE: A CONTINUING PROCESS IN THE GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY
Daves Rossell
Savannah College of Art and Design, U.S.A.

GLOBAL MOBILITY AND THE ARCHITECTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINESE VILLAGES, 1840–1949
Jing Zheng
City University of Hong Kong, China

POLITICS OF SPACE: INCONSISTENT HISTORIES OF TWO MAUSOLEUMS
Shahrzad Shirvani
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

MUZHARUL ISLAM’S ARCHITECTURAL MODERNISM AND BENGALI NATIONALISM
Adnan Morshed

After completing his architecture degree at the University of Oregon, Eugene, in 1951, the pioneering architect Muzharul Islam returned home to find a postcolonial Pakistan embroiled in the acrimonious politics of national identity. The two-nation partition of British India had been designed to create separate domains for Muslims and Hindus. Yet it also launched the two geographically separate wings of Pakistan on a collision course as a consequence of their different languages and conflicting attitudes toward ethnicity and Islamic nationalism. Muzharul Islam interpreted the prevailing political conditions in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) as the outcome of an unfortunate conflict between the secular-humanist ethos of Bengal and an alien Islamist identity imposed on it by the Urdu-speaking ruling elites in West Pakistan. The young architect began his design career in the midst of bitterly divided notions of national origin and destiny. It was not surprising that his work would partake in this political debate.

Standard architectural histories of South Asia identify Islam’s Institute of Fine Arts (1953) at Shalborg, Dhaka, as the harbinger of a Bengali modernism — a sort of Bengali Villa Savoye, synthesizing a modern architectural language with climate-responsive and site-conscious design programs. What has not been examined in this iconic building is how Islam’s work also provides an intriguing cultural foil against which his architectural experiments with modernist aesthetics could be viewed as part of a broader Bengali nationalism.

While Le Corbusier’s influence on the Institute of Fine Arts is palpable, Islam’s iconoclastic building sought to achieve two local goals. First, it introduced the aesthetic tenets of Modern Architecture to East Pakistan. This was a radical departure from the standard architectural language of the country’s civic buildings — an architectural hybrid of Mughal and colonial traditions. (In particular, the building could not have been a more unambiguous deviation from the colonial-era Curzon Hall at Dhaka University.) Second, the Institute’s modernist minimalism — rejecting all kinds of ornamental reference to Mughal and Islamic architecture — offered a conscious critique of the political Islam that became a state apparatus for fashioning a particular religion-based image of postcolonial Pakistan. Such an image went against Muzharul Islam’s commitment to a secular Bengali identity, rooted in the Enlightenment ideals of Raja Rammohun Roy and Rabindranath Tagore.

Torre David is a 45-story corporate office building in the central business district of Caracas that has been informally occupied by a growing community of some 3,000 squatters. It has sensation-ally been touted as the world’s most spectacular “vertical slum” and a symbol of Venezuela’s stance against capitalism, among other tropes. These partial accounts, however, do not consider the complex and contradictory ways economic, political and socio-cultural factors in Venezuela’s convoluted architectural and urban history have literally collided with each other in Torre David.

For decades, the informal rancho and the formal highrise were central, antagonistic spatial typologies in the growth of Caracas and its claim to modernity. But they are now dramatically superposed in the tower, unleashing hitherto unforeseen dynamics. Precedents for Torre David exist in terms of the occupation of other important buildings in Caracas, which also mark important economic and political junctures in the history of the country. But the sheer scale, glitz, and global symbolism of the Torre David situation sets it apart and merits special consideration.

Through site visits, interviews, photo- and film-production, and historical analysis, we offer a nuanced theorization of Torre David in order to grapple with the charged tensions it displays between formal and informal, modern and traditional, modernity and postmodernity, and capitalism and socialism. Ultimately, we argue that these tensions create a rhizomatic socio-spatial field heavily pregnant with both risks and hopes for the people, the government, and the design disciplines.
CREOLIZATION AND COMMERCIAL CULTURE: A CONTINUING PROCESS IN THE GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY

Daves Rossell

The study of Creole architecture has been defined by rigorous architectural analysis, resulting in impressively meticulous studies of typology, including particular attention to cultural origins, construction techniques, spatial arrangement, and massing. Leading scholars have defined essential archetypes of the movement including the Creole cottage, the Creole house, and the shotgun house. And much attention continues to be paid to identifying further typological variations of these forms. Less attention has been given, however, to the continuing process of Creolization in the latter nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as commercialized culture and the availability of industrialized materials increasingly competed with folk traditions. In effect, we know more about the origins and classic idealization of Creole forms than their subsequent invigoration and adaptation to different settings. It sometime seems that the process of Creolization ended and that the classic Creole architecture is fixed.

This paper utilizes extensive fieldwork and archival research to broaden the concept of Creolization chronologically as well as culturally, and in doing so to appreciate it as an active process involving continuing adaptation to changing contexts, the varying availability of materials, as well as new desires for expression and acceptance. Specific examples are drawn from nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century coastal cottage forms in Georgia and South Carolina with traditional African-American proxemic envelopes, elevated structures, integral front porches, and side gable roofs — but also featuring central passages, rooms enlarged over time, stylistic modifications, and adaptations for technological change. A related adaptation that is also analyzed is the combination of the shotgun and the bungalow forms with traditional shotgun proxemics and connection of room to room, but with side rooms like the double-file bungalow. Such investigations reveal a continuing adaptation of a people balancing traditional ideals with changing opportunities and expectations. Appreciation of such change reveals the dynamism even within a classic typological formula.

GLOBAL MOBILITY AND THE ARCHITECTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINESE VILLAGES, 1840–1949

Jing Zheng

Since the sixteenth century global mobility has brought architectural revolution across the world. Such a revolution has been mainly attributed to the spread of Western architectural ideas and construction technologies in non-Western and underdeveloped countries. Based on this hypothesis, research on architectural history has focused on colonial buildings and on buildings designed by Western or Western-trained architects as a way to establish landmarks of architectural evolution.

This paper examines the architectural revolution that has taken place in rural areas of China, and it points out how this correlates to a new global mobility among lower-class populations. In China, a massive movement of the population to foreign countries started in the mid-nineteenth century. Most of these early overseas Chinese were poor farmers or fishers from remote villages of coastal provinces. Some later returned to change traditions in their hometowns, including the way people there built. Unlike what happened in the cities or other colonized areas, the globalizing influence on architecture in these villages took a rather modest and spontaneous path. Without access to professional architects and their knowledge, returned sojourners worked with local craftsmen to construct overseas images mainly based on their imagination and using local technologies. Several new architectural forms, such as the yanglou and diaolou, were created with this approach, which dramatically changed the shape of the rural built environment and construction traditions in the villages.

This paper argues that in the context of global mobility, the revolution of architectural traditions in underdeveloped areas may not necessarily always be caused by the import of modern architectural systems. It may also be created through the imagination of local communities. With a vague idea of a new life in mind, proprietors and craftsmen selectively adopted new technologies to advance their way of designing and building. This subsequently brought an architectural revolution to rural China that was distinct from changes in building in cities.

POLITICS OF SPACE: INCONSISTENT HISTORIES OF TWO MAUSOLEUMS

Shahrzad Shirvani

Following the first track of the conference theme, “Who: Power and the Construction of Traditions,” this paper examines the politics of space-making that link manufactured tradition with authority and power. In particular, it looks at how tradition may be deployed by authoritarian regimes to reconstruct histories of place. This approach frequently employs tradition, programmed through a process of invention and reinvention, to provoke a “sacred foundation” in a “selected past.”

The question of power always links space and time. Authoritarian regimes use architecture as a visual language to communicate the basis of their desired nation-state. Construction of commemorative state monuments therefore becomes a sociopolitical strategy to produce national identity. Among the various types of buildings, tombs, mausoleums and shrines play a significant role. Under the direction of political heirs and successors, mausoleums turn into state laboratories to consolidate authority and legitimacy. They become modern atmospheres where tradition, history, authority and power bond with each other. The word “bond” here has a double meaning. It can be defined in terms of connection, but also as bondage or constraint. Because the term creates a paradoxical mode of “rejection” and “acceptance,” it may be considered an extremely important factor in the construction of legitimacy. A tradition in which “willing to become obedient” becomes the most crucial matter deploys architecture as a “bond of authority” to intensify a collective sense of belonging and consolidate authoritative power.

The paper employs the idea of “bondedness” as used by Hannah Arendt and Richard Sennett as a frame of reference to compare the architectural representation of two significant mausoleums in the context of Iran before and after the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979. That revolution was the focal point at which secular ideologies of the monarchic Pahlavi regime shifted to the religious ideologies of the Islamic Republic. The two case studies are burial spaces of important political figures: the mausoleum of Reza Shah (completed in 1930), and the mausoleum of Ayatollah Khomeini (completed in 1989). Revolutionary Islamists destroyed the former monument during the early days of the revolution in an effort to eliminate the monarchic identity of “Iranian history.” On the contrary, the mausoleum of Ayatollah Khomeini writes a history of its own.

The paper explores how two authoritarian regimes in Iran have used architecture as a “bond of authority” to consolidate construction of their desired nation-states. The comparative analysis focuses on architectural representations in the two mausoleums, considering the religious foundations upon which each was erected and hence produced a significant history. In conclusion, the research aims to contribute to understanding the political practices of nation-building under the Islamic Republic.
C.3 POSTCOLONIALISM AND TRADITION

THE FABRICATION OF HEGEMONY AND POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY AT PUTRAJAYA
James Steele
University of Southern California, U.S.A.

BUILDING THE CAPACITY TO ASPIRE: HERITAGIZATION AND GOVERNMENTALITY IN POSTCOLONIAL MACAU
Cecilia Chu
University of Hong Kong, China

REDEFINING NEW (POSTCOLONIAL) JAKARTA THROUGH THE GIANT SEA WALL PROJECT
Eka Permanasari
University of Pembangunan Jaya, Indonesia

(POST)COLONIAL INDIAN MUSEUMS: BETWEEN APPROPRIATION, MIMICRY, AND REINVENTION OF ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS
Harpreet Mand and Iain Jackson
University of Newcastle, Australia, and University of Liverpool, U.K.

POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY IN URBAN INDONESIA: JENGKI ARCHITECTURE AND THE CHINESE-INDONESIAN BUILDERS
Rina Priyani
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

THE FABRICATION OF HEGEMONY AND POSTCOLONIAL IDENTITY AT PUTRAJAYA
James Steele

Putrajaya is a new governmental, commercial and financial center in Malaysia, which legibly exemplifies the residual effects of neocolonialism as a microcosm of cultural imperialism. Whether British control of Malaya represented de facto or de jure colonialism, its contentious legacy of social engineering is beyond question.

A tripartite Malay, Chinese and Indian population existed in Malaya long before the British arrived, but the Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore, used as entrepôts to feed a growing industrial empire, attracted substantially more non-Malay workers. These people were encouraged by the British to migrate, and racial stereotypes were then institutionalized, categorizing Malays as villagers, Chinese as commercially adept, managerial urbanites, and Indians as rubber plantation managers and laborers.

After independence, the ethnic divisions created by colonial capitalism led, in 1969, to the May 13 Incident, which caused many Chinese fatalities and led to a state of emergency. That event ultimately resulted in a 1971 government-sponsored affirmative-action program called the Dasar Ekonomi Baru, or New Economic Policy, intended to end economic disparity. These provisions were replaced by a more globally focused National Development Policy in 1990, which also concentrates on increasing the national economic stake held by indigenous Malays. And this law has now been augmented by Article 153 of the Federal Constitution, which specifies how the government must “safeguard the special position of the Malays and natives of any of the States of Sabah and Sarawak and the legitimate interests of other communities” in obtaining civil service and educational positions, training, or business licenses.

Putrajaya was founded in 1995 and inaugurated in 1999 by Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammed. It is the third federal territory of Malaysia, following Labuan and the capital city of Kuala Lumpur, 25 kilometers to the north. The preferential laws institutionalized by the New Economic Policy and the National Development Policy, and confirmed by the ethno-religious basis of the constitution, compounded by the designation of this new city as an administrative center, have resulted in the 2010 Population and Housing Census reporting its citizens as being 94.8 percent Malay, 1.8 percent Chinese, and 2.7 percent Indian. This contrasts sharply with a 38.6 percent Malay, 46.5 percent Chinese, and 32.9 percent Indian distribution in Kuala Lumpur, in which the non-Malay sector is also significantly larger than the nationwide average of 67.4 percent Malay, 24.6 percent Chinese, and 7.3 percent Indian. The major institutional buildings in Putrajaya, including the Perdana Putra (Prime Minister’s Office), Masjid Putra, Masjid Tuanku Mizan Zainal Abidin, Istana Kehakiman Jawi (Palace of Justice), and Istana Dariel Ehsan (Palace of the King of Selangor) — which ironically echo the eclectic Indo-Saracenic Revival style ubiquitously used by their former colonial suzerain throughout the British Empire — also intentionally convey an Islamic image in a nation in which roughly 30 percent of the population is non-Muslim. This paper will analyze the issues inherent in these contradictions as part of the politics of a manufactured tradition.
不同利益相关者和新的权力-知识关系。虽然许多人欢迎“世界遗产品牌”，但参与在遗产化过程中的过程，他们并不必然分享相同的占有性关系，以及对它的评估。然而，世界遗产命名往往提供一种新的视野，帮助重新构想想象，激发对不同社会行动者间竞争性声索的期待。本论文考察了在麦卡卷土重来成为世界遗产城市后的转变。在第一种情况下，麦卡延续了其殖民统治，但在第二种情况下，这种转变是通过世界遗产的象征主义和绿色方法来实现的，目的是为了更好地理解城市遗产化实践。

REDEFINING NEW (POSTCOLONIAL) JAKARTA THROUGH THE GIANT SEA WALL PROJECT
Eka Permanasari

政治的同化常被用于在建筑和城市设计中象征化政治愿望。在后殖民城市中，建筑和城市设计被用以建立国家身份并确立新的政治权力。然而，这种方法可以被质疑，当这种殖民权力设计了一个新的身份时，来自前殖民统治者。在印尼政府的领导下，国际间合作组织，如文化遗产保护委员会，已通过一些初步的研究工作，对分析问题，例如2011年印尼政府和雅加达官员发布的雅加达海岸防御战略报告。

2011年，雅加达政府和雅加达官方官员发布了一份报告，指出雅加达需要永久解决海岸侵蚀问题。nostalgia for the former colonial rule. This research examines the design of a new city in Jakarta as called for in the Giant Sea Wall Project. Initially, the project was designed to protect Jakarta from sinking, yet it has shifted into symbolizing the new nation. The research explores the symbolism and green approaches used in order to understand the practice of urban planning and design in the capital city. It investigates how such places embody national identity and political capital, and how they mediate practices of postcolonialism.
My paper argues that Indonesia's vernacular Jengki style architecture — prevalent in 1960s urban development, and considered a populist, pan-Indonesian style by the Indonesian Institute of Architects — provided Chinese Indonesians a vehicle to express a postcolonial cultural identity.

The Bandung Conference in 1955 discussed Southeast Asia's “Chinese problem” (masalah China) in terms that shaped subsequent historical discourse. Indonesian cultural policy of the 1950s banned the public expression of Chinese language, proper names, and religion. In the 1960s government urban policy introduced zoning for foreign national commercial zones, triggering the migration of thousands of ethnically Chinese Indonesians from rural to urban areas, primarily in Java.

As these new ethnic enclaves rose, the Jengki style represented not only a fresh approach to architecture freed from Dutch colonial design practices, but also a means to define urban space with a hybridized Chinese-Indonesian identity. In spite of its name and contemporary interpretation, the Jengki style provides a case study of how a new postcolonial identity was claimed and constructed in urban Indonesia during a period of nonaligned politics and guided democracy.

In the history of Egyptian literature the realist tradition has always been dominant when compared to other literary genres. Moving from novels to films, the realist genre arguably entered Egyptian cinema as early as 1930. Presumably faithful to the built environment and to the depiction of protagonists from the lower social strata, realist films have since aimed to express specific attitudes toward the social reality of the periods they portray. From this perspective, and akin to the virtual space of the novel, the cinematic space of realist films emerged as an integral part of the plot, with real agency that could embody and structure social, political, economic and symbolic powers and processes.

In the years before and immediately after the 1952 revolution, and with various degrees of emphasis, most, if not all, of these movies conveyed a particular problematic prevalent in the cultural sphere at large: the dichotomy between tradition and modernity. If questions concerning this dichotomy were persistently left unanswered, at least their cinematic depictions in every era attempted to address them in forthright, different fashions. Two settings customarily represented the cinematic imaging of “traditional Egypt” — its manners, values, customs, folk beliefs and values, and popular religious expressions: namely, the space of the village in the rural countryside,
and of the alleyway, al-hara, in the city. Although research on setting may be found in both Western literature and film studies, very little has been published with regard to Arabic or Egyptian films. Moreover, even the few studies of Egyptian films that exist tend to subordinate “characters” to plots, rather than explore their significance in terms of space, time and place.

Building on the premise that movies in general, and realist films in particular, are integral constituents of the urban built environment, shaping and being shaped by ways of viewing discourse on the city, this paper will address the following question: What significance did al-hara, the presumed harbinger of tradition in the fast-growing Egyptian metropolis, have within the larger and more ubiquitous cultural debate over the process of modernization imagined through the lens of selected Egyptian movies from the late 1950s to the early 1960s? And how was this significance manifest?

For several reasons, my focus is limited to movies in this defined period. Suffice it here to mention that this timeframe encompasses two paradigmatic moments in the colonial and postcolonial histories of the city, in which the process of modernization and the debate over modernity and tradition acquired different meanings and significations.

Methodologically, I will borrow Mikhail Bakhtin’s theoretical concept of the “chronotope,” which he developed and applied to literary forms. I will employ it to focus on the construction of space and time in certain specific cinematic alleyways. Beyond the chosen timeframe, my selection of films is meant to reflect the multiple manifestations that relations of space, space and time have given to the alleyway in realist Egyptian movies during colonial and postcolonial times.

Allure of the Native: Representing Philippine Vernacular Architecture in International Expositions, 1887–1998

Edson Caballin

National pavilions at international expositions are important symbols of a country’s aspirations and identity. They are both condensations and physical manifestations of particular notions concerning the place of the country on the world stage and constructions of how the country wants other nations to perceive it. The pavilions are often designed at the behest and through the sponsorship of a country’s official government, which ultimately controls their narrative, imagery and message for an international audience.

Using the Philippines as a case study, the paper investigates the politics surrounding the architectural design of national pavilions, which are frequently based on an interpretation of traditional architecture found in the country. The paper investigates how vernacular architecture was consistently deployed to symbolize Philippine national identity through the Spanish-colonial period (late nineteenth century), the American-colonial period (1898 to 1946), and the post-colonial era (1946 to the present). Specifically, the paper poses the following questions: How have the Philippines and Filipinos been represented through architecture over the course of the last century within the context of international expositions? How has vernacular architecture been used and appropriated in representing Philippine identity abroad? What have the similarities and differences been between the architectural representations during the colonial and postcolonial periods?

To examine these phenomena, the paper compares and analyzes key Philippine pavilions and exhibits in international expositions. These include pavilions built during the Spanish colonial era (1887 Exposicion General de las Islas Filipinas in Madrid), the American colonial period (1901 in Buffalo, 1904 in St. Louis), and the post-colonial era (1958 in Brussels, 1964 in New York, 1992 in Seville, 1998 at the Expo Pilipino). The paper inspects the planning, layout, architectural design, exhibits, and displays in these official representations of the Philippines abroad. And it identifies and investigates precedents from Philippine vernacular architectures used as inspiration or as models for these national pavilions.

The paper studies these temporary or ephemeral architectures according to the themes of negotiation between colonial and postcolonial identity, mediation of exoticism and self-Orientalism, and commodification of identity. In this manner it investigates the reasons why certain examples of vernacular architecture have been chosen over others. It discusses the types of vernacular architecture that were deemed exotic for a foreign viewer and the reinterpretations of these that occurred. The paper also interrogates the power structure surrounding the construction of identity within the colonial and postcolonial context. It argues that postcolonial national identity based on an appropriation of vernacular architectural traditions should not simply be seen as a complete and clean break from colonial representations. Rather, it must be understood as inextricably intertwined with colonial narratives. In the final assessment, these pavilions not only emerge as symbols of the colonial and postcolonial nation; they also document the continuities, disjunctions, and transformation of conceptions of self and nation.

Uprooting Andalusian Traditional Architecture: Bernard Rudofsky’s Subversive Discourse

Mar Loren

“Architecture without Architects” (AWA) was expected to be a minor exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York in 1964. However, it ended up as a traveling exhibition for eleven years in more than eighty locations. Widely cited and revisited, AWA even coined a neologism for so-called vernacular architecture.

In conceiving the exhibition, the curator, architect, designer, subversive critic, and photographer Bernard Rudofsky (1905–1988) avoided historical or geographical categorization — center versus periphery. Instead, he constructed a visual experience in which distant geographies were connected through their vernacular architectures, challenging Western hegemony in architectural history and the presumed parallelism between the traditional and the underdeveloped. In his Bilderatlas, Aby Warburg had previously connected the art production of different cultures, free of chronologies or geographic distinctions. But Rudofsky’s harsh critique of the globalized modern landscape provoked the reaction of the American Institute of Architects, which censured the exhibition, despite the fact that (as Alberto Ferlenga has pointed out) Giuseppe Pagano had already presented a display on the subject for the Sixth Milan Triennale in 1936 comparable in its force of renewal with Rudofsky’s.

This paper reveals the visual strategies that Rudofsky used in his controversial discourse. Travel was an essential component of his trajectory, and Rudofsky documented his peripatetic experience especially in photographs. Rudofsky, who admitted his snapshots were avoid historical or geographical categorization — center versus periphery. Instead, he constructed a visual experience in which distant geographies were connected through their vernacular architectures, challenging Western hegemony in architectural history and the presumed parallelism between the traditional and the underdeveloped. In his Bilderatlas, Aby Warburg had previously connected the art production of different cultures, free of chronologies or geographic distinctions. But Rudofsky’s harsh critique of the globalized modern landscape provoked the reaction of the American Institute of Architects, which censured the exhibition, despite the fact that (as Alberto Ferlenga has pointed out) Giuseppe Pagano had already presented a display on the subject for the Sixth Milan Triennale in 1936 comparable in its force of renewal with Rudofsky’s.

This paper reveals the visual strategies that Rudofsky used in his controversial discourse. Travel was an essential component of his trajectory, and Rudofsky documented his peripatetic experience especially in photographs. Rudofsky, who admitted his snapshots were taken on the run, did not pursue an aesthetic or technical emphasis. Rather, his work was based on a phenomenological method, provoking an emotional reaction and critical implication among visitors. Rather than presenting a history of places, his interest lay in showing the landscape it created, the sustainable and social values of the community it sheltered, in places as distant as Spain, China, Greece, Japan, Turkey or Pakistan, with the Mediterranean as its backbone. Other architects such as Pikionis, Fathy, Eldem or Pouillon belonged
to this marginal trend rooted in the Mediterranean, which questioned modernity and incorporated this tradition in contemporary architecture.

Rudofsky had written his doctoral thesis on the vernacular architecture of the Cyclades islands, and chose Italy to live and work in the 1930s. Then, after living in America for almost thirty years, he chose Andalusia to construct his studio-house, his last built project, an authentic manifesto of his contemporary vision of tradition. From 1969 until his death in 1988, he spent five months a year in Frigiliana, a small town on the Mediterranean coast. Andalusia became the main object of study and inspiration during his mature phase. The research presents a review of the central themes of his critical production focusing on Andalusia and his first itineraries in 1963. Images of monumental Islamic architecture or the exoticism of the bullfighter are here replaced by topographical and typological investigations of its villages, the austere beauty of cemeteries, the role of streets as a central place for urban life, and the use of caves as intelligent and sustainable habitats. Andalusian architecture is compared with other vernacular landscapes around the world, presenting it as universal heritage rather than exotic local samples anchored to a specific milieu.

CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION(S): POWER AND CULTURAL IMAGINARY IN THE DELHI BOOK

Harpreet Mand

The paper analyses the cultural imaginary that the British agent Sir Thomas Metcalf (1795–1853) employed in the construction of two houses in Delhi, as well as in the compilation of a history and collection of images titled Reminiscences of Imperial Delhi, popularly known as “the Delhi Book.” Metcalf’s book, dedicated to his children and completed in 1844, contained nearly 150 images, primarily depicting various aspects of the architecture of Delhi. These were accompanied by a handwritten text that combined historical research, commemorative eulogies of personal friends, private thoughts for his children, and commentary on the current state of building. Two very distinct traditions were being constructed in this work: one of Mughal power on the wane, and another of rising British power. Both powers are seen as inscribed in the built landscape. They are then historicized for dissemination and passed on from father to daughter. Metcalfe’s book has since been reprinted with another inscription taken from his daughter’s diaries.

The paper highlights how traditions of self and other are imagined and passed on through generations, and describes the role power plays in constructing traditions of place through various inscriptions. It posits that Metcalf as an empowered imperial agent, and reveals how the imperial cultural imaginary played a significant, albeit forgotten, part in the formation of a future imaginary that continues to play an important role in the present.

TRADITION AND THE AGA KHAN AWARD FOR ARCHITECTURE: IN MEDIA RES

Sabir Khan

The triennial Aga Khan Award for Architecture (AKAA) is many things. As a program of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, headquartered in Geneva, its remit and scope are much broader than the typical metropolitan perspective. Arguably, the range of shortlisted and awarded projects since its first cycle in 1980 provides a record of one of the most sustained discursive efforts ever at making sense of the physical and social landscape (the designed, built, and lived environments) across diverse geographical and cultural zones.

This paper looks closely at this archive of built work — as well as attendant discursive and critical commentary — in order to trace the multiple, and evolving, registers of “tradition” that are both explicit and implicit in it. The effort is part of a larger research project aimed at taking stock of the AKAA as an intellectual endeavor, using the projects within the archive to refract architectural practice — its challenges and conundrums — in a globalized world that is nowhere near “flat.”

Given the range of projects nominated and evaluated, and the disciplinary and geographical diversity of the nominators, evaluators, and master jurors, no monovalent reading of tradition appears to hold sway. The modernity versus tradition dyad, evident in the early years (and especially in the five preparatory seminars organized to establish an intellectual framework before the first award cycle in 1977) has given way to a nuanced, multidimensional, and operational understanding of tradition. No single recipe has emerged, nor any one view ultimately been valorized over another.

Yet the didactic potential is still present. The publicity that attends the event, and the recognition given not only to winning architects but also to the clients and users of winning projects, reinforces certain interpretations and readings — whether they emerge out of the particular interests of a master jury or the larger goals of the award itself.

Because the award emphasizes an architecture that “not only provides for people’s physical, social, and economic needs, but also stimulates and responds to their cultural expectations,” it explicitly acknowledges the potential that premiated projects — in their use of local resources and appropriate technologies in innovative ways, for example — “might inspire similar efforts elsewhere.” While tracing the inspirational effect of the AKAA on built practice in “societies across the world where Muslims have a significant presence” is outside the scope of this paper, it will make a case for the potential of the premiated projects to serve as curriculum or exegesis on the dynamics of tradition in media res.
B.4 RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS, RELIGIOUS SPACES

HYBRID ARCHITECTURE, HERETICAL RELIGIONS, AND THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS
Andrzej Piotrowski
University of Minnesota, U.S.A.

REQUALIFYING PUBLIC SPACES ACCORDING TO AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS
Claudia Castellano Menezes, Cristiane Rose Siqueira Duarte, and Ethel Pinheiro Santana
Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

MAKING OF A “HINDU NATIONAL TEMPLE”: TRADITION AND TECHNOLOGY AT SWAMINARAYAN AKSHARDHAM
Swetha Vijayakumar
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

ORNAMENT AND CRIME?: THE ZILIJ CRAFT TRADITION AND “MEANING” IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE
Ann Shafer
Brown University, U.S.A.

OVERT AND CONSPICUOUS IDENTITIES: SECULARISM AND RELIGIOUS HERITAGE AS TOOLS OF IDENTITY NARRATION IN QUEBEC
Jaimie Cudmore
McGill University, Canada

HYBRID ARCHITECTURE, HERETICAL RELIGIONS, AND THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS
Andrzej Piotrowski

Certain aspects of cultural traditions remain unexamined for the same reason they may manage to survive undetected when political powers attempt to eradicate them. The problem is epistemological — it revolves around the relationship between verbal communication and modalities of thought. Western history has primarily examined how economic and military forces and dominant narratives have been intentionally used to control political relationships or cultural identity. Yet certain unique and analytically elusive phenomena have survived despite such efforts because, being culturally subconscious, they operate on a preverbal level. Many suppressed ethnic or religious groups have maintained their cohesion because they have not merely verbally advertised their ideological bonds but have exercised a common modality of perceiving and envisioning the world, a shared way of structuring reality.

This kind of understanding of how cultural traditions are constituted and anchored privileges architecture, because the symbolic construction of material environments reaches beyond the limitations of explicit intention and regulatory programs. Builders and artists can never reduce their work to unequivocal communication. Often unintentionally, and unlike politicians or theologians, who aspire to achieve total control over communicated meanings, master builders and architects fuse new symbolic systems with old traditions, producing sites that negotiate cultural differences. The tension between representations of consciously dominant and unconsciously resilient cultural attitudes has thus nourished the slow evolution of traditions, but also contributed to violent military confrontations — both of which have led to some of the most important developments in the history of architecture.

To substantiate this point, the paper outlines a little-known relationship between Christian architecture and dualist religions. Although old dualist beliefs — Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, and Manichaicism — were deemed heretical and their followers were gradually prosecuted to extinction, these traditions persisted as a way of thinking and perceiving in some Christian territories. The seemingly provincial cave churches in Cappadocia and the Monastery of Geghard in Armenia, for instance, exemplify how symbolically hybrid environments were constituted, and shifted attention within the dominant system of beliefs. Such seemingly Christian places of worship focus attention on nonfigurative representation and the evocative relationship between light and matter — the key symbolic issue in the dualist traditions. Locations where such buildings encouraged visitors’ imagination to move beyond dogmatic narratives coincided with religious dissent in Byzantium and Armenia. Paulicians, Bogomils, and their sympathizers mixed orthodox and unorthodox material practices and used architecture to shelter their way of thinking about reality at a time when political powers targeted only those who promoted explicitly heretical narratives. In this way, sectarian tendencies could survive, spread throughout the empire, and fuel the Iconoclastic controversy that in turn triggered the so-called Middle Byzantine style in architecture. Consequently, the Katholikon in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Greece, the key surviving example of the style, reveals the degree to which heretical attitudes redefined the canon of religious buildings in the theocratic empire of Byzantium.

African-Brazilian religions constitute a rich cultural heritage that has been shaped over the centuries by African, indigenous and European influences. However, this cultural tradition has not been totally recognized and accepted by the elites who colonized Brazil. Often linked to the image of former slaves from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these cultural traditions are still claimed with a certain bias by contemporary society.

The survival of African-Brazilian religious tradition has been largely achieved through the use of public and private spatial strategies. This paper shows that some rituals deliberately establish spatial domains demarcated by territorial symbolism. As producers of urban space, the terreiros (the name used to designate the ritualistic spaces of African-Brazilian religions) redefine the concept of “urban area.” This is done by appropriating the open spaces of some metropolises and their resources, following models of reality grounded in African cosmology. In this scenario, certain ambiances may become objects of communication and struggle for the religious legitimacy of African descendants. This occurs through strategies of appropriation and signaling that give rise to a process recognized by supporters and nonsupporters of these religions.

This paper considers the power of African-Brazilian culture in the development of Brazilian national culture and the role of archi-
And even though it projects itself as a “temple of India,” it essentially a nationalist framework echoes throughout. At Akshardham, Indian religious sermons. The placement of a Hindu religious complex inside a sense of patriotism, and even animatronic robots delivering religious spectacles raise the architectural ante as tools of ideological religio-political power. To capture the attention of this young society, there has been a marked increase in New Age religious agencies and advance its political agenda. A self-appointed custodian of Hindu faith, still in flux?

**ORNAMENT AND CRIME?: THE ZILIJ CRAFT TRADITION AND “MEANING” IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE**

*Ann Shafer*

After nearly a century in hiatus, ornament has made a spectacular return in contemporary design. Likewise, in the dominant academic discourse surrounding “Islamic” art, surface ornament is fundamental — yet, agreement on its “meaning” (its intellectual and aesthetic motivations) is elusive. This paper examines the historic phenomenon of Islamic architectural ornamentation, and attempts to challenge modernist cultural politics in relation to it. Exposing iconography-focused dilemmas in relation to this autonomous “other,” the paper ultimately proposes to recast the epistemological boundaries of Islamic ornament’s intentions and effects.

The focus of this study is *zilij* tilework, a ceramic mosaic-style medium characteristic of North Africa and late-Muslim Spain. *Zilij* geometric patterns are usually appreciated for their articulate mathematical structures and for their meticulous craftsmanship and methods of assemblage. Here, however, *zilij* ornament is revisited through a critical examination of the issue of expertise and its related technologies of knowledge production. Specifically, *zilij* production processes — like those related to other forms of Islamic ornament — are often surrounded by an idealizing discourse that links craft with religiosity or divine creativity. Frequently romanticized in popular museum and tourist culture, for example, are alleged links between the *zilij* handcraft and Sufism.

In contrast, this paper asserts that the tendency to assign to craftsmen a certain religious intention is part of a modernist binary that not only projects an idealized autonomy onto premodern Islamic cultures, but also implies a postcolonial artistic bankruptcy. Thus an expert class is necessarily dependent upon — in other words, “saved” from demise by — contemporary European (and European-influenced local) interest groups, such as those promoting fair-trade marketing and tourism. Indeed, the inculation of such a discourse reveals itself also in conversations with contemporary Moroccan craftsmen, whose performative role in such essentializing scenarios may finally redefine their views of their own expertise and its relation to the mastery of earlier periods. Juxtaposing academic, museological, and related popular rhetoric on the craft of Moroccan *zilij*, this study explores the ideological complexities of the ever evolving understanding of historic Islamic forms.
C.4 TRADITIONS OF DIASPORA AND ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

“OUR ORIENTALS”: IMMIGRANT DOMESTICITY IN INTERWAR DETROIT
Saima Akhtar
Forum Transregionale Studien, Germany

BREAKING NEWS: NARRATIVES OF A COMPOSITE BUILDING, OR AN ARCHITECTURE OF IMPATIENCE, 1964–2014
Eunice Seng
University of Hong Kong, China

CHINATOWNS IN AUSTRALIA: POWER AT STAKE VERSUS URBAN RESPONSES
Karine Dupre
Griffith University, Australia

Yushi Utaka and Amiruddin Fawzi
University of Hyogo, Japan, and Universiti Sains Malaysia

“OUR ORIENTALS”: IMMIGRANT DOMESTICITY IN INTERWAR DETROIT
Saima Akhtar

This paper dissects the ways Fordist and other corporate and state actors established social and urban frameworks for Detroit in the early twentieth century, and considers the urban practices of immigrant groups as these industries declined. Specifically, the paper looks at Arab and South Asian immigrants, many of whom arrived in the United States during periods of intense economic and national crises, and it examines how they navigated through an “Americanized” and industrially fractured landscape. In line with the tenets of the Progressive era, the Ford Motor Company (FMC) developed and implemented industrial Americanization strategies that attempted to mitigate “foreign-ness” by closely inspecting the immigrant worker and his home. By providing case studies of workers arriving from cities in the greater Middle East and India and their interactions with FMC social agents, the paper shows how the domestic realm became a place where the interplay between authoritative surveillance and immigrant subversion was manifest spatially.

I argue that these groups drew into dense immigrant-oriented neighborhoods, where communities had their own means of propagating identity through national and religious forms, constructing...
and reusing buildings through a range of architectural references and reinventing local and traditional building forms. Bridging the major themes of the conference, the paper examines how the built environment as a social artifact gave form to and was shaped by the relationships between the execution of authority (power), the dominance of industry, and the mobility of complex identities and traditions (Middle Eastern/South Asian/Muslim) in the interwar period. Half a century later, these neighborhoods served as platforms that put forth the visions of immigrant communities, economically sustained a deteriorating industrial landscape, and became the spaces by which immigrants claimed territoriality and belonging in Detroit.

**BREAKING NEWS: NARRATIVES OF A COMPOSITE BUILDING, OR AN ARCHITECTURE OF IMPATIENCE, 1964–2014**

*Eunice Seng*

On Christmas Eve 2003 one hundred armed policemen entered Man Wui Street in the Jordan area of Hong Kong to set up a control center cordoning the entire Man Wah Sun Chuen development in preparation for the capture of the most notorious gangster in the Canton area. They dynamited the door, broke into the rental apartment of the suspect, and the operation was over within minutes. This highly mediated event was the climax to three decades of crimes that took place in the development, including several robberies and a grisly murder in 1978. A year after the dramatic arrest, Hong Kong producer and director Johnny To put the same building at the center of the action in his film *Breaking News*. Told from the opposing perspectives of drug smugglers and the police, the entire narrative unfolded within the Man King building. The film presented its spaces as complicit in the illicit, illegal activities it harbored. Streaming to theaters, the public was reintroduced to the Man King building as a problematic social site.

Despite these portrayals, in the first decade following its completion, Man Wan Sun Chuen (1964–70) was a well-regarded response to the Hong Kong government’s call to build more housing for a modernizing population. At the time, the Man King building, one of its eight, eighteen-story, mixed-use blocks, housed more than one thousand people. With its tapered profile, it also manifested the economic imperative behind formal interpretation of the 1956 Development Control regulation of buildings by volume. Developers, builders and investors eager for a share of the middle-class housing market maximized buildable area within the allowed envelope to attain maximum profits. The result was a massive building that housed a town-sized population, which stood defiantly, fortress-like, against a city of rapidly segregating functions and identities.

Shortly after the developer of Man Wah Sun Chuen went bankrupt in the mid-1970s, however, the lack of management and control over tenants led to rampant subdivision of its units and the multiplication of types of programs within its buildings. As a result, Man King — a composite building legally defined as partly domestic — became more compositionally varied than it was ever planned to be. Eventually, the varieties of programs, spatial adaptations, and contestations within it testified to the very combination of pragmatist logic and human caprice that drove the entire city.

Man Wah Sun Chuen now stands as the gateway between mid-century work-dwell modes of living, when domestic cottage industries thrived, and millennial, globally networked urban life, as it has been radically reshaped by new transportation and communication technologies. As with the many other composite buildings of its time (most of which have not been discovered by directors like To, and which remain discreetly embedded within the hubris of Hong Kong’s urban development), its complicated ownerships and tenancies challenge any future plans for redevelopment. This paper posits that within the postwar composite building, traditions, insofar as these are associated with predominantly diaspora communities, are part of a network of translations, inventions and temporali ties. Beginning and ending with filmic analysis, this close examination of a building is an attempt to uncover the tenuous relationship between tradition and development.

**CHINATOWNS IN AUSTRALIA: POWER AT STAKE VERSUS URBAN RESPONSES**

*Karine Dupre*

Like all cities in Australia, Gold Coast was developed as part of the European colonization of the country and successive waves of migration. However, unlike other Australian cities, Gold Coast had a very early orientation toward tourism, an activity that reached a peak in the 1960s and has not decreased since. As a direct consequence, the urban morphology of the city is quite unique, based on several urban satellite settlements that stretch along the 70-kilometer-long shore, and based on a reputation for being an “Australian playground.” But with a population that can also triple over the holiday season in selected precincts, the city has historically been challenged to find a balance between financial interests, community cohesion, and identity.

In 2013 the City of Gold Coast announced its first plan for the creation of a Chinatown in its CBD precinct. It envisioned this as a place that would simultaneously “bring a sense of home and community to the thousands of permanent residents, and international students studying at Gold Coast universities, English language schools and colleges, and support Chinese and Asian visitors to our city.” As it further imagined, “Gold Coast Chinatown will be true to the Gold Coast spirit and will represent our new world relationship with the Asia-Pacific region.” Yet questions have immediately arisen regarding the artificial creation of what is usually recognized as a community-based settlement, as well as the nature of the narratives behind such a project and the legitimacy of the models underlying it.

Furthermore, most Chinatowns developed in Australia as a result of a nineteenth-century influx of Chinese migrants, driven by a system of indentured labor and the gold rushes of the 1850s. The Gold Coast Chinatown project thus must also address the power relationships at stake and the construction of traditions in this new context.

Because concern has risen lately about Australian Chinese cultural heritage, some Chinatowns have been heritages listed and others have been restored. Yet the relations in Australia between spatial practices, power and politics in Chinatowns have not so far attracted much interest. This is exactly what this research seeks to address. It is based on three areas of analysis, covering the period from 1850 to 2010: the history of the political structures, the chronological development of the Chinese community, and the forms of its settlement.

The goal of the work is to assess the extent to which Chinatowns in Australia have been influenced by power in place, and with which urban results. After a national overview, the paper presents the case of Brisbane Chinatown, north of Gold Coast, and documents how the production of transmitted spatial practices here has been altered both by the weight of the authorities and by the translation of traditions. These results serve as a basis for evaluating the prospects of the Gold Coast project.
TRADITION UNGROUNDED: PERFORMING CHINATOWNS IN THE CHINESE DIASPORA

Su Jin Eom

Chinatown as we know it is a space of movement — of ideas, images and bodies, dead or alive. Furthermore, the media representations (such as from TV, films and novels) that have significantly shaped public memory and reception of Chinatown are mobile and reproducible by nature. But the very space of Chinatown is also sustained by physical movements of people and materials in search of the original. For instance, it was not until after city officials from Yokohama, Japan, visited San Francisco’s Chinatown in 1953 that they saw the potential that creating their own Chinese quarter had in rebuilding the city in the aftermath of World War II. Subsequently, Yokohama’s Chinatown developed into a major tourist destination. Likewise, Incheon, Korea, turned toward its Chinese quarter in the wake of the Asian financial crisis. Its first paillou was built in 2000 with “traditional” architectural materials flown in from Shandong, China.

While the urban phenomenon of Chinatown is mobile — in that images, ideas, bodies, and even policies relating to it circulate across the globe — what makes the circulation possible is primarily an immutable “Chineseness.” This is often assumed to disregard any problematic relationship between the Chinese diaspora and its homeland. However, what if the links or connections to the supposed cultural center of tradition were either diminished, or ceased to exist? This is most potentially an issue in East Asia, where the Cold War, fought under U.S. hegemony, shadowed not only international politics but also everyday lives in the post-World War II world. Here especially, movements of people as well as ideas were often severely controlled or restricted across national borders. Meanwhile, decades of acculturation and intermarriage have played a role in weakening links that overseas Chinese populations once had to ancestral homelands. In the face of the rupture and disjuncture that may explain the Chinese diaspora in East Asia today, how can one understand the specificities of the diasporic experience in which they have conceived and performed “tradition” in Chinatowns?

The paper uses the case of Chinatowns in Japan and South Korea in the postwar years to examine the interstitial space of the Chinese diaspora. In particular, it looks at the ways tradition is embraced and interpreted by diasporic populations in Chinatowns as a place where multiple diasporas overlap to create heterogeneous interpretations and imaginations on tradition. What does “tradition” mean to those in-between? Has tradition opened up a new site of mobility for these people, who may have had few opportunities otherwise for upward social mobility in their host societies? Alternatively, has tradition suffocated or restrained them? And, last but not least, whose tradition is Chinatown?

In answering these questions, the paper explores the subjectivity of tradition in built environments torn between the thorny questions of “where you are” and “where you are from.” In doing so, it interrogates historically grounded meanings of tradition that engage with everyday lives in making sense of one’s own ambivalent identity and uncertain future.
The National Park Service summit, led by Park Service Director Jon Jarvis, himself, brought leading Chicano Studies scholars into conversation with interested parties from the community in an effort to recognize understudied geographies and aspects of Latino culture. The summit was part of the Park Service’s new nationwide interpretation initiative “American Latino Heritage,” which also recently produced the publication “American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study.” Later this year the Texas Historical Commission is likewise inaugurating a new Latino cultural interpretation initiative that will identify and objectify elements and significant sites of Latino heritage across the state.

This paper asks who is behind the sudden, wide-scale effort to codify Latino traditions within U.S. culture and to rewrite American history to reflect the significant influence of Latino history and people, and why? In the case of the National Park Service, Secretaries of the Interior Ken Salazar and Sally Jewell tasked the agency to capture and incorporate Latino stories in existing Park Service sites and bring new Latino sites into the Park Service system. But who is ultimately behind the initiative? And is its objective purely disinterested and academic?

The research presented considers census data, demography studies, voter habits, and political trends. It also invokes the work of Chicano Studies scholars such as Antonio Castañeda, as well as the work of cultural theorists and geographers such as David Harvey. The paper concludes by broadening the analysis to consider a similar future redefining of American heritage and history to include other understudied ethnicities — for example, East Asians, who have also contributed significantly to U.S. culture and traditions.
tured and management technologies. On the other, its carefully planned “traditional” affect is being achieved through building details such as arches, construction in local stone, and an overall urban layout comprised of 23 enclosed, traditional “neighborhood” clusters. Both strict bylaws and the terms of the purchase contracts with the Qatari developer are intended to ensure that no changes or additions will be allowed to building exteriors. As the city is about to welcome its first inhabitants, how will the meaning of tradition change in the tension between a singular, top-down urban image and multiple traditions of everyday life? Furthermore, what does Rawabi’s evolving urban tradition have to offer Palestinians excluded from this elite urban experiment?

Caught in the intricate matrix of today’s neoliberal globalizing world-order and local nation-building, Rawabi constitutes a compelling case that illuminates the powerful agents behind the production of tradition in the twenty-first century. Combining spatial-architectural sources, plan-related materials, interviews with stakeholders, and analysis of public discourse and media, the paper contributes to the growing scholarship on the manufacture of tradition and placemaking, and it emphasizes the power dynamics behind these processes.

**FUTURISTIC TRADITIONS: RETHINKING “HYBRID” IDENTITIES ON THE NORTHERN SIDE OF THE MEXICAN BORDER**

*Diana Maldonado*

Latin America is the most urbanized and economically unequal region in the world, with approximately 124 million urban residents living in poverty. This condition is particularly apparent in “peripheral” urban fabric (squatter settlements). Since their founding, Latin American cities have tended to be organized with a center and surrounding peripheral areas, and as long as they have grown, new peripheries have appeared. Nowadays, however, these are located at the center of the city (mobile peripheries) as well as at the margins. Interestingly, the megacities of Latin America concentrate only 14 percent of the area’s population. By contrast, more than half of all urban inhabitants live in “secondary metropolises.” Peripheral settlements (including mobile ones) represent the linking element between these two categories of city.

Despite the fact that urban-architectural narratives privilege spatial experience, an obsession for physical materiality (real/real), purity (conventional tradition), and objective functionality (formal planning) remains. Professional proposals thus emphasize material evidence that can be measured and controlled, and within this view peripheral settlements appear as residual areas that need to be rescued from chaos, ugliness and inefficiency. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, however, this logic doesn’t make any sense.

Peripheries today are informal-formal spaces of contradictions and ambiguities, contingent zones that create new ways of bonding. They are the homeland of outsiders, who see the world through “double-cross” glasses, and where key cultural elements are multiple, shifting and changing. The paper argues that hybridity and hyper-hybridity are the condition for the construction of peripheral identities. Residents of these areas employ fleeting and transient elements of spatiality (everyday life activities and hyper-surfaces) to express themselves. In the peripheries of the South, traditions are reconstructed daily, and the “residuum” is used as raw material. Here, all that was once thought to represent the end of tradition represents its future.

This peripheral geography is not free from oppression, hegemony, and spatial injustice. In the globalized world, cultural identities and traditions are determined by power forces. However, the “sense of choice” remains the first step toward shaping the identity-subjec-

**THE PRODUCTION OF AN “ARB” URBAN HERITAGE: MAZARA DEL VALLO’S CASBAH**

*Ilaria Giglioli*

This paper explores the history and politics behind the production of the Casbah neighborhood of Mazara del Vallo, a fishing town located on the southwest coast of Sicily. In recent years Mazara has been defined as “the most Arab city in Italy” thanks to its well-established Tunisian community and the alleged ninth-century Arab origin of its urban core. Furthermore, since the early 2000s the municipality has actively promoted itself as an example of successful cross-cultural integration and cross-Mediterranean relations. In this paper I explore the history of the Casbah neighborhood in relation to the emergence and consolidation of this symbolism of Mediterranean interconnectedness.

Once the economic core of the town, the neighborhood in question was gradually abandoned by its Italian residents following a 1982 earthquake, and its substandard housing stock was in large part leased to Tunisian migrant workers. In this context, it became increasingly labeled the “Casbah,” a term that connoted a hotbed of petty crime and unsanitary conditions. Over the past decade, however, the neighborhood has been the object of an urban renovation project that has rebranded it as a symbol both of the city’s Arab past and its present connections with the Mediterranean’s southern rim. Interestingly enough, this urban renovation is occurring alongside a shift in the demographic composition of the area, with a decrease of its Tunisian population and an inflow of northern Italian/northern European owners, attracted by the low cost of housing and its “exotic” feel.

This paper claims that the changing connotation of Mazara del Vallo’s Casbah neighborhood is symptomatic of both broader changes in the economic base of the city and shifting cross-Mediterranean relations. It claims that the recent rediscovery and celebration of the neighborhood’s “Arab” tradition is occurring at precisely the same time as a crisis in the historic economic base of the town, the fishing sector, and as a more general decline in the strategic importance of the town within the Sicilian region and Italy as a whole. In this context, underlining the “Arabness” of one of its central neighborhoods represents a way for the town to rebrand itself simultaneously as an “exotic” tourist destination, a haven of cross-cultural dialogue, and an area with ongoing strategic connections to the southern Mediterranean.
ARCHITECTURE AS A TOOL OF EDITING HISTORY: THE CASE OF THE KING ABDULAZIZ HISTORICAL CENTER
Sumayah Al Solaiman

The Arriyadh Development Authority (ADA) is the executive branch of the High Commission for the Development of Riyadh. Among its many responsibilities is to act as client for most of Riyadh's public and cultural projects. This paper examines the cultural politics associated with these projects. It reviews slight shifts in their focus, which can be historically linked to wider political changes in Saudi Arabia.

The paper focuses particularly on the King Abdulaziz Historical Center (KAHC), which was built for the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the capture of Riyadh by King Abdulaziz. An extensive cultural center, it houses conserved palaces of the 1940s, a newly clad renovated mosque of historical value, two newly constructed museums that conflict with each other, and several other buildings, all set within a large landscaped oasis in an older part of the city. Planners and designers working on KAHC included Ali Al-Shuaibi, Rasem Badran, Moriyama and Teshima, and Richard Boedecker.

Much of the KAHC was built on top of a site that was previously occupied by the Murabba’ Palace — a complex that housed King Abdulaziz, the founder of modern Saudi Arabia, and for some time his heir, Prince Saud, who later became king. The significance of the project lies in its historical context, as in the 1940s the Murabba’ Palace was considered the epitome of Najdi architecture. The site was, however, also where Prince Saud experimented with architecture inspired by his travels. And the buildings he introduced were at odds with Najdi architecture in terms of material, construction and style, and resembled nineteenth-century European architecture. During the planning of KAHC, the site was purged of all the buildings introduced by Prince Saud. Only those considered to represent the Najdi vernacular were kept. Interestingly, one new building, however, uses the outline of the structures built by Prince Saud, thus erasing the earlier buildings but replacing them with a structure more in keeping with the vernacular.

Examination of the KAHC as a whole not only reveals the cultural politics of the ADA but also the varying interpretations by architects and planners. Although historical purity is sought, even the renovations present a sanitized and imagined tradition that raise questions of authenticity. As a representation of a vital part of Saudi Arabian history, it is also a site in which history is edited to be consumed by the masses.

An official narrative of history is embedded at all levels of the planning, architecture and landscaping through the use of symbolic gestures. The paper discusses the overall effect. The outcome is that the “historical” center, and particularly its National Museum, link the Saudi nation to a bigger Islamic history, thus reinforcing its central position in the Islamic world, with Saudi history defined as a natural continuation of Islamic history.

B.5 INDIGENOUS AND VERNACULAR TRADITIONS

DIFFERING RELATIONS TO TRADITION AMONG AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS HOMELESS PEOPLE
Paul Memmott
Aboriginal Environments Research Centre, Australia

Deborah Whelan
Durban University of Technology, South Africa

HOUSE FORM AND WHAT? ASSESSING THE “CULTURE” PREMISE AMONG GUYANESE TRADITIONAL PEOPLES
Gabriel Arboleda
Amherst College, U.S.A.

CONTESTATIONS OF TRADITIONAL LAND USE AND VALUE IDENTITY AMONG INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN HONG KONG
Chiu Yin Leung
Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

WHOSE GAREBEG? THE CASE OF YOGYAKARTA AND SURAKARTA
Ofita Purwani
University of Edinburgh, U.K.

DIFFERING RELATIONS TO TRADITION AMONG AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS HOMELESS PEOPLE
Paul Memmott

This essay explores the idea that there is a growing visible form of Indigenous homelessness in contemporary Australia that can be termed “spiritual homelessness,” which has so far not been adequately defined or understood based on empirical evidence. I argue that this phenomenon divides mobile Aboriginal public-place dwellers, who are away from their homelands living itinerant lifestyles, into two categories: those who have lost their traditions (spiritually homeless) and are chronically homeless, and those who are maintaining their traditions through the re-creation of traditional place properties wherever they camp or reside.

In order to understand the concept of “homeless,” the analysis starts with the converse: by outlining theoretical constructs of “home” and how this can be applied to the Indigenous context using the pre-eighteenth-century concept of “home,” a safe and loving place (or similar), as opposed to a house or castle. The analysis then proceeds to explain what being “homed” meant in traditional Aboriginal society. A fine-grained ethnographic model is provided of how being homed in a particular traditional Aboriginal society
meant being connected to some numerous campsites occupied by one’s extended family in one’s clan estate, as well as to the local sacred sites that imbued totemic identity. For this task I use material from my research on the Lardil people of Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. A cultural-change model (using a colonization perspective) is provided to explain the change impacts, particularly upon being disconnected from home, and this is joined with theory on place identity and the concept of “person.” This sets up a potential hypothesis about spiritual homelessness being a disconnect with homeland places and extended kin, defined in this way.

One methodological challenge that had to be overcome to verify the model was finding and incorporating suitably useful case-study reports on individuals suffering from homelessness. To address this, I draw not only from some personal encounters, but also several death-in-custody case studies from northwest Queensland and a documentary film of a homeless Kurri man in Melbourne. These case studies provide a means of understanding the two categories of mobile public-place dwelling among Aboriginal people: those who are reproducing their traditions in foreign places, and those who are unable to reconnect with their traditions and are spiritually bereft.


Deborah Whelan

The Zulu iQhugwane, more commonly known as the grass beehive, has close relatives with which it resonates spatially, physically and metaphysically. However, these relatives — the Navajo hogan and the Central Asian yurt — are located on different continents and are many thousands of kilometers apart. These structures are all traditionally constructed by societies following pastoralist lifeways. Although there are variant departures, all three dwellings are gendered in similar fashion; all have commonalities of basic form and plan arrangement; and all are imbued with ritual closely associated with shamanistic practice.

Based on conclusions gleaned from didactic discourse, in addition to a literature review covering the fields of vernacular architecture, anthropology and archaeology, this paper presents a preliminary investigation of the common origins of the three structures. This is intended to serve as a precursor to a greater project to estimate the age of these buildings and their connection to anatomically modern humans. Furthermore, the paper will inform an intended fieldwork project, in which the anthropology of the buildings in the North American and Central Asian cases will provide a control against which the Zulu iQhugwane, the least-studied building from an anthropological perspective, can be tested using both practice and oral tradition to further valorize the position of the grass beehive in an international context.

HOUSE FORM AND WHAT? ASSESSING THE “CULTURE” PREMISE AMONG GUYANESE TRADITIONAL PEOPLES

Gabriel Arboleda

Much current literature on architecture and culture relies upon theories formulated more than half a century ago — perhaps most famously those in Amos Rapoport’s House Form and Culture. The theories focused on how traditional peoples’ cultures were reflected in their housing. Yet one issue authors regularly failed to describe was the understanding of the very notion of culture among the people they described. What as culture for them?

This paper reports on one such inquiry among traditional peoples of the Guyana hinterland: Arawak, Warau, Carib, Macushi, and others. The research involved extensive fieldwork in eight settlements during the execution of a community-designed and -built housing project. More than two hundred families from the above-mentioned groups participated in this project.

The author took note of villagers’ stances on culture during the implementation of the housing project. For example, he observed that in community-design exercises villagers customarily designed using modernist and other nontraditional forms, spaces and materials. One of their final designs, which was built, in fact recalled the colonial house of the city of Georgetown. For this project, it seems, villagers easily dispensed with using the forms of their own “culture” in their new housing.

After the building project concluded, the author interviewed a sample of participants, asking specific questions regarding their notion of culture. Villagers who self-defined as members of the ethnic groups above were asked questions such as how they said “culture” in their language, and whether the house they designed for the project was the house of their culture.

The paper focuses on two critical findings. First is how little relevance villagers accorded the notion of their culture in how they designed their housing. Second, even more surprisingly, is how the very notion of culture turned out to be incomprehensible for most interviewees. As a caveat, it must be mentioned that the research discovered that the more exposed villagers were to so-called “Western” culture — through, for example, having been educated by missionaries — the more aware they were of the notion.

This evidence from the field puts into question the notion of culture as a universal category. Culture is a positional notion, and it largely remains a modernist invention. Thus, when talking about culture in the built environment, the question “Culture for whom?” becomes imperative. It brings to the forefront the realm in which those who advocate for the notion operate.

In a larger context, this paper argues that although prevalent theories on housing and culture remain respectable, it is necessary to begin rethinking the way we regard this notion in architecture. Simply put, after half a century under the rule of very popular theories, it is about time we put the notion of culture in architecture into crisis.
CONTESTATIONS OF TRADITIONAL LAND USE AND VALUE IDENTITY AMONG INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN HONG KONG
Chiu Yin Leung

The study of traditional indigenous communities has received significant attention recently. In the colonial past, indigenous peoples were consistently discriminated against or marginalized by settler societies. But as time has gone by, the inherent claim and lifestyle of indigenous communities has increasingly been recognized and protected in all regions and at all geographical scales. Today indigenous communities around the world have traditional claims to approximately 25–30 percent of the earth’s territory (Holley 1997). In the present cultural turn, scholars have become more aware of the tradition of these subjects in various dimensions, including their cultural identities, social processes, and resource-management practices. Contemporary research efforts have also been accompanied by further questions about the sustainability and future of indigenous communities considering the prevailing challenges of globalization and elite capitalism in the twenty-first century.

Hong Kong, a typical Chinese society and advanced global city, offers outstanding ground to understand the contestation of such traditional values and processes in indigenous communities. When the New Territories were leased to the British colony in 1898, people living in single- or multilinage villages there were classified as indigenous inhabitants, whose descendants were entitled to a traditional livelihood and some forms of self-administration. In 1972 the male indigenous inhabitants were formally granted the right to build one village house per lifetime, a right now known as the “small-house policy” (Hopkinson and Lau 2003). The small-house policy was originally intended to protect the vested interests and maintain the traditional lifestyles of rural villages, but in practice it has further promoted the capital accumulation of the indigenous inhabitants through property transactions. The lack of adequate control in land rights and rural planning has meanwhile contributed to a chaotic expansion of village-type development without any traditional identity or utility.

Against the above backdrop, this research intends to uncover the inherited conditions of traditional indigenous communities, including their people and place, in Hong Kong, especially after 1997. To be specific, it will investigate the development trends among and constraints on the inhabitants in terms of the boundary and scale, density, facility, etc. In the context of an autonomous capitalist economy and severe growth pressure, it closely examines the various factors and processes responsible for the socio-spatial changes in these villages. The research also concerns changes of traditional value and practice among stakeholders in the indigenous communities. Whereas their main economic claims were somehow safeguarded by the entitlement policy, other aspects of the village tradition might have been distorted, neglected or lost in the process. Finally, the research questions the exploitative relationship between grand narrative and folk stories in postcolonial studies. Drawing from the above inquiries, it discusses how the traditions of the indigenous communities in Hong Kong have been marginalized by mainstream discourse(s) over the period, in both material and ideological terms.

WHOSE GAREBEG? THE CASE OF YOGYAKARTA AND SURAKARTA
Ofita Purwani

This paper focuses on the Garebeg ritual, a Javanese tradition organized annually by royal courts, or kraton, to distribute alms to the people. I focus particularly on the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, where Garebeg rituals are held annually. Both rituals are loci of Javanese tradition due to the existence of kraton in each, and they share a similar history in that both kraton are descended from the Mataram kingdom of Java. Both cities also feature similarities in layout, reflecting a Javanese typology based on cosmological concepts. However, even though the two kraton still exist, their different standing leads them to have different roles in independent Indonesia. Specifically, the territory of the kraton of Yogyakarta is acknowledged by the state, and its king is automatically appointed governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The property and territory of the kraton of Surakarta was appropriated by the state, and it no longer has an independent political role.

My thesis is that the differences between the practice of Garebeg in Yogyakarta and Surakarta relate to differences of power between the two kraton. To prove this, I highlight differences in the practice of Garebeg in the two cities. The Garebeg of the kraton of Yogyakarta is the only Garebeg in the city. It was originally conducted in two locations, the Great Mosque and the minor court of Pakualaman, but in 2011 a third location was added, the governor’s office. Meanwhile, the Garebeg of the kraton of Surakarta is conducted only in the Great Mosque. Moreover, two new kinds of Garebeg have been invented there by the municipal government and the local people to promote peace and healthy food. All these practices will be analyzed spatially by mapping them and interpreting them in relation to the socio-political situation of the cities and the kraton.

The research revealed that the Garebeg of the kraton of Yogyakarta, as the only Garebeg of the city, conducted in three different locations (two of which are loci of power outside the kraton), is intended as a means to gain political legitimacy. The changes made in 2011 were political and highlighted the connection between the kraton and the governor’s office — in particular, the claim by the kraton that its king be automatically appointed governor. This is possible because the kraton has the power to accomplish it. Meanwhile, Surakarta’s Garebeg is held only in the kraton’s territory, and since 2008 the traditions of the kraton of Surakarta’s Garebeg, including its attributes and the name Garebeg, have been copied by the people and the local government. Today these new, invented traditions occupy parts of the city that are not included in the cosmological discourse of the kraton, celebrated annually as “tradition.” This shows that the kraton of Surakarta no longer holds a dominant position in the city, but may rather now be considered only one of many stakeholders there.
C.5 NAVIGATING MULTIPLE CULTURES

MIMETIC TRADITIONS OR STRATEGIC SELF-FASHIONING? FROM COMMON COURTESAN TO QUEEN DOWAGER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDIA
Mrinalini Rajagopalan
University of Pittsburgh, U.S.A.

TEA HOUSES, RED BRICK, AND PINK CATS: NEGOTIATING JAPANESE TRADITION IN TAIWAN
Mike Robinson
University of Birmingham, U.K.

LOST IN TRADITION
Lineu Castello and Iara Regina Castello
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

REASSERTING TRADITION IN A MULTICULTURAL AND COSMOPOLITAN STATE: SINGAPORE’S WISMA GEYLANG SERAI
Humairah Zainal
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

A COMPLEX TRADITION: READING JAPANESE INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN TAIWAN
ChaoShiang Li
Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, U.K.

MIMETIC TRADITIONS OR STRATEGIC SELF-FASHIONING? FROM COMMON COURTESAN TO QUEEN DOWAGER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDIA
Mrinalini Rajagopalan

An 1850 map of Delhi shows a large mansion set in expansive gardens just off the Chandni Chowk — the main thoroughfare of the city leading to the palace of the Mughal emperor of India. Given the grand scale of the mansion, its Palladian-style plan, and its proximity to the palace, one might assume it was the residence of an East India Company official. (Rising in power, the East India Company was then fast displacing the hegemony of the Mughal Empire.) The owner of the mansion, however, was neither European nor male, but rather a wealthy dowager by the name of Begum Samru, ruler of the independent territory of Sardhana, sixty kilometers northeast of Delhi. Contemporary accounts of Begum Samru’s residence describe its Neoclassical grandeur and the ostentatious parties she often hosted there, replete with entertainment, feasting, and fireworks. The first of her three large architectural commissions, Begum Samru’s mansion in Delhi clearly expressed the manner in which she consolidated power in early nineteenth-century Delhi. As a military leader whose alliances shifted often, albeit strategically, between Indian and European powers, Begum Samru’s residence employed a bold European Neoclassical façade complete with carriage porch, entry portico, and formal living room. Yet the building simultaneously maintained more traditional elements of the Indian Muslim household such as the zenānā (women’s quarters) and the hammām (bathing rooms).

Begum Samru had begun her life as a common courtesan, or dancing girl. But she rose to power through marriage to a European officer from whom she inherited her title, territories, and a standing mercenary army, all of which provided her a sizeable income even after her husband’s death. The mansion’s architecture thus also expressed Begum Samru’s desire to escape her low rank and be counted among the Indian nobility of Delhi. This class had recently begun to “Europeanize” their own homes with Italianate facades and Neoclassical details, in order to display their modernity and progressiveness.

My presentation traces the history of Begum Samru’s three large architectural commissions — her two Neoclassical mansions, in Delhi and Sardhana, and a basilica, also in Sardhana, which she built late in her life upon converting to Catholicism. My investigation reveals the manner in which Begum Samru strategically and self-consciously used architectural traditions to scale Indian and European political ranks. At a time when the Mughal Empire was threatened by European domination, Begum Samru carefully deployed and manipulated architectural traditions to position herself as a benefactor and ally of both powers.

In my analysis I employ the concept of mimesis as advanced by feminists such as Luce Irigaray. Irigaray has argued that mimesis is the deliberate and self-conscious inhabitation of gendered stereotypes by women to establish a strategic position from which to enact agency. I argue that Begum Samru’s savvy use of Indian and European architectural traditions provided her a mimetic space from where she could navigate Mughal and British patriarchy and further her own political power.

The term tradition, however fluid in its use and interpretation, is frequently invoked in the political and social processes of nation-building; and, as if to concretize its meaning, it is often associated with, and embodied in, heritage sites. It is thus that heritage structures that demonstrate continuity, presence and recurrence become important assets in the construction of national identity. However contested these sites may be, a nation unable to draw upon its heritage weakens its claim toward tradition.

In Taiwan — aside from some prehistoric archaeological sites, a few preserved sites from Dutch colonization in the seventeenth century, and some Qing period structures — a significant element of built heritage derives from the Japanese colonial period, which began in 1895 when Formosa and nearby islands were ceded by China under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Between 1895 and 1945, Formosa, as Japan’s first overseas “model” colony, underwent rapid and significant modernization. While the exploitation of the island’s resources provided a subtext, with some notable exceptions of aggression, surface-level relations between occupiers and occupied were generally harmonious.

The “hardware” legacy of Japanese colonialism is evident in many parts of present-day Taiwan, particularly in its infrastructure, industrial buildings, and the housing and street construction that underpinned a new urban-focused modernity. And particularly since 2000, Japanese buildings have been appropriated by Taiwan as part of the national heritage resource. Moreover, Japanese tradition in immaterial form is now entangled with a vibrant popular culture. Taiwan has been enthusiastically mobilizing its stock of tangible and intangible heritage assets via a program for preservation, conservation and promotion. Directed in part by economic drivers to attract
tourists, the recent articulation of Taiwan's heritage sites and practices are also woven into the country's complex negotiation of its own identity. Unlike Korea and China, where the markers of Japanese culture and tradition are heavily contested and, to a large extent, have been vehemently erased, Taiwan appears to readily absorb and celebrate its “imported” Japanese traditions.

This paper examines the intersections of Japanese tradition with contemporary Taiwanese culture and how this meshes with a construction of "Taiwanese" heritage and the national narrative. Drawing upon examples where Japanese tradition surfaces through both heritage sites and popular culture, I counterpose official narratives of the nation (Hall 1994) with more complex and fluid interpretations of Japanese tradition that draw upon intergenerational transmission, local memory, and social practice. Taipei City in particular presents itself as a useful text through which to explore the ways colonial legacies are being transformed.

I address the following questions: How does the valorization of Japanese colonial tradition problematize Taiwan’s self-identification and its projected global identity, post-1971? How do contemporary communities in Taiwan respond to traditions derived from, and what are largely symbolic of, outside colonial rule? How do visitors from outside the country make sense of a hybrid tradition against the idea of Taiwanese-ness? And how do such discourses resonate with both East Asian geo-politics and local intimacies?

LOST IN TRADITION
Lineu Castello and Iara Regina Castello

Rio Grande do Sul (RS) is the southernmost state of Brazil, whose local inhabitants are called gaúchos. The early human presence here consisted of indigenous tribes, but Europeans arrived in the early seventeenth century to search for the alluring treasures of the New World. However, the European population consisted of both Spaniards and Portuguese, since the territory was disputed between the two countries until the mid-eighteenth century. The location of the state, along the border of both Argentina and Uruguay, further created a subtropical frontier region. In the subsequent “civilization” process, Spaniards established missionary settlements to catechize the Indians. Later on, Portuguese horsemen, attracted by herds of cattle escaped from the missions, entered the state from neighboring Brazilian regions. Though extremely sketchy, this history highlights the concoction of a distinct tradition, precisely due to the energetic borderline interface linking Argentinean gaúchos to Brazilian gaúchos.

Within a short time the need for a stronger (and more submissive) workforce set up the ignominious process of trading in African slaves — in reduced numbers in the south of Brazil. But in the early nineteenth century RS also received a considerable contingent of immigrants, chiefly Italians and Germans. In no time these groups were followed by other European migrants (such as from Poland and France) and from Asia (Syrian, Turkish, Lebanese). Needless to say, spatial traditions practiced by indigenous tribes, by African slaves, by Portuguese and Spanish explorers, and by Italians, Germans and other immigrants all got mixed together in a single cauldron. And when confronted with the ways of the original gaúchos, they produced a new mélangé known in Brazil (both by themselves and by “other” Brazilians) as the “Gaúcho tradition.” This has now, in the twenty-first century, raised a question: Whose tradition has prevailed?

The Gaúcho tradition is not the case of a surviving or prevailing tradition, but rather represents the birth of a newly redesigned tradition, inculcated through varied multicultural parameters. The paper conjectures that for Brazilians as a whole, RS thus grew into a symbolic “place” impregnated with solid traditions — for locals, nationals and foreigners alike. Methodologically, the paper explores how far — in time and space — the range of Gaúcho traditions has gone. For this, it ponders archetypal situations portrayed in traditional niches distributed around the territory, trying to identify their likely subjectivity, authorship and power. Architectural modernity, for example, may possibly be attributed to German immigrants who supplied architects with enough technology to build the early wheat mills in the industrial district of Porto Alegre. Likewise, the paper examines a number of leads that could help explain this assumption — a tradition materialized as a place — starting with a recall of the theoretical conception of place and its close-knit associations with tradition. Such understanding of place is presently shared by a growing number of scholars, and was originated from the phenomenological approach developed by philosophers like Martin Heidegger and Edward Casey.

Ultimately, after focusing on a few case studies, the paper ventures to review whose tradition has been at the base of each selected environmental pattern.

REASSERTING TRADITION IN A MULTICULTURAL AND COSMOPOLITAN STATE: SINGAPORE’S WISMA GEYLANG SERAI
Humaira Zainal

Studies on the construction of tradition in space and place have largely focused on the role of tradition as a bulwark against forces of globalization and modernization (Hamzah 2013). Others have been confined to how state interpretations of local traditions have resulted in what Greenwood (1977) termed the “commodification process” and “cultural inauthenticity.” Where human agency is concerned, the emphasis has been limited to tensions between tourists and locals (Chang 2009). This paper argues for an extension of literature on tradition within built environments by examining other dynamics of tradition and power relations tied to sites of heritage significance. It interrogates recent state-sponsored reassertion of tradition in multicultural urban landscapes through a case study of Geylang Serai, the cultural heart of Singapore’s Malay-Muslim community. Specifically, it examines the tensions and negotiations that may arise among various stakeholders when the new Wisma Geylang Serai (WGS) civic center is constructed by the state. In discussing the future of Geylang Serai, it is also impossible to overlook the increasing presence of migrant workers near the area where the WGS will be developed.

The state-directed project attempts simultaneously to preserve the “authentic” experience of Malay culture and to accommodate that culture within the constraints of multiculturalism. The paper explores the role of and extent to which “tradition” is still relevant in a state project that exhibits race within a multicultural ethos. It challenges essentialist ethnic portrayals of tradition and culture by the state at two levels. At the conceptual level, it adopts Edward Sapir’s (1922) “insiderness-outsiderness” concept to show that the insider- outsider cleavage can be explored from various perspectives, not just one that pits tourists against locals. At the empirical level, the paper provides a more nuanced perspective on the value of tradition in multicultural and cosmopolitan states like Singapore by taking into consideration recent trends in the state’s urban renewal projects as well as the impacts of new migration patterns on urban heritage sites.

To augment the research, the paper analyzes a range of secondary data and findings obtained from semi-structured interviews with local visitors and former residents of Geylang Serai. It concludes by arguing that social and temporal circumstances that shape particular places and specific groups’ experience of them must be considered in order to avoid simplistic dualisms that limit the range of place.
As AlSayyad (2001) has observed, tradition relates to the cultural continuity of generations, and heritage is intermediary to the continuance of meaning, tradition and value. Hence, in a postcolonial country, the past requires not only a sense of ownership but a sense of permission associated with its consumption, creation, and propagation as it relates to national identity. This paper deals with Taiwan as a postcolonial nation whose identity remains somewhat ambiguous from both an outside and inside perspective. Specifically, it looks to the complexities of its traditions as they are displayed through industrial heritage sites.

Modern Taiwanese culture is still being shaped through a “working through” of its indigenous, Han Chinese, and Japanese legacies in an attempt to blend them into a recognizable tradition that accords with a nation-state ideal. Out of such legacies, the fifty-year colonization of Taiwan by the Japanese was arguably the most influential, as it began a rapid process of modernization that is still ongoing. Though a relatively brief period of occupation, it allowed Japanese traditions to be embedded in the social life of the island. Key to this was the industrialization process that opened up parts of the island for development, catalyzed new communities and urban patterns, and structured daily life. Sites of industrial production established by the Japanese have now become industrial heritage sites for tourists. These represent some 20 percent of the 2014 official cultural-heritage sites list in Taiwan, where more than 40 percent of all sites were constructed during the Japanese colonial period. A majority of these were designated after the year 2000 during the only postwar period of government by the Democratic Progressive Party.

In this paper I examine two case studies of industrial heritage sites that date from the Japanese colonial period. One is the forestry and tobacco industrial area in Hualien, which includes the Japanese immigration village sites and Liintiensan Cultural Forest Area. The second is in the Ruifang mountain district north of Taipei, which comprises the ShuiJinJiu gold mine (now a museum) and the former Houlong coal mine (now a visitor attraction). In both cases I analyze how Japanese tradition is still reflected in the sites and related areas, and how this tradition is anchored to these places, primarily as sites of exploitation. The interpretation of the sites reveals the reemergence and reimagining of Taiwan’s Japanese legacy from both a political and economic perspective. At the same time, and not disconnected from the discourses of Taiwan’s national identity, these sites also reveal some highly problematic place-related aspects of the colonial tradition.
LIVING WITH TRADITION IN THE OLD CITY OF DAMASCUS

Faehad Totah

Since the Old City of Damascus was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979, different policies and regulations have been put in place to protect it from the onslaught of modernization. Although the main purpose of these policies has been to protect the local traditional architecture, however, they have inadvertently contributed to the deterioration of many buildings, thereby highlighting the gap between government conservation policies and actual implementation. The main shortcoming of these policies has been to create a narrow definition of tradition and to associate it with the Damascenes, one of several social groups that live in the Old City. The Old City has thus become the locus of an invented Damascene tradition that references an ideal past, especially with regard to how courtyard houses were constructed and inhabited. The promotion of this ideal past has also undermined the contribution of non-Damascene to the built environment of the Old City. Moreover, the state has not been successful in promoting its own understanding of tradition among residents. Therefore, many observers believe the urban tradition in the Old City is under threat by the very guidelines meant to protect it.

In this paper I offer an alternative view and argue that residents, by undermining the preservation guidelines, are insisting on their own urban tradition. When they renovate, reconstruct or refurbish their homes, they do so with comfort in mind — which was the original intent of the courtyard house built and inhabited by Damascenes. What is missing in the government guidelines is a sense for the historical context out of which the courtyard houses emerged. I argue that by insisting on a Damascene architectural tradition, the government is actually freezing these houses in time and not allowing them to adapt to their residents’ contemporary needs. Therefore, residents have no recourse but to illegally renovate them. I describe how residents see courtyard houses as a living tradition that can (and needs to be) made suitable for the needs of their present inhabitants. This conflict between the official understanding of tradition and that of the residents has led to disagreement over how best to preserve the courtyard houses. Much of the reconstruction by residents is done surreptitiously and illegally to avoid government penal-

RESILIENCE FOUND THROUGH THE IDENTITY OF PLACE: A TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN POST-DISASTER HAITI

James Miller

There is a need for research in urban planning and housing in disaster risk management and disaster recovery, especially as it relates to the inclusion of endogenous knowledge. The postdisaster recovery of Haiti following the 2010 earthquake demonstrates how the current reconstruction process for housing is fundamentally flawed: it overlooks the embedded knowledge of the affected population; it encourages emergency settlements to remain for years following the disaster; and it fails to take advantage of endogenous social and cultural systems. There are potential solutions to mitigating vulnerability through traditional knowledge systems. Generative strategies for growth need to be applied that allow these systems to succeed. An element of the traditional knowledge system of the Haitian Creole culture, the lakou, helps provide a sense of place for Haitians and has proven resilient through the Haiti’s tumultuous history.

The lakou is the physical manifestation of human processes that have formed and adapted through generations. It is a spatial manifestation of the familial social structure and takes the physical form of a courtyard or compound. This paper demonstrates the importance of the lakou through the analysis of postdisaster temporary settlements, showing that through their own devices endogenous inhabitants create the lakou in these settlements. The study, carried out over a seven-week period in Haiti, involved interviews, observations, and the mapping of four separate self-settled postdisaster settlements. Qualitative coding was used to uncover the emergent themes. The study established the importance of the lakou in community vibrancy and demonstrated how it encouraged a quality of resilience among those living in such settlements. One discovery of the work — the unprecedented transformation of the lakou from a kinship-based settlement pattern to a more inclusive nonfamilial one — pointed to the importance of this spatial and social manifestation in the development of community, among different families, in a settlement. This discovery raised the question of whose tradition the lakou belongs to: the family or nonkinship groups. The dynamism of the lakou in postdisaster Haiti may reveal the changing perception and identity of family itself.

In summary, the work validates not only the resilience of the lakou but also the changing, inclusive nature of the lakou system — knowledge that should be used to influence planning procedures in Haiti. This knowledge can potentially be used to turn a postdisaster settlement into a successful permanent settlement, helping to resolve one of the major procedural issues of postdisaster reconstruction.
APPROPRIATING TRADITIONS IN CONTESTED SPACE:
PLACEMAKING BY THE ELDERLY IN SINGAPORE AND SEOUL
Keng Hua Chong and Mihye Cho

This paper discusses trends of placemaking by the elderly in high-density cities, through a comparison of old neighborhoods in Singapore and Seoul. Because space is physically constrained and thus highly contested in these cities, the future of old neighborhoods near their centers often presents a dilemma of redevelopment vs. conservation. Many residents have lived in these neighborhoods for decades. Created out of new estates to house low- and middle-class workers, they have rich histories and serve as containers for the memories of many of their original residents who have now become elderly. Over the years these people reestablished older lifestyles here. Some brought over traditional practices such as gardening and farming from previous homes. Others created new spatial practices to suit their changing needs by constantly adapting their environments. In all of these cases, it is important to examine how these elderly residents have overcome the pressure of constant redevelopment and relocation, subverted efforts at control and standardization, appropriated the geographical and spatial constraints, and developed alternative spatial practices and placemaking strategies in these old neighborhoods.

The contexts in Singapore and Seoul are very different. Since 1960, highrise, high-density public housing has become the predominant form of urban living in Singapore, and many residents have been relocated to it from villages and lowrise shophouses. One consequence of this migration was that traditional common spaces like “five-foot ways” and back lanes were replaced by new public areas such as lift lobbies, corridors, “void decks,” and precinct open spaces, which have recently become the contested grounds for planned facilities catering to the aging population. While seemingly monotonous and functional, such public areas have been occupied by residents, mostly the elderly in mature estates such as Clementi, Dover and Toa Payoh. This population has have reclaimed these liminal spaces for communal activities, manifesting diverse urban lives.

In Seoul, the situation is quite different. Its hilly outskirts were claimed by migrant squatters who lived there in highly compact manner after the Korean War. These squatter areas were legalized in 1968, at which time many residents were allowed to claim ownership of the houses and lands they had occupied and lived in. However, since 1994 others have continued to live as squatters by paying a special fee to use public land. Proximity to the city has rendered these lands highly contested. However, following the failure of the recent commercially driven “New Town” plan to redevelop these old neighborhoods, the community has sought alternative plans to improve their dilapidated conditions. Some progress in community placemaking can now be observed in Samsun 4 District, leveraging the decades of experience among elderly residents in appropriating the hilly terrain and applying labor skills learned in their younger days.

In both cases, the elderly are working around externally imposed planning, while appropriating their spatial practices in each landscape. By comparing the different ways of placemaking by elderly communities, the paper seeks to uncover the underlying collaborative mechanisms, historical consequences, and socio-cultural preferences of adapting these practices to high-density cities, overcoming constraints in highly contested urban spaces.

B.6 BUILDING THE VERNACULAR:
INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS

WHOSE TRADITIONS SHAPE THE COEUR D’ALENE WORLD?
Anne Marshall
University of Idaho, U.S.A.

VALIDITY AND AUTHORITY OF TRADITION IN THE
SEARCH FOR INDONESIAN ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY
Ryadi Adityavarman
Kansas State University, U.S.A.

REJECTION AND REUSE OF TRADITIONAL BUILDING
TECHNOLOGIES: ABORIGINAL THATCHING MATERIALS
Timothy O’Rourke and Paul Memmott
Aboriginal Environments Research Centre, Australia

THEIR VOICE OR MINE? DEBATING PEOPLE’S
AGENCY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIGENOUS
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIES
Gauri Bharat
University of East Anglia, U.K.

“LIVING INUKTITUT”: FROM VILLAGE TO CAMP,
MODIFYING THE LANDSCAPE THE INUIT WAY
Susane Havelka
McGill University, Canada

WHOSE TRADITIONS SHAPE THE COEUR D’ALENE
WORLD?
Anne Marshall

The 1853 Mission of the Sacred Heart, in Cataldo, Idaho, is the oldest extant building in the state. Yet for millennia, indigenous people have created buildings for a variety of human activities within the lands that in 1890 became the state of Idaho. Descendants of these people live on and off reservations of the five federally recognized tribes in Idaho today. Like other residents of the state, indigenous people have built and are continuing to build structures that serve their contemporary lifestyles. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, U.S. government officials and missionaries directed building projects on indigenous lands. This paper examines architecture associated with one tribe — the Coeur d’Alene — and asks whose narratives shaped these buildings and how the buildings have shaped the lives of the Coeur d’Alene people.

The Mission of the Sacred Heart was designed as a place to convert Coeur d’Alene people to Christianity. At first the building may appears similar in style and material to mission architecture in New Mexico, Arizona, and California. However, Fr. Antonio Ranalli was Italian, and the external appearance of the mission is in fact more similar to churches near his hometown of Ferrara, Italy. Given that Fr. Ranalli designed the mission while stationed at another mis-
sion, it is unlikely that any of the Coeur d'Alene people influenced its design. However, the builders were Coeur d'Alene, so they may have influenced some of the construction methods and detailing — for example, the wattle-and-daub wall construction of woven branches and posts infilled with clay.

The Sisters of Charity of Providence founded the Mary Immaculate School in DeSmet, Idaho, in 1878, for Coeur d'Alene girls. This was one of many late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century U.S. boarding and day schools whose purpose was to educate indigenous children according to Euro-American standards. Children were separated from their families; their hair was cut; their traditional clothing burned; and they were forbidden from speaking their languages or practicing traditional ceremonies. For many Indigenous people, school was a traumatic experience, which some have described as cultural genocide. The institutional, rectilinear architecture of these schools framed the educational experience of indigenous children.

Today the Coeur d'Alene tribe appears to have regained control of its built environment. The tribe hires prominent architects to design modern buildings that reflect its identity. Among these is Mithun, a Seattle firm that designed the seventh and latest expansion of the casino resort, completed in 2011. Their award-winning, LEED Silver, design incorporates cultural references, natural materials such as wood and stone, extensive native plants, and a space for powwows. Despite its apparently successful design, however, tribal members modified the building after construction was complete. This suggests that somehow the building was not consistent with expectations of tribal members. And it begs the question: Does the design represent the Coeur d'Alene tribe, or was it based on the architect's imagined vision of the tribe? Alternatively, was there an internal struggle about priorities such as the representation of a traditional or modern tribal identity or the economics of casino operation?

VALIDITY AND AUTHORITY OF TRADITION IN THE SEARCH FOR INDONESIAN ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

Ryadi Adityavarman

Within the conference theme of linkage between tradition, authority and power, this paper investigates the search for a distinctive regional identity for Indonesian modern architecture by Henri Maclaine Pont at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time Indonesia was still ruled by a Dutch colonial government. Yet, despite the disadvantageous socio-political context, a small group of progressive architects led by Maclaine Pont sought to find a new architectural expression that would respect indigenous Indonesian culture and its response to the warm, humid climate. This approach was an anomaly within the culture of Euro-centrist monumental architecture favored by the Dutch colonial government as part of its political strategy to strengthen the image of cultural superiority.

Influenced by the architectural thinking of Hendrik Petrus Berlage in the Netherlands, Maclaine Pont applied the fundamental principles of structural rationalism through thoughtful and creative combinations of Indonesian traditional architecture. Specifically, he merged archetypal forms with the innovative application of modern building construction by using local materials that responded functionally to the tropical climate. By using such a hybrid strategy, Maclaine Pont sought to preserve the essential architectural character of the region. Moreover, he integrated an indigenous cultural dimension as part of his architectural schemes by including traditional building construction ceremonies and providing a workshop for local craftsmen.

The paper describes the evolution of structural rationalism from Viollet-le-Duc to the early-modern Dutch architecture of Berlage. It then investigates its influence on Maclaine Pont's architecture, especially with regard to the dilemma of validity he faced in selecting an architectural tradition as an archetype. Consequently, the study will analyze its theoretical manifestation on a couple of selected, exemplary design works: the ITB campus (1923) and the Pohsarang church (1936).

The paper offers critical reflection on the dialogue between tradition validity, political authority, and the issue of modernity in the development of Maclaine Pont's architectural ideas. It further highlights the similarity between Pont's ideas and the concept of critical regionalism, as this might reflect the potential continuing relevance of Pont's approach with contemporary design principles of holistic sustainability.

REJECTION AND REUSE OF TRADITIONAL BUILDING TECHNOLOGIES: ABORIGINAL THATCHING MATERIALS

Timothy O’Rourke and Paul Memmott

In Australia, European settlers relied on a number of Aboriginal technologies to construct buildings in the early phase of colonization. In contrast, official and popular colonial narratives about the absence of Aboriginal architecture, which still persist, were used in propaganda to displace the original inhabitants of the country. Indigenous building materials, including grass and bark thatch, were employed extensively by the colonists on the frontier in the late nineteenth century, before being replaced by modern construction materials. Indigenous knowledge and skill associated with the traditional thatching technologies continued well into the twentieth century in self-constructed Aboriginal dwellings. The provision of mainstream Aboriginal housing in the 1960s and 1970s diminished the relevance and use of these traditions, which did not meet government ideals of modernity — this included policies of assimilation, progress and hygienic housing.

This paper examines the rejection and reuse of traditional technologies in contemporary Australian architectural practice. Case studies of two indigenous cladding materials are used to explore the varied conditions that sanction or commoditize traditional materials. Why are certain traditional technologies discarded and others adopted by the dominant society? How does tradition factor in mainstream attitudes toward the products of vernacular building?

Broader questions about the repurposing of traditional building materials and practices are relevant to this paper. In arid and semi-arid regions of Australia, the endemic spinifex grass (Triodia spp.) continues to be used on a local scale to thatch shade structures in yards. In the 1970s architects recognized the properties and potential usefulness of spinifex thatch, but only recently has the grass attracted scientific interest.

Informed by traditional Aboriginal knowledge, a recent multidisciplinary research project has prototyped and tested novel spinifex building products. In this case study, the commoditization of spinifex relies on transforming the traditional material into modern construction products through scientific testing and codification. In its new forms, material performance and building economics will determine the use of spinifex building products, but the connection to Aboriginal tradition is likely to be tenuous. While tropical blady grass (Imperata cylindrica) is used as a traditional thatching material across Southeast Asia and parts of the Pacific region, Aboriginal knowledge of blady grass thatching has largely disappeared. Nevertheless, Australians can purchase imported Alang-Alang grass (I. cylindrica) as a thatch for their own Balinese-style huts and gazebos.

The paper thus reveals how local technologies and indigenous materials have been overlooked and replaced by a more exotic tradition from a popular Australian tourism destination. In this case,
Indonesian building tradition is reused in Australian suburbia, but the commoditization of blady grass relies on popular architectural taste and discretionary consumption.

**THEIR VOICE OR MINE? DEBATING PEOPLE’S AGENCY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIES**

*Gauri Bharat*

It was nine in the morning and the village street was abuzz with excitement. Villagers were milling around the display of my photographs and architectural drawings of their houses and the village that I had installed there. This was a case-study site for my doctoral research on conceptions of space and place in an indigenous community in Singhbhum in south Jharkhand in India. I had spent three weeks photographing, sketching, observing life, and talking to people in the village. My questions about the villagers’ everyday lives and my documentation of the settlement and its dwellings had perplexed and amused them. This display was now intended allow them to enter into dialogue with my research. This was why I had framed and displayed photographs of the surroundings of the village, its institutions, and domestic places. I had also displayed a number of photographs of what most interested me — the beautifully built and painted mud dwellings for which the community was locally renowned.

During the display, I asked the villagers to choose which photographs they considered most representative of the places and life of the village. To my complete dismay, they ignored the architecturally remarkable dwellings and instead chose images of a sacred grove, hand pumps, cattle, and the village school. Two other case-study villages and three similar displays later, the pattern was the same. It became apparent that there was a distinct difference in emphasis between the villagers’ evaluation of their environment and my own architectural point of view.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Santals — the community of people in question — have transitioned broadly from being a forest-dwelling people to being settled agriculturists. Meanwhile, the Singhbhum region has transformed from being a densely forested area to an agricultural and industrial one. Senses of place for Santals, as my research eventually showed, are dominated by memories of their forest-dwelling past, and they thus consider greenery, forests and hills to be the most valued parts of their environment. By contrast, the dwelling in its present form emerged in the course of agricultural sedentarization, and does not feature significantly in representations of their everyday environments. The gendered connotations of dwellings as places both made and used by women further serve to downplay their significance.

In this paper I explore this disjunction between villagers’ emphases in representations of their environment and my own interest in constructing an architectural history through a focus on dwelling forms. I argue that though the villagers themselves do not consider the dwellings important, it is a key to understanding the transforming relationship between people and their changing environment. It is not, however, a register of a community’s imagination of themselves. This difference in perspective becomes vital in arenas such as architectural heritage, where the preservation of objects often takes precedence over other value systems. I conclude that the construction of architectural traditions must necessarily be multivalent, and dialogic engagements between architects and makers and users of traditional built environments are vital for bringing different, and often conflicting, points of view together.

"LIVING INUKTITUT": FROM VILLAGE TO CAMP, MODIFYING THE LANDSCAPE THE INUIT WAY

*Susane Haveika*

Since World War II the government of Canada has encouraged the Inuit to settle in structured villages so they may access elemental services. Part of this effort has involved providing subsidized houses mandanely arranged along roads, neglecting the many specificities of Arctic conditions as well as the traditions of Arctic communities. According to Peter Colin Dawson (1997), the Inuit were never consulted on the design, size or location of the housing. This has led them to self-build additional ephemeral structures to accommodate their specific cultural needs. In these cases, traditional design principles and ways of grouping are used according to season or occasion. According to Marcel Mauss (1979), designing for the local climate and environment is meticulously expressed through form, materials, apertures, and roof slope.

My thesis is that appropriate Inuit design principles and insights are essential to their way of life. This is demonstrated by modifications the Inuit make to the domestic environments of their government housing as well as in the building of their own cabins and out-buildings. The paper explores the interface between cultural landscape and space by examining how Inuit construct, experience and inhabit their dwellings both in government-run settlements and seasonal camps. By noting the intricacy of Inuit intervention in both government houses and cabins, I am struck by the specific spatial practices and constructions created by Inuit occupants to accommodate their families and social lives. This further leads me to believe that the Inuit psyche and spatial arrangements are echoed in all spaces they inhabit.

To better understand the inspiration for this research, I refer to work by Dr. Natalijia Subotinic, a professor of architecture at the University of Manitoba, in particular her essay “Constructing Sigmund Freud’s Cabinet: A Physical and Psychical Terrain.” This work explored the realm between psyche and space, and integrated photography and architecture to interpret rooms. Subotinic analyzed the relationship between Freud’s theories and how he arranged his collections and furnishings in the spaces he inhabited. In a corresponding way, the ephemeral architecture that the Inuit create is a mirror and unobjectionable pattern of the visible and invisible world in which they live.

In this conference on “Whose tradition?” my paper explores the spatial practices of the Inuit in both self-built cabins and government housing. What can we learn from this existing ephemeral architecture? How do Inuit, who were left out of the planning of the government villages, create their own built traditions? How do they arrange their rooms and “subvert established norms,” allowing their voice to enter the equation and gain legitimacy?

While several houses and cabins were photographed, drawn and analyzed to extract basic design principles, only a comparison between the traditional original camps and the established government communities can explain that the constructions and spatial practices are distinctive and part of a larger cultural framework. Both the self-made domestic buildings and the specific spatial practices in the given government buildings serve as significant cultural evidence that bear valuable information about how Inuit construct, experience and inhabit spaces today. Without additional heavy investments, the paper argues that a more sustainable model of house and community in the eastern Arctic may be to promote more of these self-built structures as well as the full participation of Inuit and their design principles.
C.6 DEVELOPMENT AND REGENERATION

TRANSFORMATION OF HMONG AGRICULTURAL TRADITIONS: AGENCY, SPACE AND DEVELOPMENT
Lynne M. Dearborn
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.

ALEXANDRIA’S HISTORIC CITY CENTER: SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION AFTER REVOLUTION
Gihan Mosaad and Riham Faragallah
Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport, Egypt

TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION IN TRADITIONAL QUARTERS: A NETWORKING PLACE MANAGEMENT APPROACH
Jie Han
National University of Singapore

IN WHAT TRADITION SHOULD WE BUILD? A PORTLAND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM IN OLD TOWN/CHINATOWN/JAPANTOWN
Hajo Neis, Howard Davis, and Gabriel Brown
University of Oregon, Portland, U.S.A.

URBAN CATALYSTS: PROTAGONISTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN BANGKOK’S INNER-CITY NEIGHBORHOODS
Sonja Berthold
National University of Singapore

TRANSFORMATION OF HMONG AGRICULTURAL TRADITIONS: AGENCY, SPACE AND DEVELOPMENT
Lynne M. Dearborn

As one of the oldest and most basic parts of the global economy, agriculture has historically offered a means of subsistence in rural parts of the world. Rural life, however, changed in the wake of a global Green Revolution that brought bioengineered hybrid seeds, requiring chemical and mechanical inputs and irrigation designed to improve agricultural productivity. In developing parts of the world, these processes of rural restructuring and agricultural transformation have forced poor farmers to take one of three paths: migrate to urban areas, adapt to the new global development regime, or pursue creative reinterpretation of agricultural traditions.

This paper focuses on the paths taken by Hmong farmers in Thailand and in the United States as they have sought to reinterpret their agricultural traditions in the face of local, national and international economic and development forces. The Hmong are an ethnic group with origins in southern China and Southeast Asia, who were well known for opium production from the French colonial era through the 1970s. Historically swidden agriculturalists, traditional Hmong farming practices have been characterized as the root cause of deforestation and environmental degradation in Laos and northern Thailand. In the United States, Hmong farmers have struggled to find a place in an agricultural system that favors agribusiness over small farmers employing low-tech methods with minimal financial investment. Using case-study examples from three villages in Thailand and from among small farmers in central and northern Wisconsin, the paper will examine questions of power, authority and agency in the transformation of Hmong agricultural traditions and the spaces they engender. Much can be learned from a careful exploration and analysis of agricultural initiatives that have engaged the Hmong — a group identified by the Thai government as a central component of the “hilltribe problem,” and a refugee group that surmounted extreme challenges during resettlement in the U.S.

In Thailand, Hmong traditions have underpinned agriculture-based initiatives in King Bhumibol’s Thai Royal Projects as well as agricultural efforts in individual villages on land owned by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. In the United States, entities such as the Ginseng Board of Wisconsin and the Ginseng Cooperative have assisted both Hmong and non-Hmong farmers in making Wisconsin the producer of the “purest ginseng in the world.” The paper compares and contrasts the transformation of Hmong agricultural traditions in these different contexts. It examines the political and economic forces at work in each case and carefully compares spatial and economic outcomes and what these suggest for Hmong agricultural traditions transmitted to future generations who choose to practice a rural lifestyle. Applying a transnational lens to the concept of tradition, the paper concludes with reflections on what the effects of global and local political and economic forces may mean for the inherited, established or customary patterns of thought, action, and behavior associated with Hmong agency in the context of rural agricultural space.

ALEXANDRIA’S HISTORIC CITY CENTER: SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION AFTER REVOLUTION
Gihan Mosaad and Riham Faragallah

Historic city centers are the nuclei of cities and the repository of formidable cultural assets. As loci for residential, economic and cultural activities, they contain remarkable religious buildings, harmonious urban patterns, attractive streets and public spaces, traditional productive and commercial activities, and complex patterns of social interaction. However, many significant historic centers and districts have been demolished to make way for alien environments, while others have just died out of neglect and dilapidation. Still others today face such issues as overcrowding and disrepair, making them look like “urban slums.” This situation raises important questions about the future of these historic centers. Should they be demolished to provide more space for more ambitious growth? Or can they be conserved and sustained? Will the historic city center survive and maintain its place in the emerging global city of tomorrow?

Such pressures illustrate how sustainable regeneration can help manage rapid change in historic cities. In this regard, some of the most remarkable urban development attempts have taken place in Barcelona and Beirut. But the experience of these cities has been characterized by different actions, situations and approaches that have depended on the varying goals of regeneration efforts.

Alexandria, Egypt, is one of the main historic cities in the Mediterranean region. It is characterized by several historic centers, such as the areas of Mahatat El Ramel and El Mensheya. These centers historically created a lively enclosure symbolizing social equity and economic vitality, which served different functions and facilitated Egypt’s socio-political development. They also were a centerpiece of action during the January 25, 2011, revolution in Egypt.
Alexandria’s city center today suffers from many problems, such as environmental pollution, a low standard of infrastructure, functional disorder, traffic congestion, uncontrolled land use, and general physical deterioration.

The paper explores the conceptual issues of urban regeneration with regard to the historic city center. It explains the theoretical context raised by sustainability for historic city discourse. It discusses key strategies of sustainable regeneration and presents ways regeneration has been used to achieve urban development by focusing on the socio-cultural, environmental and physical dimensions of sustainability. Two case studies will be explored from the Mediterranean region, and a comparative analysis between them will attempt to uncover the successes and weaknesses of each experience. This will be used to establish a number of guidelines to create an innovative methodological approach to the sustainable regeneration of Alexandria’s city center.

The paper introduces a new concept for sustainable urban development and the reinterpretation of the contemporary city to support the concept of sustainable regeneration. It uses this to tackle the regeneration of the historic center of Alexandria and ways to achieve a sustainable revitalization crucial to its future.

TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION IN TRADITIONAL QUARTERS: A NETWORKING PLACE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

Jie Han

In Chinese cities undergoing rapid urbanization, decayed historic quarters have frequently been redeveloped to accommodate the scale and speed of larger development agendas. Physical and economic revitalization have also been widely used to attract investment, boost economic growth, and intensify land use in the historic areas. In China, mainstream practices favor a top-down approach, which combines large-scale demolition and high-rise redevelopment with small-scale preservation of a few selected buildings. But such growth-driven redevelopment of traditional quarters has caused conflicts within local society. Not only has mass demolition destroyed the physical forms which enable traditional life and carry collective memories, but social replacement and gentrification have also diminished the social values attached to the physical fabric and damaged the sense of social justice and social inclusion. Needless to say, the quality of life and social well-being gained through traditional dwelling patterns — such as solidarity, trust, sharing, norms, conflict resolution, etc. — have also been considerably affected among populations relocated to the fringe area of cities.

Sustainable development challenges this transformation process by advocating that a decayed historic place should be transformed not only in terms of economic gain, but also in terms of cultural ecology and social cohesion. This paper argues that sustainable urban regeneration should highlight a value-centered place-management process. This involves a process for mitigating conflicts through negotiation and cooperation between agents at both local and global levels, vertically and horizontally. Such a view may stimulate creative use of historical places as the “legacy of past” and facilitate more sustainable transitions, in which heritage value is rediscovered and reproduced collectively — including the value on tradition, culture, belief, and social cohesion.

Based on the study of social capital and social network theories, the paper proposes an alternative approach to the urban regeneration process in traditional quarters — namely, an approach based on social capital, integrated networking, and place management. The paper takes the successful collective actions by Xi’an’s ethnic Hui community as a case study of anti-demolition conservation practices.

The paper first examines how the traditional value system has been formulated through culture, belief and everyday practices, such as custom and business interactions attached with traditional dwelling. It then reveals the functions of different forms of social capital, their cooperation patterns as well as social interactions in the decision-making network and transformation process. It also investigates how tradition plays an important role in this process of value reconstruction to highlight the vitality and creativity of tradition. Finally, the paper discusses the more general implications of this approach for sustainable urban regeneration in traditional quarters.

IN WHAT TRADITION SHOULD WE BUILD? A PORTLAND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM IN OLD TOWN/CHINATOWN/JAPANTOWN

Hajo Neis, Howard Davis, and Gabriel Brown

Old Town/Chinatown is one of the oldest districts in Portland, Oregon. Founded in 1844, it originally served as a landing district for sailors and immigrants, but it eventually evolved into one of the largest Japanese communities in the U.S., forming what became known as Japan Town. In 1942, as a result of the internment policies of the U.S. government, its Japanese and Japanese-American residents were forced to abandon their homes and businesses. Consequently, Chinese merchants moved in from across Burnside, forming what is now known as Old Town/Chinatown (OTCT). By the end of the twentieth century, however, this area had devolved into the city’s de facto social-services district, a nexus for its homeless population and for social-service providers. Recently, however, the district has shown signs of renewed life, as new small businesses and enterprises for urban research, education, and aid organization have begun to move in along the waterfront, creating a nascent research and higher-education complex.

The consequence of these changes is that Old Town/Chinatown/Japan Town now finds itself under considerable development pressure. Inexpensive land here is surrounded by largely built-out, dense, urban districts. The critical question that must be answered has thus become: In what tradition should this urban area be (re)developed? Should it respond to historic, cultural or modern development contexts, or should it reflect many traditions? What sort of built environment should be encouraged, designed and built?

As part of Portland’s current citywide planning effort, The Portland Plan 2035, OTCTJJ has been identified as one of three urban edge areas designated for detailed study and development. This has further increased pressure for new growth and development. Four major development pressures are presented here. First, the area is close to downtown and at the same time at its fringe, separated by a major arterial road, and downtown and outside developers are watching closely for opportunities to invest profitably in OTCTJJ. Second, it is a development priority under the 1988 Portland Plan and the current 2035 plan (in progress), a missing link between the typical highrise development of the CBD and the office town of the Lloyd District across the Willamette River. Third, property owners within the area want to develop their land to generate the highest possibly profit, but the lack of zoning clarity, and the potential for change in zoning, is making property owners wait for resolution or more favorable conditions. Fourth, preservation groups and cultural historicists want to continue to develop the area according to the context, patterns, and style of existing historic buildings and clusters of buildings.

Our paper will present the current research and urban design efforts underway at the University of Oregon, Portland. All of these traditions have been explored with urban and architectural design tests based on a framework of inclusive urbanism and in terms of so-
cioeconomic and spatial understanding. The key question, “In what tradition should we develop and build?” is intended to help unravel this difficult development dilemma.

**URBAN CATALYSTS: PROTAGONISTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN BANGKOK’S INNER-CITY NEIGHBORHOODS**

Sonja Berthold

Unregulated land use has helped reproduce a pattern of mixed economic function in Bangkok, allowing uncontrolled densification and expansion of the city verticality and along major roads. Since no strategic vision has dominated transformation of the city, multiple coexisting structures have emerged. Despite rapid urban transformation, certain inner-city neighborhoods have, however, maintained their spatial diversity and cultural richness by increasing their density more moderately — until recently, at least. In the process of investigating the specifics of the spatial transformation of Bangkok’s neighborhoods, urban catalysts in the form of families (small institutions with community characteristics) and guanxi (social bonds, which can turn into business and policy coalitions) were identified as drivers of urban change in terms of property and program exploitation. They have enabled a building culture of great flexibility and adaptability to fast-changing, uncertain or indeterminate planning conditions.

Urban catalysts are agents with explicit ideas about their neighborhood’s development who are in a position to formulate and influence future urban transformations. In Bangkok, families of immigrant entrepreneurs — often with Chinese backgrounds — whose interests accord with the Siamese Crown, have significantly accelerated urban transformation. Other catalysts, driving a more small-scale proliferation of Bangkok’s neighborhoods, can be found among small and medium-size enterprises such as coffee shops, furniture stores, and art galleries. They sense the potential of a neighborhood and revitalize it by setting up small outlets. Urban catalysts strive for renewal, with positive effects for a neighborhood, attracting people, often leading naturally to its gentrification.

Existing spatial diversity and cultural richness in Bangkok are not the outcome of planning regulations, but rather the consequence of local insight and traditions. Atomization of families and the 1997 Asian financial crisis changed the previous balance of family power and negotiation and undermined older urban strategies. Real estate developers have since taken over, primarily seeking to maximize profits. As a result, existing spatial qualities have come under pressure from global displacement mechanisms. At stake is the preservation of cultural, social and spatial diversity.

The paper investigates the relationship between spatial and social transformation in Bangkok’s neighborhoods — identifying the potential of social groups to propel urban transformations toward the creation of spatially and culturally rich neighborhoods accepted and appropriated by residents and visitors alike. Through detailed case studies of urban transformation in the neighborhoods of Ari, Siriraj and Ekkamai, the paper discusses a number of key questions. What spatial qualities and layers of diversity within the mix of old and new built structures enable social connectivity? Who has created this space, and who is using it? What is the nature of change, and how have qualities successfully been ensured over time? What advantages or threats have economic, political and cultural forces brought? Who are the stakeholders driving urban transformation? And how can existing urban qualities be utilized in future planning processes?

The paper discusses criteria of urban quality to evaluate spatial conditions and consider how policy guidelines may sustain diversity or enrich urban transformation where traditions are no longer in place.

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### A.7 THE POLITICS OF TRADITION

**WHOSE TRADITION IS RIGHT? THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATIVE ACTIVISM AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN THE U.S.**

Karen Trapenberg Frick

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

**THE SPACE OF “SELF-CONTAINED” SOCIETIES: POWER AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN CAIRENE SUBURBS AFTER THE ARAB SPRING**

Hesham Khairy Issa

Cairo University, Egypt

**MAKING CLAIMS OF KURDISHNESS: AN “ALTERNATIVE” KURDISH SPRING**

Muna Guvenc

Independent Scholar, Turkey

**SHOPHOUSE TO SUPERBLOCK: THE CHINESE DEVELOPER AND CONSTRUCTING RACE IN POSTCOLONIAL JAKARTA**

Matt Wade

University of California, Berkeley

**UNDERSTANDING LAND OCCUPATION CHANGES IN LIBREVILLE: A CASE STUDY OF SAINTE MARIE VALLEY**

Médard Obiang Ebanega and Jean Aurélien Moukana Libongui

Omar Bongo University, Gabon

**WHOSE TRADITION IS RIGHT? THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATIVE ACTIVISM AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN THE U.S.**

Karen Trapenberg Frick

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

Sustainability planning has become a dominant approach in practice and aspiration in the United States. Policymakers and planners working through this lens argue for major changes to the urban landscape, such as higher densities and transit-oriented development, which they suggest are needed to ameliorate past social and environmental harms and prepare against future risks of degradation. They view these risks as directly tied to the outcomes of modernity, fueled in part by government action and planning: suburban development, congestion, and dependence on automobile travel.

In tandem, a vocal backlash to this paradigm has emerged. Tea Party and property-rights activists view sustainability planning as a direct threat to the same outcomes of modernity — namely, suburban development and auto travel — which they consider fundamental to their livelihoods, traditions, and individual rights. Some of these activists’ concerns hinge on perceived connections between sustainability planning and the United Nation’s 1992 document called “Agenda 21: The Rio Declaration on Development and
Environment.” And their counter-narrative suggests that the U.N. is attempting to restrict individual property rights on how U.S. citizens may develop land and live. Woven into activist narratives are conceptions of recalled and imagined pasts, imagined utopian and dystopian futures, and imagined communities. These notions are embodied in interpretations of U.S. history and traditions that become grounded literally in ideas and ideologies about landownership, tenure, and (sub)urban form. Much activist organizing and communication occurs online through digital-based technology.

This paper seeks to understand and theorize these narratives of contestation and their connection to spatial form. It is guided by literature related to social movements and framing, sociology of risk, sustainability planning, and communications/new media. I draw evidence from content analysis of key documents and online sources, in-depth interviews with activists and planning proponents across the U.S., and observation of a regional process in California. I analyze the range of activist frames, concerns and perceptions, the ways in which activist mobilization occurs, the role of technology and social media in facilitating such participation, and responses by the planning community. The paper concludes by probing what is new for researchers to consider in this current era of polarization and fiscal constraint.

THE SPACE OF “SELF-CONTAINED” SOCIETIES: POWER AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN CAIRENE SUBURBS AFTER THE ARAB SPRING

Hesham Khairy Issa

On New Year’s eve 2014 the residents of Gardenia, “a gated community at the 6th of October City,” were celebrating the evening with the typical Western sparkling moments. At the same time the Egyptian government, which had already outlawed the Muslim Brotherhood, went one step further and declared the group a terrorist organization. In Cairo, liberal political parties applauded the move. Many Egyptians had become fed up with the constant unrest that had rocked the country over the last three years. And throughout that period the Muslim Brotherhood had instigated protests, raids, bombings of police and army forces, and sometimes even attacks on liberal figures.

For three years the unrest on Cairo streets had interrupted normal daily life, especially for lower-income inhabitants of Cairo suburbs such as the 6th of October City and New Cairo. Many of these people must commute each day because their neighborhoods were never designed to be self-sustaining, and they thus must depend on Cairo for education, work, social life, and daily shopping needs.

Meanwhile, the upscale green and gated suburbs of those two cities in the desert are clear statements of the neoliberalism that undergirds the growing power of a global elite. Products of the corporatized and privatized paradigm that has dominated Egypt for years, they express market logic in terms of extravagant bubbles. Gated communities of air-conditioned villas and fancy malls, they are based on the promise that money can buy security in a self-contained society by bringing all the services a people might need to new urban development centers.

Today, the crisis in Syria, ongoing since 2011, has also resulted in the arrival of large numbers of Syrians in Egypt. By the end of September 2013 the UNHCR had registered more than 120,000 Syrians in Egypt, a displaced population that is hosted mainly in urban areas throughout Cairo’s suburbs, creating another form of self-contained society. The situation of these refugees in Egypt has been made even more difficult by deteriorating socioeconomic conditions, including dramatic price increases and inflation, scarce employment opportunities, negative perceptions of certain nationalities, and a general deterioration of security due to political instability. This has led to a dramatic change in the urban fabric of Cairo’s suburbs, creating a segregated social and urban structure and a new urban phenomena that needs to be studied.

The goal of this paper is to study the mechanism of change in the post-Arab Spring city in terms of urban design and architecture. It will address the issue of “Whose tradition?” in terms of ownership and authority. It will also raise the question of “what” has been the product of that mechanism in space and time, and “where” social and urban space has been created between nostalgic neoliberalism and the societies of immigrants. Further, the study will investigate the notion of “self-contained” societies as it relates to neoliberalism and to the Syrian refugees, to reflect on the practices of power and social justice.

MAKING CLAIMS OF KURDISHNESS: AN “ALTERNATIVE” KURDISH SPRING

Muna Guvenc

On March 15, 2011, residents of Diyarbakir, the largest Kurdish-populated city in Turkey, woke to find a large, brand-new tent erected by the pro-Kurdish party, the BDP (Baris ve Demokrasi Partisi, the Peace and Democracy Party) in its center. Inspired by the occupation of Tahrir Square during the Arab Spring, the massive tent was located in the city’s main park as part of a larger project of civil disobedience that demanded the immediate release of hundreds of Kurdish politicians, the right for children to be educated in Kurdish, and an end to military operations against the PKK (Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan, the Kurdistan Workers Party), and the abolishment of Turkey’s 10 percent election threshold for parliamentary representation. Within one week other tents belonging to the pro-Kurdish party began to appear in the main urban quarters of several other cities in Turkey. Along with daily organized protests, they remained until May 2011. This project of civil disobedience was intended not only to protest the anti-Kurd policies of the Turkish state but also to conceptualize an alternative Kurdish movement through intervention in urban space.

This paper examines two main questions: How do we explain rising Kurdish urban mobilization in Turkey? And to what extent have the Kurds of Turkey staged their own Arab Spring? I argue that urban space has been essential for the pro-Kurdish party as a way to institutionalize the Kurdish movement and promote the agenda of Kurdish nationalist discourse, particularly since the late 1990s. In this vein, I analyze the urban practices of the pro-Kurdish party and its local administrations to explore the emergence of new political subjectivities in the context of rising Kurdish nationalism.

The paper is based on a series of research trips conducted in Diyarbakir and Batman provinces in Turkey between 2007 and 2012 (including one during the 2011 protests). The main sources include participant observation, in-depth interviews, government speeches, and other qualitative sources.
SHOPHOUSE TO SUPERBLOCK: THE CHINESE DEVELOPER AND CONSTRUCTING RACE IN POSTCOLONIAL JAKARTA

Matt Wade

Ethnic Chinese Indonesians occupy a special place in the history of Indonesia as a minority frequently subject to violence and cultural suppression. The “Chinatown” of Jakarta underwent brutal attacks in May 1998, at which time many Chinese shophouses were destroyed. The case of Chinese Indonesians challenges notions of tradition in the postcolonial city. First, tradition is troubled by the ambiguity of belonging within the postcolony, where tradition is inseparable from violent projects of modernization. Second, contemporary global architectural culture muddles notions of tradition as localized phenomena, especially as highrise development intersects with ethnicity in the business practices of Chinese-Indonesian developers.

UNDERSTANDING LAND OCCUPATION CHANGES IN LIBREVILLE: A CASE STUDY OF SAINTE MARIE VALLEY

Médard Obiang Ebanega and Jean Aurélien Moukana Libongui

If we admit that urban morphologies result from the combined action of a variety of actors who deal with political, geographic and economic constraints and opportunities, and if we consider that current land occupation bears the mark of actors who contributed to its creation, then the analysis of land occupation modifications can enhance awareness of the policies and projects of those having decision-making power across the different periods which mark urban history.

Sainte Marie valley, the space this presentation focuses on, covers a set of neighborhoods in Libreville, Gabon’s administrative capital. It includes neighborhoods in the city’s first arrondissement (administrative division) like Sainte Marie, Cocotiers, Ancienne RTG (Radio Télévision Gabonaise), Ancienne SOBRAGA, l’Université Omar Bongo (Omar Bongo University), Derrière la Prison, Gros Bouquet, Nkembo, Sotega, and Plaine Oréty. The valley stretches across each side of Triumphal Boulevard, an exceptionally busy main road. Today, this part of Libreville presents a relatively modern aspect, with buildings following the architectural style of Western cities or that of modern cities in emerging countries. However, despite such transformations, Sainte Marie valley’s urbanization originates from past land acquisition processes. It includes numerous small houses built by city dwellers who are more preoccupied with the need to find accommodations than to abide by urban development norms and codes.

The development of the Sainte Marie valley occurred as a result of the will and work of both state and nonstate actors, whom this paper will identify and describe. These actors have not always been the same, and their capacity to influence future development has varied. In particular, the Sainte Marie valley experienced extensive modification during the colonial era, which finished in 1960 with Gabon’s independence. In the contemporary period, the birth of a multiparty democratic system has now replaced conditions during the early postcolonial period, which was dominated by a one-party system.

Through documentary research, field surveys, photointerpretation, and remote sensing, the paper will identify and quantify the main types of land occupation in the Sainte Marie valley. The paper also exposes the actors who originated these modifications and highlights their respective prominence in development from one period to another. The paper asks, “Whose tradition has been followed?” Such a question opens up issues of ownership, power and control.
B.7 TRADITIONS AND PUBLIC SPACE

CONTINUING URBAN TRADITIONS: A STUDY OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACE IN SPAIN AND MEXICO

Joseph Aranha
Texas Tech University, U.S.A.

THE GATE TOWERS OF AMMAN: SURRENDER OF PUBLIC SPACE TO BUILD A NEOLIBERAL RUIN

Eliana Abu-Hamdi
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

A CITY IN TRANSFORMATION: CAIRO’S NEW PUBLIC REALM

Nourhan Elzafarany and Nagwa Sherif
American University in Cairo, Egypt

INVISIBLE PUBLIC SPACES: CONSTRUCTIVE RESILIENCE AMONG THE BAHÁ’I MINORITY AFTER THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN IRAN

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

NEW PUBLIC SPACE PATTERNS IN CAIRO: WHOSE PUBLIC SPACE?

Mennat Elhusseiny and Basil Kamel
Cairo University and American University in Cairo, Egypt

CONTINUING URBAN TRADITIONS: A STUDY OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACE IN SPAIN AND MEXICO

Joseph Aranha

Societies with long traditions of urban living typically contain urban spaces such as town squares, parks, plazas, bazars, and other types of public gathering places. Meanwhile, in automobile-oriented societies such as that of the United States, traditional urban public space — namely, downtown — has been on the decline for decades, in part because of a lack of connection between buildings, the development of the suburban shopping mall, and the creation of other artificial public spaces. In less urban cultures that are rapidly becoming more urban, and in parts of the world where cities are growing at unprecedented rates, the design of space for social and community interaction remains a challenge. And in general the creation of successful public spaces continues to occupy a central position in discourses on urbanism. A question in cities all over the world continues to be how to design and sustain successful public urban spaces. Architects and urban designers frequently look to traditional urban spaces as models and imitate physical forms of gathering spaces such as town squares and parks when they attempt to craft new public and community spaces. These attempts are often unsuccessful, and there are many examples of abandoned, underutilized or useless public spaces.

The Spanish have had a long association with successful public spaces in the form of plazas, courtyards, pedestrian promenades, parks, etc. These same Spanish traditions of public spaces found their way to Spain’s colonies such as Mexico, where they continue to thrive to this day even though social, economic, political and other factors vary greatly from place to place.

The paper will draw from an analysis of selected public spaces that is part of an ongoing study of public urban gathering spaces in Seville, Spain, and Puebla, Mexico. Examples of spaces range from neighborhood plazas in Seville, to the central plaza, or zocalo, and new pedestrian promenades in Puebla. The aim of the study is to identify similarities as well as differences in the physical architectural components, as well as to recognize and explain nonphysical ingredients such as the multiplicity of functions, the diversity of user groups, the variety of activities, the specificity of events, connectivity, and other aspects, which contribute to the sustainability and continuity of successful public places in these two cities where old traditions continue and new traditions are continually accommodated.

THE GATE TOWERS OF AMMAN: SURRENDER OF PUBLIC SPACE TO BUILD A NEOLIBERAL RUIN

Eliana Abu-Hamdi

The Gate Towers, a luxury development in Amman, Jordan, provides a case study of two forms of manipulation typical to neoliberal urban development: the inversion of the process of eminent domain, and the breakdown of economic practices essential to the success of projects in regimes suborned by neoliberal capital flows. As a planning practice, eminent domain is intended to enable government actors to expropriate private property for public use. Alternatively, however, it may become a vehicle for appropriating public property for private profit — particularly when a municipal government, aspiring to achieve “world-city” status, compromises the public interest to attract development. This is the conundrum examined in this paper through the case of the Gate Towers of Amman.

In 2001, three years into his reign, King Abdullah of Jordan and the Amman municipal government unveiled a unilateral agenda supporting the development of a series of luxury highrise projects in the city. One such project, the Gate Towers, received the right to develop a coveted patch of urban land that accommodated one of the city’s few public parks. Attempting to win public approval through appeals to pride and civic duty, the king and municipal agencies deployed royal decrees to help mediate public opinion. Several years later the king also created the King Abdullah Public Park as compensation for the lost public space. However, the new park’s location, limited access, and perceived exclusivity expressed an unwillingness to embrace vibrant urban open space. Meanwhile, the towers, promoted by the king as an emblem of modernization, today remain incomplete and abandoned after a series of construction mishaps. An enduring presence on the Amman skyline, the Gate Towers stand as a monument both to the foreign capital that created them and to the corruption of municipal oversight and building inspection that enabled them in the first place.

The Jordan First Campaign was used by the state to pave the way for the towers and similar projects. It appealed to the population’s sense of civic duty, pride in government, and ambition for signature development. The campaign promoted state-led initiatives by implying these would be in the best interest not only of the state, but of all Amman residents. This successfully eliminated the logic of protest, and three years later, when the land for a public park was allocated for the Gate Towers, no opposition was reported.

The Jordan First Campaign changed the climate of opinion in such a way that development, at any scale, in any place, could happen in the city. Indeed, in the wake of the campaign it would have seemed unpatriotic to contest new landmarks such as the Gate
Invisible Public Spaces: Constructive Resilience Among the Baha’i Minority After the Islamic Revolution in Iran

Niknaz Aftahi

In Iran people are restricted in using the public domain of the city due to limitations imposed by law. Most Iranian citizens, especially youth, are now pushed into the enclosed private spaces, as use of the public sphere is proscribed by restrictions implemented by the Islamic Republic. This problem is particularly acute for Baha’is, the largest religious minority in Iran. After the Islamic revolution in 1979 the government singled the group out for systematic repression. It immediately eliminated the physical public spaces they used, such as collectively held Baha’i community properties, important historical and cultural sites, and cemeteries, confiscating them, and in most cases defiling and Islamizing them. In 1980 all Baha’i students were expelled from universities, and since then Baha’is have been deprived the right to higher education.

This paper explores the use of public spaces by Baha’is before and after the revolution. Specifically, it studies the means by which the spatial practices of this oppressed religious minority have responded to unprecedented restrictions since the revolution. During this time the Islamic government has managed to confiscate Baha’i public spaces, and it has excluded Baha’is from most other public spaces. As a case study, the paper investigates the physical and virtual spaces that Baha’i community has collectively created to educate its deprived youth. A “Baha’i Institute for Higher Education” (BIHE), what the New York Times called “an elaborate act of communal self-preservation,” was established in 1987 to meet the educational needs of young people. The transformation of BIHE’s physical spaces reflect an everyday contest over collective activities between the Baha’i community and the ruling authorities.

Meanwhile, Baha’is have also been physically reappropriating ordinary spaces of their private homes into stages for practicing everyday activities and rights. These subversive spaces are a systematic response to the paradoxical intervention of a repressive state-imposed constitution in typical traditions of life for Baha’is — traditions that emphasize education, equality between men and women, and unconditional service to humanity. Invisible public spaces, it is posited, offer alternatives for Baha’i citizens to practice what has been repressed in the official public spaces of the city.

In conclusion, the paper raises controversial issues related to conflicts between the newly unleashed behavior patterns of unprivileged inhabitants, the intended design of urban spaces, and the role of law enforcement. Specifically, the research addressed the question of how an analysis of these activities and new spatial behaviors may translate into a “code of conduct” that may be used to better understand unfulfilled needs and assist in the design of appropriate enhancements.
NEW PUBLIC SPACE PATTERNS IN CAIRO: WHOSE PUBLIC SPACE?
Mennat Elhusseiny and Basil Kamel

Public space may play an important role in understanding the socio-political changes presently resulting from the rapid transformation of Cairene society. This becomes vivid when one investigates neoliberal market imperatives and, in particular, privatization and the change from government control to private initiatives in the public realm. In spaces such as squares, public gardens, open markets, streets, alleys, or even leftover land, either in high-profile neighborhoods or in informal areas, it is extremely important to observe and study activities and patterns of behavior to define whose public space is being attained in the city.

The paper discusses the reclaiming of public space in new development on Cairo’s desert plateau — precisely, in 6th of October City. In particular, it considers this issue in relation to a duality between upper-middle-class housing and lower-middle-class settlements within the same district. According to observations based on field visits to different zones in 6th of October, lower-middle-class residents frequently adjust elements of public space to accommodate the informal activities through which they build cultural and economic capital. This is done to make up for a lack of amenities and services. On the other hand, upper-middle-class residents avoid changing any element of public space to maintain its aesthetic value; yet they suffer from a similar lack of livelihood and vital services.

The study analyzes two main areas. First it looks at one of the oldest zones in 6th of October, whose mainly low-income residents have extensively realigned the public space. The other area is the privately owned Haram City development by the real estate company Orascom. Here, due to special circumstances, residents from an informal area were relocated within the same housing zone as the initial middle-class owners. Today this provides a clear picture of the different attitudes toward the reuse of public space between the two groups. However, the arrangement has also resulted in a greater provision of amenities, services, and job opportunities to residents from both sides. Whether this neighboring condition is satisfactory to residents or not, the in-between public space offers a unique experience of cohesion and exchange of benefits. And it has created a more vivid and lively community, which departs from the prevailing pattern of class segregation and lack of social sustenance. The experience is worth evaluating apart from standard rules to see if it might provide lessons for the reclamation of space and social cohesion that is very much looked forward to as part of a democratic Egyptian future.

C.7 HOUSE, HOME AND TRADITION

REINFORCING PERSIAN NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITIES IN NEW HIGHRISE RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT
Shahab Abbaszadeh and Rahinah Ibrahim
Hakim Sabzevari University, Iran, and Universiti Putra Malaysia

REINTERPRETING THE TIBETAN TRADITION FROM RURAL HOME TO APARTMENT IN EASTERN TIBET
Maggie Mei Kei Hui
Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

THE CAIRENE HOUSE IN NAGUIB MAHFOUZ’S TEXTUAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CAIRO TRILOGY, 1920–1960
Shaikha Almubarak
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

WAITING FOR THE SITE TO SHOW UP
Daniel Naegle
Iowa State University, U.S.A.

HOME BEYOND THE HOUSE: THE MEANING OF HOME FOR PEOPLE IN VERNACCULAR SETTLEMENTS IN RURAL CHINA
Wei Zhao
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.

REINFORCING PERSIAN NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITIES IN NEW HIGHRISE RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT
Shahab Abbaszadeh and Rahinah Ibrahim

Neighborhoods in Mashhad, Iran, are losing their cohesion when their residences are stacked into complexes of highrise residential buildings (HRBs). In such configurations, houses become little more than physical shelters, lowering the quality of modern communities. The paper reports on a study that asked, “How can architects adopt traditional Persian spatial principles of neighborhood communities in developing social interactions in HRBs complexes?” After a rigorous literature analysis, it develops two theoretical propositions. One posits that social interaction among residents will occur successfully when complexes of HRBs provide secure, supportive, collective and responsive spaces. The other proposes that a highrise residential district (HRD) may function as a neighborhood community when it consists of several HRBs that encourage social interaction through well-integrated, secured, supportive, collective and responsive spaces.

The study utilized mixed-method data collection to support the proposed propositions. It considered a HRBs complex in Mashhad as the qualitative unit of analysis, while considering a family living in one apartment as the quantitative unit of analysis. Data were obtained from semi-structured interviews with selected experts, nonparticipant observation of three selected HRBs complexes, and a survey of residents’ opinions. Although the study identified four
Influential constructs in the establishment of social interaction in traditional Persian neighborhoods — secure, supportive, collective, and responsive spaces — it also found differences in the relative value of those constructs through the result of statistics extracted from a regression test using SPSS software.

In summary, the study contributes to the recognition of social interaction as a key contributing factor needed to maintain the value of traditional Persian neighborhood communities in the design of HRBs complexes in Iran. It merges concern for socio-cultural behavior and physical spatial features of the built environment as a way to improve social interaction in non-Western HRD developments. The study helps sustain the indigenous socio-culture of a developing nation as its population and built environment evolve toward a Western-influenced lifestyle.

**REINTERPRETING THE TIBETAN TRADITION FROM RURAL HOME TO APARTMENT IN EASTERN TIBET**

*Maggie Mei Kei Hui*

Traditional Tibetan settlements have been increasingly affected by modernization, changing social conditions, and tourism development. In these settlements traditional houses reflect an evolving tradition under fast-changing social and cultural conditions.

At the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau, which is largely dominated by grassland and known as the Amdo region, lies Labrang, a renowned Tibetan Buddhist monastery established in the early eighteenth century. Since its establishment, lay villages have been formed next to it, which have continued to expand to the present day. Houses here are built with traditional techniques in a relatively dense urban manner. Their arrangement indicates their development from the houses of sedentary herders on nearby rural grassland.

In the last fifty years houses at both urban Labrang and in the rural grasslands have been characterized by shifting spatial forms in response to changing social conditions and the introduction of modern technologies. The selective process of adopting new materials for the traditional house, which was once primarily built with mud and wood, has led to a certain transformation of living spaces and the introduction of new spaces. Changes in family structure and livelihoods have also helped transform spatial arrangements, and in the last five years, tourism development has become a key force in new construction. On the one hand, old houses are being demolished and replaced by apartment blocks, and local people are moving into these new living spaces. On the other, the government has instituted rules intended to beautify the outside walls of village homes along main roads to emphasize cultural tradition.

In this paper I investigate the houses and changing streetscape of the Amdo region to document the ongoing adaptation of traditional houses from rural grassland to increasingly urban conditions. An empirical record of houses from 2004 to the present provides a basis for describing the changing spatial tradition and questioning how traditional religious practices have managed to negotiate such changes. Through my description of these negotiations, I analyze what is left behind and what constitutes tradition, and whose tradition these new spatial situations represent.

**THE CAIRENE HOUSE IN NAGUIB MAHFOUZ’S TEXTUAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CAIRO TRILOGY, 1920–1960**

*Shaikha Almubaraki*

Films produced within the Arab world, particularly by Arab filmmakers, have long provided scholars not only in the West but also in the Arab world with a window into social life and its transformation in the eras of traditionality, modernity and globalization. Hence, film serves as an important medium for the analysis of Arab domestic space. In this paper I investigate the “Egyptian Home” mainly through the lens of Naguib Mahfouz’s Cairo Trilogy, which includes three novels all made into films by the well-known Egyptian director Hassan Al-Imam. The three novels are *Palace Walk* (covering 1919–1925), *Palace of Desire* (covering 1925–1936), and *Sugar Street* (covering 1936–1956).

Through these visual representations, I will investigate the home with a particular emphasis on how social relations have affected the formation of domestic space, and how forms of domestic space in turn limit or encourage particular formulas of social interaction. My entry into the subject will be through spaces that accommodate essential activities including sleeping or sexual interactions (in most instances the bedroom); eating (in some cases a dining room, in others a living room); entering (as in spaces for guests and outsiders); and other outdoor private spaces (such as the courtyard or the roof).

Film, which has become the most marketable reproduction of the visual, allows access into society. Even though it may be a form of imaginary, it allows entry into specific time frames and social interactions that may have changed or that may be otherwise visually inaccessible. Thus, I will draw on films as an art form, or a medium, that mirrors, informs, and sometimes shapes the framework of the reality in which it is produced. More specifically, I aim to look into the modalities of production through Mahfouz’s eyes — particularly his nationalistic agenda at the time he wrote the novels in 1956–1957 — and the ways in which this may have augmented the narrative of home space and its familial associations. The paper will explore the extent to which cinema as an intermediate to reality has had the capacity to construct, reinvent or adjust the traditions of the past — i.e., the “traditional” Cairene house — and to explore the content of and motives behind these altered narratives.
WAITING FOR THE SITE TO SHOW UP
Daniel Naegele

In November 1937, a 25-year-old Chicago architectural photographer, Bill Hedrich — on assignment for Architectural Forum — traveled to a remote site in western Pennsylvania to make images of a not-yet-completed vacation house built for a wealthy Pittsburgh retailer. In the best-known of these images, a modern, utterly unique house appears to float above moving water, detached from the world, mystically defying gravity. The real and the phenomenal conjoin, and the photograph offers a mirage-like vision even as it insists on being an offstrike of reality. Hedrich’s photograph did what Wright had struggled unsuccessfully to do for most of his seventy years: image “organic architecture.”

On January 17, 1938, this photograph appeared on the inside cover of Life magazine. On the same day, a portrait of its architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, was on the cover of Time. Later that month, Fortune featured a photograph of the architect in his Wisconsin atelier. Wright, demonized by the popular press for nearly thirty years, instantly became the best-known architect in the world, the architect of Fallingwater, the architect who aligned building — who aligned living — not with mechanization but with nature.

Wright designed Fallingwater for the father of one of his apprentices, Edgar Kaufmann, Sr. But it was neither Kaufmann nor Wright who commissioned the photograph, but the Chicago media mogul Henry Luce. Luce owned Architectural Forum, Life, Time and Fortune. Famously patriotic at a time when war with Germany was imminent, he was hardly happy with the appointment of German immigrants to head America’s most famous architecture schools at Harvard and Chicago’s Armour Institute. In 1937 he therefore asked the seventy-year-old Wright — whose 1932 autobiography had established him as all-American — to design a special issue of Architectural Forum for January 1938 that underscored American ideals. Ultimately, Wright was portrayed as a heroic American architect and celebrated in all four of Luce’s journals. In the Luce narrative, Wright championed nature, understood the indigenous, knew the American spirit. And popularity fit Wright well.

Such a representation recognized Wright’s immense talent, though clearly it did so for its own ends. That these ends were not those of Wright — he believed in the American ideal but seldom in its reality — seemed to matter little. Wright became, in the eyes of the American public, what he had believed himself to be since the turn of this, the American century: an unsurpassed master builder; the creator of a natural architecture; a renegade sage, prophet, and visionary.

This study casts Wright as the tradition and the illustrated press as the political entity that re-created him for its own ends. For nearly seventy years, Wright waited for the site to show up. The popular press was that site. Hedrich’s photograph did what Wright had wanted to do all of his life — present the image of an organic architecture to everyone. Mediation made an architecture that had as its essence authenticity. How this changed tradition, the tradition of architecture in twentieth-century America, is the subject of this paper.

HOME BEYOND THE HOUSE: THE MEANING OF HOME FOR PEOPLE IN VERNACULAR SETTLEMENTS IN RURAL CHINA
Wei Zhao

Scholars, including Amos Rapoport and Jeanne Moore, have pointed to a general tendency for researchers to consider the term “home” as a synonym for “house.” As a result, most studies on the home limit their fieldwork to the physical or legal boundary of the individual house and its domestic space. When fieldwork does extend beyond the property of homesteads, studies tend to mark a clear spatial hierarchy between the individual dwelling and the community or neighborhood in which it may be situated.

This dominant narrative in understanding the concept of home has been widely used by policymakers to justify their actions when taking down homes and replacing them with new houses. One example is the large-scale reconstruction of rural China since 2006 under the policy of “Building a New Socialist Countryside.” Based on the idea that house equals home, and that modern houses make better homes, residents of rural China have been relocated to newly planned settlements composed of rows of nearly identical houses. Meanwhile, historic and vernacular homes have been demolished; social relations among residents have been broken apart due to the relocation; and cultural traditions have been forgotten as the result of their detachment from associated cultural landscapes.

This paper, as a continuation of the paper I presented at IASTE 2012 questioning the myth of spatial practice held by policymakers, examines the meaning of home nurtured and understood by people living in vernacular settlements in rural China. Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork and archival research, it presents findings from my dissertation that examine the meaning of home for people living in Yanxia village in Zhejiang Province, China. In particular, the residents were asked to take photographs of aspects of their homestead that they valued, followed by semi-structured in-depth interviews on the contents of the photographs. This dataset is triangulated with the data obtained from other methods to form a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of home for people living in Yanxia.

The paper argues that, in the context of rural China, where vernacular settlements call for an understanding of place, and where the Chinese concept of home (jia) challenges the spatial boundary of house, both the dominant narrative used to understand the concept of home and present practices of Chinese policymakers neglect and negate the collective heritage shared by the social group to which the residents belong. The meaning of home for people living in rural China goes beyond the physical boundary of the house or the legal boundary of the homestead. Specifically, the meaning of home often ties into residents’ kinship structure, inherited cultural traditions, lasting economic practices, and the land on which their homes have been situated for generations.
A.8 TRADITION AS POWER

EXPERIENCING GOVERNMENT POWER ON THE STREETS OF ISTANBUL
Alison Snyder
University of Oregon, U.S.A.

MUMBAY’S BANDRA BANDSTAND: EXPERIMENTS IN THE PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE
Tanu Sankalia
University of San Francisco, U.S.A.

TRADITIONALIZING EVERYDAY SPACES: A DUALIST PARADIGM IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MALAYSIA
Keng Ng
National University of Singapore

BUILDING POWER: WAR OF MEMORIALS IN CONTEMPORARY TEHRAN
Ayda Melika
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

ON WHOSE TRADITION IN THE PORTUGUESE ARCHITECTURAL PRESS: DECONSTRUCTING NARRATIVES AND AGENTS
Daniela V. de Freitas Simões
FCSH, NOVA University of Lisbon, Portugal

EXPERIENCING GOVERNMENT POWER ON THE STREETS OF ISTANBUL
Alison Snyder

This paper highlights the opposing results brought about by the assertion of government power over everyday activities in the “open space” of streets in Istanbul, Turkey. It looks at how these spaces, and their surrounding architecture, have been changed and now exhibit different conditions and identities. The research is based on secondary scholarly, literary and journalistic sources along with insights gained from fieldwork by the author since 2006. It has also been shaped by formal and informal interviews with locals, visitors, academics and proprietors.

In the nineteenth century the Ottoman sultan used government power to institute a program of modernization that affected Istanbul’s development. These so-called Tanzimat reforms may be seen as correlating to both the progress and regress being seen and felt in Istanbul today. The conceptual reasoning behind these transformations was positive, and could even be described as moving the aging empire toward a more open and developed Western modernity (Celik 1986). A parallel ascent might also describe Istanbul in the twentieth century after the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, and in the present transition to a twenty-first-century economic and spatial order. These periods have all been filled with forward-thinking policies that have provided new personal freedoms, while traditions, customs and identities have been remade under the guise of progress (Gul 2009, Snyder 2006–13).

The combination of local, national and global initiatives that coexist to create a sense of modernity can especially be seen and felt today in the vibrant district of Beyoğlu, opposite the Old City (Keyder 1999, Pamuk 2004). This complex district, often referred to by the older neighborhood names of Pera and Galata, can be described as elegant, wild, rough and irregular when viewed through its three street spaces — the avenue, the side-street alley, and the internal hidden passage. Over the centuries it has also been home to diverse groups of inhabitants. Today the coexistence of humble and grand built settings tells a story of beauty and neglect reflective of use and social conditions.

Recently, local organizations, universities and businesses have been acquiring buildings of architectural stature with increasing regularity in the area in order to adapt them into arts-related institutes. Meanwhile, larger national or global development interests have been adapting or removing existing structures to make space for new hotels and out-of-scale shopping venues. Meanwhile, other buildings on avenues and side streets, including those with passages, have been let go to ruin, creating opposed images of positive and negative development that have changed the district’s identity (Aksoy and Enil 2011).

According to locals, and as described in blogs, newspapers, and the author’s own work, there is also new awareness of streets and avenues as places of political disruption, and this has led to clashes between groups advocating different positions on secular and religious issues. For example, in July 2011 many cafés on alleys had their use of the streets banned overnight. And the Gezi Park uprisings, beginning in May 2013, raised local concerns about a new shopping mall development to the level of a national crisis when the government mishandled the situation (Erbil 2013, Altust 2013).

One of the biggest questions today is whether government efforts to control and cleanse the streets and create a modern, safe and contemporary image for the area is based on doing good or on erasure and censorship, and thus the denial of freedoms (Soja 2000). It appears that big politics wins, but also loses, as it attempts to silence those in the street spaces of Beyoğlu. The population becomes more assertive and resilient through dissent, and like the flâneur, the anonymous individual and the collective take new refuge in the streets (Benjamin 1999, Snyder 2010).

MUMBAY’S BANDRA BANDSTAND: EXPERIMENTS IN THE PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE
Tanu Sankalia

This paper is concerned with the production of public space in Mumbai. It engages with a critique of the “world-class city,” wherein, some scholars argue, the development of metropolises such as Mumbai is being directed by the middle classes to attract global capital and shut out the urban poor. Such a scenario, it is further asserted, leads to the formation of exclusive enclaves as well as the proclivity of the middle class to promote values of “order and beauty.”

To further discuss these claims, I turn to a specific case study, the Bandra Bandstand project, as a material instance of the production of public space in Mumbai. This 1.5-kilometer seafront along the Arabian Sea was once covered by mangroves and small beaches, and provided open water access to local fishing communities and other residents of the area. However, a 1970 illegal encroachment on the seafront by a private hotel, followed by the dropping of construction debris and garbage, further encroachment by shops and hutments, and the destruction of mangroves, left the waterfront in considerable ruin by the late 1990s. Nonetheless, by 2000 middle-
class residents of the area had been successful in transforming the misused waterfront into a public promenade, which has in turn arrested encroachment and partially restored the mangroves.

The Bandra Bandstand project can, indeed, be seen as an attempt by Mumbai’s urban middle classes to produce “spatial order” in the service of the world-class-city image. However, its specifics also support other claims — namely, that it amounted to a small-scale, urban experiment implemented through local experiences and processes, rather than being determined by Western blueprints for development. For example, the Bandra Bandstand project encompassed an unprecedented process that involved community activism, political negotiation, and pro-bono urban design. It attempted to address urgent local material issues, such as the erosion of the public realm, a land grab by developers, the destruction of environmental resources, and the apathy of municipal officials. And in this sense, the project can be seen as opening a space of resistance in a city dominated by the interests of property, capital and privatization.

This paper thus raises several questions with regard to the political, economic and planning traditions in the production of public space. Foremost is that of social and political agency. What is the role of the government, and of citizens (both the middle classes and the subaltern) in carrying out such projects? How does the Bandra Bandstand project inflect views of urban beauty and spatial order within longstanding traditions of urban planning and design? Finally, what problems and possibilities does this project create for the production of public space in postcolonial contexts?

TRADITIONALIZING EVERYDAY SPACES: A DUALIST PARADIGM IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MALAYSIA

Keng Ng

The geographies of the colonial and the postcolonial in Malaysia are deeply embedded in a domain of multiculturalism or multiracialism. Since the nation was born, the invention of a national identity has therefore been one of its most crucial concerns. For instance, the legacy of nationalization has included such paramount concerns as mitigating the margins of cultural diversity, unifying living patterns, and cultivating a national spirit. In particular, the development of urban centers and new townships since the 1970s has resulted in a significant transformation of people’s lives. However, a set of standardized and monotonous living cultures has also emerged.

This paper examines architectural and placemaking practices that employ traditions/traditionalism in a multicultural society. This has been a paradoxically complex issue in forming a national identity in Malaysia. The study debates a dual paradigm on how traditions have been engaged. On the one hand, this has involved the hegemonic construction of a national identity by the state. On the other, it has involved efforts by the community (ethnic groups) to defend their true identity and withstand the pressures of cultural neutralization. In other words, the construction and reconstruction of traditionalism in Malaysia has involved the search for identity in a heterogeneous society, and in this process, the uses and meanings of traditions have served a variety of different agendas.

The interplay between traditionalism and identity-making in Malaysia can be seen in everyday spaces. The paper showcases and analyzes examples of these — urban spaces, building designs, and housing developments that employ traditions in the making and representation of identity. The examples show how traditional references have been employed beyond the simple need for cultural and ritual practices. Indeed, the utilization of traditionalism can be understood as a tool for empowering identity distinctiveness in a multicultural society.

The paper concludes that the practices of traditionalization in everyday spaces have far more complex meanings and sources of inspiration than might be derived from nostalgic notions of spatial memory. Such motives underpin the uses of traditions in dealing with confusions, contestations and conflicts in the construction of national identity.

BUILDING POWER: WAR OF MEMORIALS IN CONTEMPORARY TEHRAN

Ayda Melika

This paper examines the relationship between the metropolitan crowd and the design of memorial spaces in order to illuminate the role of commemorative practices in the recent crisis-ridden history of Iran. In particular, I examine memorial sites and commemorative processes as mechanisms for spatial change. As a reflection of socio-political transformation, I focus on the role of memorials at several recent historical junctures, such as the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the subsequent Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988, and the political unrest following the 2009 disputed elections.

Through various examples of memorial architectural projects I demonstrate how the builders and users of these sites sought to create new forms of political socialization and spaces of resistance. I argue that in Iran evolving commemorative practices appropriate powerful myths to create spaces of memorialization both for and against structures of power.

Illuminating the dual purpose of these memorials as spaces of control and resistance, I argue that some of these spaces have been used as military socialization sites. I do this by demonstrating how political leaders create and use these settings to assimilate people into a political and military culture. However, I also demonstrate how Iranian opposition forces utilize similar techniques to design and build spaces of resistance. Examples are provided to demonstrate how both the Islamic regime and political opposition leaders shape and reshape memorial landscapes as part of an ongoing power struggle.
ON WHOSE TRADITION IN THE PORTUGUESE ARCHITECTURAL PRESS: DECONSTRUCTING NARRATIVES AND AGENTS

Daniela V. de Freitas Simões

In the course of constructing a narrative of architectural history, relationships of power, censorship, and authorship typically influence the structure and path of the discourse. Furthermore, as B. Colomina put it, during the modern era the photographic image has become more important to this process than the written word or knowledge of an oeuvre in situ. During the twentieth century the development of photography, in particular, established the importance of the architectural press. As a medium, magazines became crucial not only to the circulation of information about new architectural work, architects, and geographies, but also as the mediator of an up-to-the-minute historiography, recording and detailing current and past events, and sometimes predicting the future of the field, its boundaries, and professional praxis.

Such media are not neutral, however. They reflect the views of redactors, editors, and directors, often following ideological and disciplinary chains of thought and narrative. One architect or work may be favored over another; mythologies may be constructed around given architects, geographies, or works; relationships of power and censorship may be justified; and certain architectural agendas may be pursued. Indeed, architectural magazines may be seen as palimpsests of the discipline’s own evolution and mutation.

In Portugal, a peripheral European country, particularly during the dictatorial fascist regime of the Estado Novo (1933–1974), architectural magazines played a crucial role not only in affirming innovative aesthetics but also in the establishment of the profession. Their role was especially important in a country considered to be profoundly rural, underindustrialized, and constrained by a repressive regime.

Portuguese architects craved aesthetic and professional alignment with their European and, later, American peers. Although modernism and the International Style did not penetrate the country to the same extent as in other Western contexts, Portuguese architects were up to date with such trends and tried to imitate them and adapt them to their own needs and expectations—deconstructing the myth of traditionalism and interpreting new styles within a regionalist modern framing.

Nevertheless, the architectural press was also subjected to close scrutiny and censorship by the regime. In doing so, it intended to exert its own representation of power, and silence divergent artistic production—at least according to the editors of these magazines.

The first section of the paper analyzes the relationship between the regime and the Portuguese architecture magazine Arquitectura. The paper then explores the internal relations within each issue, exploring its objectives and strategies in the selection and reproduction of themes and authors, works, and geographies. The last section debates whether such editorial strategies were responsible for silencing its publication or whether this was the result of a political regime that sought to determine responsible agents in the future construction of a historical narrative of tradition, myth, and power.

The paper is part of an ongoing project entitled “The Site of Discourse” (PTDC/CPC-HAT/4894/2012) funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and institutionally framed by the Art History Institute (IHA-FCSH/UNL) and DINÂMIA’CET (ISCTE/IUL).

B.8 PUBLIC SPACES AND THE PERFORMANCE OF TRADITION

OCCUPYING MERDEKA PARK: STATE HERITAGE SUBJUGATION IN KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

Chee-Kien Lai
Independent Scholar, Singapore

BANGKOK’S OUTDOOR ROOM: READING FROM THE INFORMAL PRACTICE OF PUBLIC SPACE

Soranart Sinaribhan
Kasetsart University, Thailand

PERFORMANCE OF PUBLIC SPACES IN KUALA LUMPUR IN TERMS OF THE TROPICAL CLIMATE AND LOCAL TRADITIONS

Marek Kozlowski and Norsidah Ujang
Universiti Putra Malaysia


Anne-Marie Broudehoux
Université du Québec at Montréal, Canada

SPACES OF SPORT AND TRADITION IN FILIPINO CULTURE

Mariatheresa Mortera
American University of Sharjah, U.A.E.

OCCUPYING MERDEKA PARK: STATE HERITAGE SUBJUGATION IN KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

Chee-Kien Lai

Malaya proclaimed its independence in 1957 within an open-air stadium. The structure was the first of a series of state building projects ordered by its cabinet in the country’s first decade that were designed to “metrofit” the capital city of Kuala Lumpur, display the progressive and democratic nature of the new nation to the world at large, and instill a sense of affective pride in the citizenry by calibrating construction with symbolic achievement.

The completion of the stadium was followed by the completion of an adjacent public park, an indoor stadium, a language and literacy agency, a parliament house, a museum, a university, a national mosque, a memorial, and an airport. These made up the collection of monuments associated with Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first prime minister. Such a fête of architectural celebration was not met by subsequent cabinets, but it was eventually surpassed by the set commissioned by Mahathir Mohammad, the country’s fourth prime minister, whose Multimedia Super Corridor today links Putrajaya (the new federal capital), Cyberjaya, Kuala Lumpur City Centre, and Kuala Lumpur International Airport.
In 2012, and with a new cabinet subsequently elected to power in 2013, new developments and infrastructure were introduced in the established areas of Kuala Lumpur, which raised concerns from citizens. The first is a 118-story tower and mixed development, to be constructed over an erstwhile public park, and ironically named Menara Warisan Merdeka (Independence Heritage Tower). The second is a new mass-rapid-transit line that requiring the eviction of century-old establishments along Jalan Petaling (cf. Chinatown), and running close to the proposed mixed development.

Ground-up initiatives questioning and contesting these state developments had grown in strength by 2013 through various activities including public-awareness programs and formal protests. This paper discusses how such groups are now defending an earlier group of state projects as heritage, now that their destruction has been proposed by the present government.

**BANGKOK’S OUTDOOR ROOM: READING FROM THE INFORMAL PRACTICE OF PUBLIC SPACE**

Soranart Sinuraibhan

Changes to the built environment of Bangkok have produced a number of complex new relationships encompassing a variety of social, economic, traditional, cultural and political factors. This has resulted in the creation of public space in which inhabitants integrate aspects of their everyday lives, and these spatial experiences are in turn reflected in architectural practice. In Bangkok, public space is conceived by local authorities as an “outdoor room,” a term that naively connotes a movement from “out” to “door” to “room.” Associating open public space with a room — for example, with enclosure — negates the essence of public space as unbounded space. And the use of the terms “door” and “room” when describing public space domesticates it in a way that introduces all the gender, political and social exclusions that the mechanism of domestication entails.

The approach to public space in Bangkok is based on classifying certain sets of uses, particularly informal ones. Public space thus is supposed to accommodate diverse everyday activities, from outdoor eating to street entertainment, from sport and play to civil or political functions, and as a place simply for walking and sitting-out. But these sets of activities create a view of the public as a homogeneous group, all of whose members have the same needs and desires, and it denies the many differences of class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age that exist in society. This, I argue, has become such a dominant tradition that it has been transmitted between generations and has affected spatial practices in Bangkok. By ignoring these differences, however, and stipulating that leisure should be the only appropriate use of public space, the local authorities have overlooked other activities, such as survival strategies, identity performances, unofficial economic transactions, and protest. In listing a specific set of functions that supposedly reflect the needs of the public, local authorities have presumed to know who the public are, and they have claimed to represent it in its entirety. Moreover, they have assumed that the public is stable, fixed and unchanging, and that the public and its spatial configurations are harmonious entities.

This paper attempts to argue against the segregation of public spaces and against the clamp-down on street communities, such as homeless people, sex workers, beggars, street vendors, and cruisers, that has become a normal practice in many big cities, including Bangkok. It can be argued that these groups, among others — frequently referred to as urban nomads — have a right to act in the public space, and in fact contribute to urban life. In order to illustrate these phenomena, the paper presents a series of observations from life within the public space of Bangkok, where informal spatial practices occur, and which is often occupied by urban nomads. I hope to emphasize the way people respond to and negotiate with the actions of others, and to show how this dialogue is enacted as a form of tradition.

**PERFORMANCE OF PUBLIC SPACES IN KUALA LUMPUR IN TERMS OF THE TROPICAL CLIMATE AND LOCAL TRADITIONS**

Marek Kozlowski and Norsidah Ujang

The Greater Kuala Lumpur Metropolitan Region is one of the fastest growing regions in Malaysia, and in the last decade it has witnessed a spate of new residential, institutional and commercial development. Much of this development has been market driven and guided by economic and political forces. However, rapid, property-led development of this nature has often neglected local traditions, natural settings, and the local tropical climate. As a result, it has had a detrimental impact on the surrounding public space.

The major aim of this study is to analyze the state of existing selected public spaces in the Kuala Lumpur Metropolitan Region against a set of recognized universal evaluative criteria for tropical design and a list of local traditions and values. It follows this by identifying a set of measures to remedy existing deficiencies. The methodology is based on the formulation of the major aim, corresponding research questions, and objectives. The nature of this research is mainly qualitative, conducted through intense contact with real urban life.

The analysis revealed that a majority of public spaces in the region do not reflect the tropical climate, being devoid of trees and vegetation, and are not user friendly for pedestrians. Future development of public open spaces in appreciation of the local tropical climate, local traditions, identity, and character would significantly contribute to a holistic environment, viable economy, and social equilibrium.

**SOCIO-SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION AND EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN THE OLYMPIC CITY OF EXCEPTION: RIO DE JANEIRO, 2014–2016**

Anne-Marie Broudehoux

This paper examines the role of sporting mega-events in the legal and spatial reconfiguration of the urban landscape. Based on notions of extraterritoriality (Weizman) and of the state of exception (Agamben), it explores the effect of such events on the production of a new urban territoriality. This is marked by the creation of spaces of exception, which are both spatially and legally located outside the “normal” urban order. The paper argues that the artificial crisis engineered by the urgency of the events’ fixed deadline, the magnitude of demands made by such international bodies as FIFA and the IOC, as well as the extreme scope of the projects to be undertaken, has given cities the license to suspend preexisting juridical order, impose new rules and sanctions, and take exceptional measures to reshape themselves to serve the needs of the event and its sponsors.

In spite of their reputation as great social unifiers and celebrations of togetherness, mega-event spectacles are powerful instruments for concealing the growing fragmentation of the urban territory and for the creation of privatized enclaves that increasingly escape local legal and spatial norms. The paper centers on the transformation of Rio de Janeiro in the years leading to the hosting of two of the world’s greatest events: the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics. It argues that in Rio, the preparations needed to host these mega-events are exacerbating urban fragmentation by creating new territo-
ries of exception, further isolating existing spaces of exclusion, and promoting the privatization of vast urban sectors.

**SPACES OF SPORT AND TRADITION IN FILIPINO CULTURE**
Mariatheresa Mortera

According to the Commission on Overseas Filipinos (2012), the United Arab Emirates is home to nearly one million Filipinos, the third largest population of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) in the world. For many of these people, working abroad presents their best opportunity to earn an income to support their families. While there are organizations that bring expatriate OFWs together, perhaps none figures more prominently than sports such as basketball.

The paper explores the role that “spaces of sport” play in establishing new traditions that bind OFWs together in cultural contexts that may differ significantly from those in the Philippines. In particular, it explores the understanding of tradition through basketball in Filipino culture abroad, more specifically in Dubai. Here, I argue, tradition is not relegated to a particular physical space, but is instead manifest through a specific set of spatial practices that connect OFWs to “home.” From the mundane task of drying rice to being the site of annual celebrations, the basketball court in the Philippines is both a space for sport and social gathering (Bartholomew 2010). This tradition of using the basketball court as a space for initiating and maintaining social life has been translated by OFWs to the weekly gatherings and seasonal basketball tournaments in Dubai. These “spaces of sport,” often further expressing the regional, professional, and even religious affiliations of OFWs, reinforce and strengthen spatial traditions developed in the Philippines.

The basketball court as a subject of study provides opportunities to examine how an imported game has become a means of connecting OFWs through shared practices (Bartholomew 2010). In addition to tracing the migration of basketball to the Philippines, the paper analyzes specific spatial practices that have developed through the transmission of tradition through the migration of OFWs.

**C.8 MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL TRADITIONS**

**URBAN ILLUMINATION AND LOCAL TRADITIONS OF LIGHT**
Dietrich Neumann, Margaret Maile Petty, and Sandy Isenstadt

Brown University, U.S.A.; Victoria University, New Zealand; and University of Delaware, U.S.A.

**BELONGING AND BECOMING: RETHINKING INNOVATIVE MATERIALITY**
George Verghese
Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Canada

**THE WEB AND THE DISLOCATION OF TRADITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY IN IRAN**
Shawhin Roudbari
University of Colorado, Boulder, U.S.A.

**NORDICITY: A SUBJECTIVE MATTER**
Edith Dennis-LaRocque
McGill University, Canada

**RECLAMATION OF PUBLIC-SPACE AUTHORSHIP: WHAT DOES AUGMENTED REALITY HAVE TO OFFER?**
Mohammad Ashraf Khan and Lian Loke
University of Sydney, Australia

**URBAN ILLUMINATION AND LOCAL TRADITIONS OF LIGHT**
Dietrich Neumann, Margaret Maile Petty, and Sandy Isenstadt

Urban and architectural lighting has become a common sight all over the world. New technologies, such as LED bulbs offering a rich color spectrum and the option of digital control have vastly expanded the range of possibility that lighting offers to urban planners, lighting designers, architects and artists. This is not to mention the countless commercial applications that have appeared in recent years. “Projection mapping” has provided a new tool for artistic and architectural renderings and interpretation. Many lighting designers receive commissions from a range of vastly different countries and cultures. This presentation will explore how local lighting and color traditions have either influenced and challenged new urban lighting regimes, or have been overpowered and suppressed by them.

Examples from several cultures will serve as illustrations. The Ottoman art and craft of mahya, for example, can be traced back to the sixteenth century. It consists of religious messages proclaimed in luminous letters attached to wires between minarets. Oil and wax lights were used to the twentieth century to achieve these effects, at which time occasional gas lamps, and then electric lights took over.
In contemporary usage, Arabic script has often been replaced by the Latin alphabet, and the arrival of new technologies has further transformed and reinvigorated this craft. The ancient Indian festival of lights, Diwali, has been similarly transformed since the arrival of electric and LED lights. In the city of Baku (Azerbaijan) the illumination of recent architecture refers to the local history of fire worship. And light festivals in cities around the world often emphasize new or newly found local traditions.

A new theoretical body of work addresses issues of global and local conflicts of new and old technologies and patterns of use and habit. Our presentation will suggest approaches to understanding and contextualizing recent cultural practices of lighting and their critical reflection in the face of global developments. The presenters will discuss their upcoming book Cities of Light, which offers a global history of urban lighting.

BELONGING AND BECOMING: RETHINKING INNOVATIVE MATERIALITY

George Verghese

This paper discusses the dominant view of innovative materiality, considered as a necessary break from traditional approaches to materials. The existing view of the polarity of innovation and tradition partly stems from the notion that change and progress are necessary and essential. However, contemporary society is facing a challenge, one that places the design-driven world, which supports the idea of “new,” against the demands of more sustainability, which are often more sympathetically aligned with vernacular and traditional practices.

The creative pathways that designers travel sometimes reflect this polarity in their own development through the paradoxical nature of wanting to belong and wanting to become. A pathway from seeking an identity early in one’s career to redefining oneself in order to break away from an identity when a design career is established is often clearly recognizable. The paper will examine how both notions of becoming and belonging are part of the same continuum. This is a relationship that is clearly known by indigenous groups who understand the essence of materiality and how the sacredness of a material should be respected for the outcomes of the past and for its potential in the future.

Working with the theories of Bourdieu, which help unpack the distinction of belonging and becoming, this research examines material innovation in design in terms of relations to their dispositions (habitus), as demonstrated in their design approach to their own position in the discipline, as seen within the currency of the discipline’s social arena. The search for the new is the habitus of the design profession as it structures its approach to activities by seeking the novel, the new, and the current, from which it in turn provides the structure for defining itself. Once the profession is structured, it belongs to a state of being that immediately wants to become something else. Yet at the same time that this transformation occurs in the actor, the material being acted upon remains the same in its essential composition.

Through a visual examination of the artifacts of First Nations, the paper describes their thorough understanding of the core essence of their material world. When defined as traditional materials, the materials are denoted as belonging to a particular domain. This dilemma both restricts the investigation into this material knowledge and the stories around it, as being historical and unworthy of the potentiality of future innovation, but it also creates scenarios in which the knowledge is not passed down to a culture which has already labeled it as belonging to the past, and therefore not of value to the future.

The paper examines opportunities for the diversification of material knowledge that not only respects traditional knowledge and its embedded narratives, but also offers new models that can exist simultaneously to allow a sense of both belonging and becoming, and thereby rethinking and redefining innovative materiality.

THE WEB AND THE DISLOCATION OF TRADITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY IN IRAN

Shawhin Roudbari

Authority in architecture practice influences whose work is heralded and whose work is sidelined. Architects with authority become educators of aspiring designers, and traditionally form the body of experts who judge and vet emerging design. But this tradition is now being challenged. The source of authority in architecture practice is being relocated from national confines of professional control. Authority is increasingly being distributed through transnational sites, such as architectural-award websites and design weblogs, which produce and disseminate recognition. These sites cast a global net for images of noteworthy architecture, and they judge, celebrate and export accolades to architects in even the most isolated professional geographies, such as Iran’s.

In this paper I show how this centering of professional authority is occurring. I do this in several ways: by presenting evidence from approximately forty in-depth interviews with architects in Iran; by providing an analysis of the websites that produce the transnational credibility that architects consume; and by investigating the ways credibility is being leveraged in Iran’s domestic professional ecology through a study of archives of professional associations and professional magazines. These interviews, content analyses, and archival studies show how a new transnational credibility is disrupting traditional domestic authority in Iran’s architecture profession. On the one hand, this method highlights the role that technologies such as weblogs play in the dislocation of traditions of practice. On the other, it attends to the agency that architects in peripheral geographies have in the global circulation of architectural acknowledgement.

By analyzing the mechanisms through which traditions of authority in Iran’s architecture profession are wrested from the control of domestic institutions, I discuss where traditions of practice are grounded and from where they are being disputed. I use the findings of this paper to challenge pervasive assumptions about the globalization of authority in the architecture profession.
NORDILITY: A SUBJECTIVE MATTER

Edith Dennis-LaRocque

In a context of globalization and normalization, where cultures meet and merge, it is important to build awareness of the differences in perception that exist in a territory. The transition from southern Quebec to northern Quebec presents many images to illustrate the various interpretations of the same event.

Nowadays, the north has become a fashionable subject. There are several reasons for its resurging popularity. First, on an international scale, global studies have brought new attention to changes in the region as an indicator of climate change. Second, the Arctic is seen as a rich standing reserve of untouched resources for developers, investors and politicians. Unfortunately, most of this conversation occurs remotely, from one extreme to the other, with the two sides disconnected from each other. For example, Plan Nunavik was written in collaboration by several northern organizations, in response to the Plan Nord, a political document, which aimed to promote and regiment northern resource exploitation. In this sense, more often than not, both sides keep a detached perception. This research aims to ground and connect the two sides of the story by mining the subtle relationships that are typically unnoticed.

There are several ways to interpret a foreign culture, but interpretation is an act that will always remain biased. A perception of the other will always be tainted with one’s own identity. It is crucial for someone looking into a different culture to understand his or her own lens. Landmarks are a strong way to explore and ground this notion of difference in perception. They represent a gradient in the transformation of conceptions of the other. By traveling north, and remaining connected to the land, one can begin to understand how different viewpoints are a result of one’s own baggage.

In Quebec, the road goes as far as the northern part of James Bay, to a town named Chisasibi. From Montreal, it is a 14,630-kilometer drive, and everyone along the way has a different idea of what the north is. There are several milestones that embody these diverging viewpoints. La Porte du Nord, first mark on the way up, 72 kilometers from Montreal, separates urban fabric from the countryside. The area just beyond is typically a region for outdoor recreation for the Montrealer. Another threshold, 707 kilometers further, is Matagami, which marks the beginning of the James Bay Road. For some adventurers, this is the beginning of a great territory for fishing, but for others it marks the way to work, to Hydro-Quebec.

Each threshold indicates a new territory, with a different history, culture and way of life. These territories take on different meanings depending on an individual’s background, and these meanings evolve through time. Furthermore, every landmark along this journey is layered with history from different cultures. These landmarks are so filled with history, they have a character of their own. And to add to the complexity, they are linked socially and economically, sometimes in unexpected ways. Each milestone in turn thus marks the last frontier, and each offers a promise of unstirred territory.

By trying to understand such differences in perception, one can better comprehend one’s own identity and its implications in relation to the making of a story.

RECLAMATION OF PUBLIC-SPACE AUTHORSHIP: WHAT DOES AUGMENTED REALITY HAVE TO OFFER?

Mohammad Ashraf Khan and Lian Loke

Imagine a shared public space that may appear differently to different people. Though its built form may be devoid of reference to any specific culture or tradition, when seen through a smart phone or a tablet it may appear to each beholder in whatever form the beholder may wish it to. Such a space is not possible in physical reality, but it is in the realm of geo-located augmented reality (GAR). This technology operates on handheld devices by enabling full-scale 3D virtual objects to be superimposed on live video capture from a given physical location. As a viewer walks around the virtual objects, their size and proportion, as well as the angle of view from which they appear, changes in real time in response to the laws of perspective — as if they were really there. It is not the technical wizardry that is the key aspect of this technology, however, but the fact that the process of creation and placement of objects is freely accessible to all. It puts the authority to shape public spaces literally back in the hands of everyday users, albeit in the realm of augmented reality.

Though GAR may not have any direct impact on physical reality, its vivid allusion of spatial authorship nevertheless imbues it with powerful semantic connotations. Can its potential be harnessed for negotiating a shift in the decision-making process that determines whose tradition is represented? This paper reports on a research project that aims to explore this question in the context of disadvantaged communities in seismically active regions of Pakistan. Such communities are particularly at risk of losing their autonomy over decisions related to traditional building practices due to changes in the availability of resources. Indiscreet deforestation has raised the cost of timeless timber-based techniques in the mountainous areas, while diminishing returns from farming or investments in livestock have made it difficult for local people to maintain high-quality earth construction in arid regions. These traditions had embodied a delicate balance between the forces of nature and peoples’ capabilities, which in turn sustained their authorship over the built environment.

Today these people are receiving much needed external assistance, but at the expense of the introduction of technologies that compromise affordability. Adoption of these options could trigger a cycle of increasing dependency and decreasing self-autonomy. Do the people fully understand the implications of this tradeoff on their culture?

The paper reports on experimental participatory sessions designed to determine if GAR can be exploited as a tool for scaffolding their comprehension of the significance of spatial decisions. It presents findings from initial dialogues with key community members within the theoretical context of selected literature on politics of space and GAR. This is followed by a discussion on the future possibilities of GAR as a platform for conveying spatial information to disadvantaged end-users, in a way designed to assist them in reclaiming their position with regard to decisions concerning the sustainability of traditional environments.
A.9 TRADITION IN THE CONTEXT OF CONFLICT

THE TRADITION OF THE OPPRESSED: BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND FRUSTRATION UNDER THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION

Sahera Bleibleh
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LEGITIMIZING ARCHITECTURE: THE MAKING OF A “TRADITION OF PARTICIPATION” IN POST-APARTHEID CAPE TOWN

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

U.S.-SOUTH KOREA COLD WAR COLLABORATION IN A “TRADITIONAL” MODERN HOUSING PROJECT, 1953–1957

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

“THEY KILL, WE BUILD”: WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ZIONIST HOUSING ETHOS

Yael Allweil
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THE TRADITION OF THE OPPRESSED: BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND FRUSTRATION UNDER THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION

Sahera Bleibleh

This paper discusses the silently oppressed attitude of “making-do” required to cope with the anxiety and harsh aftermath of the 2002 Israeli invasion of West Bank Palestinian cities known as the Edjteyah. The spatial truth of everyday life under such circumstances of oppression prompts a series of questions. How did it happen? Who was involved? How do people survive? How do they make do? A shared realm of experience and trauma is the key for each individual and community. The everyday has the potential to produce a sense of commonality grounded in a contrary mixture of forces of simplicity and mysteriousness, ambivalence and decisiveness, delight and depression. This may be experienced as a sanctuary, or it may bewilder or even give pleasure. The conceptual basis of this research therefore is the dichotomy of everyday life between individuality and commonality.

To understand the impact of Israel’s “walking through walls” military strategy, it is important to recall the story of the Edjteyah through the “tradition of the oppressed.” One of the most obvious informative implications of this mode of modern urban warfare has been the mobilization of a discourse of power to justify political action. However, it is also necessary to assume a scholarly approach to documenting, investigating, and analyzing the community response to the Israeli strategy.

Drawing on ethnographic research among Palestinians in the old town of Nablus whose homes were damaged/destroyed during the 2002 invasion, I explore the impact of the “walking through walls” strategy upon the physical and social meaning of community life, identity, and the tradition of resilience. In the absence of a proper archive or documentation of the Edjteyah, and to avoid missing a crucial part of the tradition of the oppressed, storytelling is the most suitable approach to gathering subjective evidence, which in this case is no less real than an objectively defined and measured reality. For example, this method can be used to assess the challenges this population has encountered, their tactics of everyday management and personal growth and their practices of cultural resilience in the face of constant change, the needs they have had to satisfy, the forces they have had to engage with, and the hopes they still cultivate despite a massive transformation of the urban landscape. How did they recover from the individual and collective trauma and stress?

In cases where people neither control space nor time, the liquidity of socio-spatial traditions becomes the essence of the everyday. After recounting people’s narratives in the old town of Nablus, I argue that the tension of living with such uncertainty forces the oppressed to seek refuge in social and cultural traditions. They remained together when their homes were devastated, and they continued their five prayers at the neighborhood mosque, despite the surrounding danger. In Um Raed’s case, this meant insisting on walking between the Israeli soldiers, carrying her little lamp to the nearby mosque to pray. “I only want to keep my prayers … We neither control nor own time; it’s theirs [the Israelis’].” Thus the socio-spatial “traditions of the oppressed” mobilize the “making-do” tactics of resilience. That being said, traumatized people also manipulate the moment to gain some control over their space and time.

LEGITIMIZING ARCHITECTURE: THE MAKING OF A “TRADITION OF PARTICIPATION” IN POST-APARTHEID CAPE TOWN

Sharone Tomer

During apartheid and its predecessor, colonialism, architecture in South Africa was produced “from above,” in service predominantly of the nation’s elite, meaning its ruling white minority. Even if the intended recipients of design were the poor or the nonwhite majority (often the same groups), as in the case of the “Native housing” experiments that preoccupied architects in apartheid’s early years, the designs were produced without input from the intended users. Thus the architect’s expertise was produced without challenge, in keeping with the authoritarian nature of apartheid rule in South Africa.

After apartheid’s demise, however, this model of architectural practice began to change. Practices of engaging with intended users, which only a few radical architects had previously employed, began to become the norm. Architects embraced, and eventually institutionalized, the practice of participatory design. An architectural language formed around the notion of working with “the community” — a term that today often serves as code for disadvantaged or dispossessed user groups, and which is deployed to claim the architect’s inclusion of and respect for this group. This shift in methods and discourse, built up over the course of the first decade of democracy in South Africa, is arguably the making of a tradition — what this paper will call a tradition of participation.

Focusing on Cape Town and a set of architectural projects that employed participatory design practices, as well as on pedagogic practices and public architectural discussions, this paper will explore how participatory design became institutionalized in the decade following apartheid’s end. It will argue that the making of the tradition of participation did not only transform architectural design meth-
ods, but also worked to bestow legitimacy and resignify authority for architects. As architects shifted their design methods to incorporate those who had previously been left out of the production of architecture, they could claim their own enthusiastic participation in South Africa's new dispensation.

Additionally, while participatory design has traditionally been deployed as a critique of the figure of the architect-as-expert, as in 1960s-era European and American participatory practices and discourses, the paper will argue that this “tradition of participation” operates as a device for reinforcing the centrality of the architect in the “new” South Africa. While the “tradition of participation” may have opened up architectural production to include those previously excluded, it did not meaningfully transform the authority and legitimacy of the architectural profession. The paper seeks to explore what it means to construct such a tradition during a time of newly realized political liberation, and how traditions of participatory design may simultaneously democratize architectural production while reinforcing the rarified status of architectural professionals.

U.S.-SOUTH KOREA COLD WAR COLLABORATION IN A “TRADITIONAL” MODERN HOUSING PROJECT, 1953–1957
Dongmin Park

At the end of the armed conflict in Korea in 1953 there ensued an ideological war. As leader of the “free world,” the United States wanted to establish a democratic core-periphery model of planning within its empire, and it consciously attempted to represent allied nations as more than political and cultural colonies. As part of this endeavor, the active presence of local tradition, and its peaceful coexistence with modern, American culture and technology, was often manipulated for political purposes.

This study investigates collaboration between the U.S. and South Korea during the early Cold War years on a housing project commonly called “Homes for Korea.” The project consciously mixed American-style modern housing with traditional Korean interior elements such as the ondol radiant floor-heating system. This study argues that the deliberate cultural synthesis developed in this U.S.-aided housing project did not simply emerge out of architectural considerations. Rather, it was calculated to serve America’s political ends, in which South Korea was asked to be a faithful member of the “free world.”

In 1953 a private American aid agency, the American-Korean Foundation, brought six Korean architects and engineers to the United States and trained them with American architects for one year at Webb & Knapp, Inc., a New York architecture firm. Headed by I.M. Pei, the team of American and Korean architects and engineers was given a mission to design pilot homes to be used as a pattern for private home construction. The project fully encompassed the principles of modern housing design: each unit was placed in a way to maximize light and air, and open areas were included for parking and landscaping. The homes, however, had to be more than just an American modern housing project. The team was asked to incorporate traditional Korean elements into their modern housing designs.

In this collaboration of two nations — the core and periphery of an empire — modern design consciously coexisted with the concept of tradition. Neither modernity nor tradition seemed to claim exclusive authorship of the design: undecorated white walls resembled modern houses in American cities, but interior scenes celebrated by the American media were unique to Korean style. The marriage of these two architectural traditions seemed at the time a legitimate and effective tool to satisfy both practical and ideological goals.

From a practical perspective, modern building methods and aesthetics, coupled with local tradition, seemed to be more smoothly and permanently transplanted into new soil. More importantly, from an American ideological viewpoint, traditional elements of allied nations were emphasized as a way to distinguish American cultural policy from the oppressive policies of the Soviet Union, which often rejected its allies’ local cultures.

“THEY KILL, WE BUILD”: WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ZIONIST HOUSING ETHOS
Yael Allweil

In his memorable 2011 statement “They kill, we build,” Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu equated housing with violence. Netanyahu made the comment following the murder of an Israeli settler family in the West Bank settlement of Itamar (Netanyahu, in Kampinski 2011). And his government subsequently approved 667 new housing units for Israelis in Itamar, a 667 percent increase over the previously approved number (Fleschman and Shumalphi 2013). The action defined citizen housing as a form of retaliation in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict — an act of violence, rather than one of shelter.

Netanyahu’s statement cannot be divorced from the 2011 eruption of mass popular protest in Israel proper demanding access to housing as shelter. The protest featured the construction of dozens of tent camps across the country, which reiterated the promise of housing once central to the Israeli ethos (Allweil 2013). Defining its raison d’être as being to provide shelter from persecution, the state of Israel has historically invested great effort in a tradition of public housing. Indeed, this has involved a state-citizen contract based on mediating the relationship between people and land (Kallus and Law-Yone 2001, Allweil 2013).

This paper examines these two perspectives on housing, which starkly reveal Israeli proper and its West Bank settlements as two distinct housing environments. And, starting with early settlement in the 1900s, it discusses these perspectives in light of Zionist housing policy as both a program of shelter and a mechanism in the national struggle over homeland.

The paper points to a historiographical gap in the study of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This concerns the formation of significant settlement and housing program (the Hebrew city of Tel Aviv in 1909; the first kibbutz “Degania” in 1910) a decade prior to the eruption of violent national conflict in the 1920s. The paper then examines housing in West Bank settlements, focusing on Itamar, to illustrate the transformation of Zionist housing from an act of shelter to one of violence. Last, it suggests the consequences of this shift both for the settlements and Israeli proper.

Why would the Israeli regime equate housing its citizenry with acts of violence? Why would it replace an ethos of shelter from persecution with an ethos of violent conflict? Why is housing the arena for negotiating and rearticulating Israeli tradition? And what does the deep divide between housing as violence and housing as shelter mean for Israeli society?
B.9 TRADITIONS OF DWELLING

RECONSTRUCTING TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY COURTYARD HOUSES IN EGYPT
Hisham Gabr, Nagwa Sherif, and Lamiaa Shehata
Cairo University, American University in Cairo, and MSA University, Egypt

KORTEJO
Sebnem Yucel
Yaucar University, Turkey

CONCRETE-BLOCK HOUSES IN TONGA
Charmaine ‘Ilaiu Talei
University of Queensland, Australia

THE TRADITION OF UNDERGROUND LIFE IN THE COURTYARD HOUSES OF DEZFUL, IRAN, VERSUS NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT
Arezou Sadoughi and Gholam Hossein Memarian
University of Florida, U.S.A., and Iran University of Science and Technology

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN TERRACE HOUSING IN MALAYSIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
Nangkula Utaberta, Mohamad Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdi, and Nik Farah Elina Nik Ramzi
Universiti Putra Malaysia

RECONSTRUCTING TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY COURTYARD HOUSES IN EGYPT
Hisham Gabr, Nagwa Sherif, and Lamiaa Shehata

This paper concerns the potential rebirth of contemporary courtyard houses in Egypt. In past times the courtyard house was a standard element of Egyptian cities because it responded positively to human, social, cultural and environmental factors. But traditional courtyard houses gradually disappeared from the modern design vocabulary for a variety of reasons. This led to architectural solutions that did not respond to climatic and cultural needs. Contemporary housing trends have now led some architects to become more aware of their tradition, culture and heritage. And this has led to an attempt, albeit not massive, to reintroduce courtyards in recent house designs.

The environmental benefits of the courtyard have been well documented in the literature and are beyond the scope of this paper. It focuses rather on the social dimension that the courtyard brings to the contemporary household, including its ability to support social activity and privacy. In particular, the paper examines various values of tradition or modernity associated with the semi-revival of this design feature. It explores the responses of residents and nonresidents to the introduction of courtyards in house designs and describes social responses to them. Five contemporary case studies are presented to report on contemporary design trends related to such aspects as spatial enclosure, functionality, and social effects.

These cases relate to affluent homeowners; results may differ in the case of low income households. Additionally, a questionnaire was administered to explore the preferences of potential residents and a small sample of actual residents to investigate social activities and privacy needs as related to the courtyard design.

The paper identifies the challenges encountered in socially accepting and developing contemporary courtyards for modern and evolving lifestyles in Egypt. Case-study analysis reveals the implications of courtyard design on culturally related trends and community awareness. The paper concludes by suggesting possible venues for introducing contemporary courtyards in house design that will support the reconstruction of traditional social values with respect to the prevailing sense of modernity.

KORTEJO
Sebnem Yucel

Izmir is a city that has been proud of its cosmopolitan past. During the nineteenth century it was a major eastern Mediterranean port and housed Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Levantine communities. These communities did not necessarily mix within its residential areas, however, which brought about the development of different districts. Yet each group left its physical imprint in the built environment: Greeks and Levantines lived on neighboring districts along Kordon (the seaside); Armenians lived to their south; Turks around Kadifekeale (the castle); and Jews around Kemerald, toward Karatas. Today the majority of the physical signs of these districts have disappeared, wiped out by World War I, an independence war, a major fire that took place in 1922, nation-building processes, and a brutal urbanization campaign that started in the 1950s. This cosmopolitan past, however, is still one of the major identity markers of the city.

Izmir’s cosmopolitan past is also an important marketing tool — highlighted not only in tourism campaigns, but also in various events, from a campaign to host World Expo to local elections. In recent years, political tension between the central government and the Izmir municipal government has risen to new highs. And Izmir’s cosmopolitan past has proven instrumental for both these parties as well as defining the difference between Izmir the “infidel” and the “conservative” Ankara. This has led to a “celebration” of the past, and it has directed the attention of city officials to the physical remains of the cultural heritage. Long deteriorated, disappearing structures have now been identified and marked for restoration. This paper explores the political, cultural and economic dynamics surrounding the life and death of a specific building type from Izmir’s past, the kortejo, and the plans put into action by artists, the municipality, and Izmir’s Jewish community to save and give new life to the remaining examples.

The kortejo (known also as judeo, yahudihane, and aile evi) is a two-story building organized around a courtyard. It is composed of multiple one-room apartments, which originally housed poor Jewish families in a communal setting. A gallery/ corrido on the first floor faced the courtyard, providing access to shared facilities like a water well, kitchen, bathroom and toilets. The name kortejo, meaning courtyard, is derivative of the Spanish word cortejo, a sign of the Sephardic heritage of Izmir’s Jewish inhabitants. The deterioration of kortejos started as the Jewish population left the city. In the late 1950s, however, the single-room arrangements in the structures made them popular among recent immigrants from the rural areas, mostly single men, who shared rooms as they looked for jobs in the city. Today the existing kortejos house very old and very poor people living under deplorable conditions.
This paper is organized in two parts. The first is a review of the **kortejos** of Izmir, and their rediscovery by the public after artist Birol Uzmez’s 2009 photo exhibit. The second offers a discussion of the politics of rediscovery and reinvention through the projects produced by the Izmir Municipality.

**CONCRETE-BLOCK HOUSES IN TONGA**

**Charmaine ‘Ilaiu Talei**

Concrete-block construction has emerged in recent Tongan building history as the “progressive” and more durable way to build buildings — in particular, Tongan **fale**, or houses. This paper surveys the narratives of this contemporary building tradition, highlighting the significant influences and affects that have perpetuated and solidified its practice.

Use of concrete block for house construction emerged in Tonga during the twentieth century out of several clear influences, including foreign trade through agents like Burns Philp, which established a department store there in 1899. The Australian Trade Commission also advertised imported Australian-made building products through the local newspaper, the **Tonga Chronicle**. Other significant influences included the promotion of concrete block through its use in large-scale religious and commercial structures. Finally, school buildings erected using foreign-aid donations employed concrete-block module systems. Such applications certainly would have impressed new ideas about building technology on Tongans, and the new spaces that were achievable. Specifically, more than any earlier building material, concrete block emphasized the notion of permanence. This appealing aspect of concrete-block construction was only reinforced after the mass devastation caused by cyclone Isaac in 1982, when it became apparent among the rubble that such structures were most likely to have remained intact. Today, Tonga has a host of local quarries specializing in the manufacture of concrete block, thus meeting the demand for this growing market.

Interviews during recent fieldwork reveal how concrete-block houses have allowed Tongan families to enlarge their houses cost-effectively. This has enabled them to alter earlier traditions of spatial layout, and it has influenced how families organize space according to avoidance behavior between brothers and sisters. The ease of concrete-block construction has also allowed families to build two-story houses, and such higher structures bring greater esteem to these families among their neighbors.

It is important to understand the narratives of concrete-block construction in Tonga’s built environment because concrete block is clearly the material of choice for many Tongans building their **fale** today. As a structural system it is currently more cost effective than timber or steel. However, concrete-block construction currently relies on local sand and aggregates, which are unfortunately nonrenewable. Thus, in establishing the politics of this contemporary tradition, the paper also seeks to understand the longevity of concrete-block houses in Tonga.

**THE TRADITION OF UNDERGROUND LIFE IN THE COURTYARD HOUSES OF DEZFUL, IRAN, VERSUS NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

**Arezou Sadjadghi and Gholam Hossein Memarian**

Dezful is a nearly two-thousand-year-old city in southwest Iran, an area with a hot and semi-humid climate. The historical courtyard houses of Dezful are characterized by special underground spaces called **shavadan**. The **shavadan** is excavated completely underground and is accessed using a series of stairs, mostly from the courtyard. The **shavadan**, thus providing a natural method of cooling, offered a comfortable space during the area’s long, hot and humid, summer evenings. People moved to the **shavadan** at these times to stay safe and comfortable beneath their houses.

The tradition of living underground basically provided a climatic response to the hot summer, when the air temperature outside might exceed 45 degrees centigrade. But it was also a socio-cultural response in that the individual underground spaces in a neighborhood might be connected to each other, and reflected the fact that there was no restriction to their physical growth underground. Sometimes people even dug **shavadas** beneath community areas, and the connected **shavadas** thus belonged both to the neighborhood and individual families. Regardless of ownership boundaries, such organization helped people build a continuous underground structure. Spending summer evenings resting with family members inside the natural environment of the **shavadan** gradually led to the development of a sense of detachment from real life above.

The tradition of underground life in Dezful has now been replaced with a new lifestyle, however, and in this paper we examine the causes of change for this tradition. A study of historical documents shows that the new lifestyle has principally been the result of urban development caused by the arrival of vehicle transportation, the disruption of social organization, and the invention of new cooling devices. These factors have now led local tradition to become similar to practices in new modern cities in Iran. The new lifestyle has also transformed the nonlinearity of housing typologies, and the overall pattern presented by the city has likewise become more axial and linear.

The paper will further examine how people have changed their houses to adapt to the new tradition. A study of thirty historical houses shows that most remaining underground spaces are now used as warehouses. People live in the same rooms in winters and summers, switching the air conditioners from cooling to heating systems, and families no longer live in a single neighborhood.

To understand people’s feeling about the old tradition of underground life, we studied local narratives by conducting in-depth interviews in the **shavadan**. Their statements unveiled what meanings people ascribe to the **shavadan**. Although Dezful residents have changed their lifestyle, some are still interested in using their **shavadan** during hot summer days. The findings thus indicate that even though the new tradition now dominates people’s lives, some would like to rehabilitate the old tradition. Future designs could allow them to continue their attachment to the **shavadan** and to the memories associated with living there, as well as use modern facilities.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN TERRACE HOUSING IN MALAYSIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
*Nangkula Utaberta, Mohamad Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdi, and Nik Farah Elina Nik Ramzi*

Culture cannot be separated from our lives as human beings. Yet, as a concept, culture is considered too subjective and vast to be applied in design. Even though culture is important and interest and literature on the subject is increasing, “culture” is still difficult to apply in design.

The architectural development of early housing in Malaysia took the form of the shophouse and the terrace house. These forms were introduced and popularized by Chinese migrants who settled in Malaysia before its colonization as part of the British Empire. This paper will discuss briefly the development of the modern terrace house typology in Malaysia. Based on a review of existing literature and our own research, we define this as a one-story, middle-class dwelling. Such typological characterizations will be used at the end of the paper to assess the terrace house from a cultural perspective. The main objectives of the paper, however, are to determine the meaning of “culture,” its importance, and the nature of Malaysian culture. These questions will help inform discussion of how culture can be considered in the design of terrace houses in the future.

The paper analyzes three main cultures in Malaysia — Malay, Chinese and Indian — which represent the country’s main ethnic groups. The paper thus attempts to take an important step toward understanding the early development of terrace houses and tracing their evolution. Our research attempts to provide a history of the formation of the modern terrace house, which will give us clues as to why its design remains unresponsive to local cultures.

C.9 TEMPORALITIES AND TRADITIONS

WHOSE TRADITION, WHOSE NEIGHBORHOOD, WHOSE CITY? THE CHANGING LIFE OF THREE LONDON DISTRICTS
*Howard Davis*
*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

SINGAPORE’S GEYLANG SERAI AND THE RAMADAN BAZAAR: RESILIENT CULTURE IN A SEASONAL SPACE
*Rahil Ismail and Brian J. Shaw*
*National Institute of Education, Singapore, and University of Western Australia*

SPONTANEOUS AS CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR? AN ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL NORMS IN ISTANBUL’S GECEKONDU SETTLEMENTS
*Min Tang*
*ENSAPM, ED VTT, Université Paris-Est, France*

PHANTOM SPACES: HOW FOREIGN WORKERS ALTER INNER-CITY SPACES ON SUNDAYS IN SINGAPORE
*Edda Ostertag*
*ETH Zurich, Switzerland*

SUBVERSIVE SPATIAL PRACTICES IN THE URBAN FRINGE OF SÃO PAULO
*Giuseppina Forte*
*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

WHOSE TRADITION, WHOSE NEIGHBORHOOD, WHOSE CITY? THE CHANGING LIFE OF THREE LONDON DISTRICTS
*Howard Davis*

Three London districts have harbored generations of immigrants, supporting their diverse traditions as well as their assimilation into the urban economy. On the basis of fieldwork conducted over two years, I argue that the ability of these groups to maintain their traditions in these districts is supported by three characteristics of place and policy: the flexibility of traditional building types; the persistence of public housing; and commercial and religious institutions that help anchor communities in place.

Whitechapel and Spitalfields have housed immigrants and their descendants for three hundred years. Beginning with Huguenot silk weavers in the early eighteenth century, and continuing through waves of Irish, Jewish, South Asian, and now Chinese and Eastern Europeans, the neighborhood has maintained large numbers of terraced houses, while also allowing for new buildings over time.

Upton Park was built with rows of Victorian houses intersecting a high street, Green Street. It has become a residential area for many of the South Asians who moved east from Whitechapel and Spitalfields, and for whom the neighborhood provides a relatively upscale environment and a high street with businesses that cater to them.
Dalston, one of London’s most ethnically diverse districts, includes people from West Africa, the Caribbean, South Asia, and Turkey — along with native-born people, many of whose families predated the immigrants. Dalston’s active street market contains ethnic subgroups, such as a market of Ghanaian traders, who take advantage of cheap rents at one end of the market.

The physical environment allows both for stability and slow change. The three districts have a wide diversity of building types, including many variations of the London terrace house. This type appears in different forms across the world, including many of the places of origin of the people who inhabit them in London, and its flexibility allows for fluid transformations of use between different populations. At the same time, the continued existence of public housing acts as a bulwark against gentrification; religious institutions such as the East London Mosque help anchor the south Asian Islamic community in Whitechapel, even as some people have moved away; and public markets in Upton Park and Dalston provide inexpensive space for local traders.

Our observations and ethnography indicate that in these districts the physical environment and cultural traditions do not exist in a “tight fit.” Instead, different immigrant groups have been well accommodated within a resilient physical fabric, not formed specifically by them, providing a loose fit that has changed slowly. As physical change accelerates, however, bringing more specifically designed building types, the question becomes whether the flexible accommodation of different traditions can also survive. In Whitechapel/Spitalfields and Dalston, gentrification is changing the social and physical fabric again. But this time, resilient small buildings that once housed a succession of cultural groups are being replaced with upscale, highrise housing for people in the new “creative” economy. The question for the future is how such new types will accommodate what will inevitably be further changes in social and ethnic composition.

SINGAPORE’S GEYLANG SERAI AND THE RAMADAN BAZAAR: RESILIENT CULTURE IN A SEASONAL SPACE
Rahil Ismail and Brian J. Shaw

In Singapore, Geylang Serai is the area most closely associated with the Malay-Muslim minority community, whose presence predated British occupation of the area in 1819. Embedded and intertwined within this space and surrounding areas are manifestations of the minority community’s rich religious and cultural heritage. A major revamping of the area, beginning in 2005 as part of a larger redevelopment program, has had a deleterious affect on the identity of the area and on a local community that has been subjected to relentless globalization and unfettered migration. Within contemporary Singapore, Geylang Serai’s symbiotic relationship of people, buildings and businesses, encapsulated most clearly in the traditional month-long Ramadan bazaar, has become crucial to the spatial and communal identity of Singapore’s Malay-Muslims. As a study in resilience, this paper contends that the seasonal bazaar is a nonpareil spatial identifier and anchor for Geylang Serai, and, moreover, that the survival of this event is dependent on the continued existence of Geylang Serai.

Since 2005 manifestations of resilience (through buoyant visitor numbers and adaptation (through a spatial redistribution of bazaar stalls to the fringes of Geylang Serai) have contested both hegemonic government and elite community leaders’ directives on the future face of the area. This is presently embodied in the planned construction of the Civic district of Wisma Geylang Serai. This top-down vision for an “official” and/or “imagined” Malay-Muslim community highlights the mechanics of Singapore’s embedded power structure. The project will impose a new identity on the minority community through touristic commodification and the promotion of an “ethnoscape.” This will inevitably be associated with the economic burden of rising rentals amid decreasing verisimilitude. Here the lessons learned from Geylang Serai’s failed Malay Village should be heeded.

The notion of the Ramadan bazaar might seem “outdated” in a modern, consumer society where “bricks and mortar” businesses are being challenged by the emergence of online shopping. Moreover, within Singapore, changing consumer profiles, taste preferences, and a proportionally declining Malay-Muslim population point toward inevitable future irrelevance and decline. The apparent unmitigated erosion of the Islamic identity of another significant Malay-Muslim space, the Kampong Glam/Arab Street district, underlines this argument. It is within such a context that the resilience shown by Geylang Serai and the Ramadan Bazaar deserves attention as one of the few remaining spaces where Singapore’s Malay-Muslim community may consolidate, perpetuate and renew its identity and place. Here resilience and adaptation have meant contending with both endogenous and exogenous change while trying to preserve and promote ethno-religious identity in an apparently secular and demographically changing Singapore. In a geographical space of such significance, a seasonal traditional event acts both as an anchor and a barometer of the perennial act of negotiating identity within the Singapore Malay-Muslim community.

SPONTANEOUS AS CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR?
AN ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL NORMS IN ISTANBUL’S GECEKONDU SETTLEMENTS
Min Tang

Research on vernacular architecture and built environments was described as reaching a stage of maturity two decades ago (Kellett and Napier 1995). Meanwhile, work on spontaneous settlements was mostly focused on their informal, precarious and marginal characteristics. At the end of 1980s, however, new approaches emerged that tried to recognize the value of spontaneous settlements as a new paradigm for understanding urban culture, and some researchers began to reassess spontaneous settlements using the frameworks of vernacular theories. In particular, scholars like Amos Rapoport described spontaneous settlement as being the closest equivalent in a globalization context to contemporary vernacular production (Loubes 2010).

This new approach opened a discussion concerning the similarities and differences between “traditional vernacular” and “contemporary spontaneous.” Among similarities between the two forms is that they are self-building using the organizational wisdom of available resources. Since the majority of construction work is collective rather than individual, shared knowledge (whether traditional or contemporary) has also created common cultural values and a sense of belonging among a relevant demographic. This is why both phenomena have been considered “popular architecture” or “anonymous architecture.”

The paper adopts Paul Oliver’s definition of vernacular architecture as “an architectural language of people” and attempts to apply this definition to spontaneous settlement as an acculturated spatial/architectural language mixed with different accents. This analogy also helps explain their distinguishing differences. These appear first in terms of differences in the complex composition of mosaic collage in terms of the built form that reflect the daily use of space and placemaking within different cultures. Second, differences become apparent in terms of rhythms of development, especially as these reflect the forced adaptation of new elements as result of increased urbanization.
The paper explores the relationship of “traditional vernacular” and “contemporary spontaneous” in order to reveal how existing traditions are transmitted and new traditions anchored in spontaneous place. In particular, it traces the spatial practices used within the different scales of a gecekondu (a settlement built in one night by Anatolian migrants) in Istanbul. Its analytical approach at the community scale involves holistic interpretation of systems within the built environment as this concerns both the dismemberment and reconfiguration of spatial elements such as point, node, network, etc. Meanwhile, analysis at the individual scale is focused on housing units, especially on the connection of inner spaces within the traditional Ottoman house.

AlSayyad and Tomlinson have argued that traditional environments are created through a “process” and “practice” that becomes a “norm” when enough members of a social group adopt it. The particular norm defined in this paper is seen to emerge in different phases. During the early phase, once a balanced status of initial mosaics has appeared, elements tend to move toward acculturation at the community scale to maintain relations of coexistence and create a common identity. The later phases reveals that the emergence of individual characters as a self-demonstration inside the frame of the first phase, in order to keep the diversity of their origins.

PHANTOM SPACES: HOW FOREIGN WORKERS ALTER INNER-CITY SPACES ON SUNDAYS IN SINGAPORE
Edda Ostertag

Singapore’s 5.3 million population includes nearly a million foreign workers and domestic helpers, a figure which corresponds to roughly 19 percent of the total population. While these people are essential for sustaining Singapore as a global city, they seldom claim city space and visibility. Most of the week they operate “back of house,” in construction sites, shipyards, and private homes where their domestic services support Singaporean and expatriot families.

On Sundays this picture changes, as “community hubs” of distinctive ethnic groups (e.g., mainland Chinese, Bangladeshis, Indians, Thais, Indonesians and Pilipinos) form. Often these groups are rather large — with as many as 10,000–30,000 people gathering in certain neighborhoods. The foreign workers and helpers congregate according to their ethnic identity around distinctive landmarks like shopping malls in public and semi-public open spaces to enjoy a day of socializing, running errands, or worshipping. For the local residential population, parts of the city, like the Little India neighborhood in Singapore’s central district of Rochor, may be transformed at these times into no-go zones. Even though there is no official recognition of these “community hubs,” the local population is fully aware of them as traditional gathering places for foreign workers or helpers.

While foreign workers and helpers remain in Singapore as a result of a work-permit scheme, their average stay in Singapore of four to five years defines them as transients. Nevertheless, since the 1970s the continuous presence of foreign workers and helpers of specific origin has transformed places within the city into distinctive ethnic spaces with their own routines and rituals.

In the paper I analyze four of these community hubs and evaluate what makes them distinctive ethnic spaces. I answer the question of what rhythms and routines make these spaces distinct and which traditions foreign workers bring to Singapore. I also describe how their routines have altered city spaces. Methodologically, I analyze the spaces on grounds of their build fabric and document their transformation over an average Sunday. Place and time are the main elements I use to describe the evolving community hubs. Additional interviews of foreign workers and helpers will allow me to describe the socially value and meaning of these places.

SUBVERSIVE SPATIAL PRACTICES IN THE URBAN FRINGE OF SÃO PAULO
Giuseppina Forte

Brazilians have suffered for centuries the unequal distribution of land and citizenship during a series of colonial, imperial and republican regimes. Holston (2009) has related a Brazilian aphorism that captures these conditions: “Brazil is a land without people and a people without land.” Recent political movements in São Paulo have denounced these sequentially reproduced social structures of inequality, but these structures have always reassembled in ways that minimize the right to the city for the poor. The peripheries of São Paulo, in this sense, are emblematic.

In São Paulo, neoliberal government policy has worked through the tradition of “differentiated citizenship” to exacerbate patterns of urban segregation (Holston 2009). In particular, the government’s lack of control until the 1970s allowed informality to be conceived as the basic form of urban development in the peripheries. The law itself guaranteed the exceptional status of the periphery: while it carefully regulated the defined urban perimeter, it left suburban and rural areas unregulated, and therefore open to exploitation. After the late 1970s, selective state interventions contributed to the consolidation of this peripheral status. Public policy (evictions, demolitions, and high rents, which made it impossible for the low-income working class to gain access to the urban center) reserved the center for the upper classes, leaving the periphery to the poor, from whom developers have found several ways to extract profit (Caldeira 2000). The peripheries of São Paulo, therefore, are the result of historical, uneven forces pushing from the planned center to the hinterland, and immigration of poor people from the north to the south of Brazil. It is “a story of constant displacement and transformation” (Holston 2009). The more the poor auto-construct their houses and urbanize their neighborhood — through self-help and municipal infrastructure interventions — the farther the urban fringe (new squatter settlements and illegal land seizures) is displaced from the center of the city.

But the urban fringe of São Paulo is also a fundamental spatial incubator for what Holston (2009) has called “insurgent citizenship.” He defined this as “a counter-politics that destabilizes the dominant regime of citizenship, renders it vulnerable, and defamiliarizes the coherence with which it usually presents itself to us.” From De Certeau’s (1984) elaboration of everyday “tactics” that subvert power and strategy, to James Scott’s (1985) work on the “weapons of the weak” and Bayat’s (1997) “quiet encroachment . . . of the ordinary people,” the urban fringe of São Paulo is the liminal space where new forms of social identity and resistance emerge, challenging traditional discourses and forms of dominance over urban space.

As Kellett and Napier (1995) have argued, some of these spatial practices of the poor belong, in reality, to specific traditions: squatters and vernacular architecture. In this sense, the informal settlements on the peripheries of São Paulo can be read as a new spatial tradition that disrupts established norms and hegemonic practices. Through the peripheral production of space, the poor are in fact contesting traditional social inequalities, acquiring citizenship rights, and invigorating new forms of participatory planning.
A.10 CONTESTED TRADITIONS

GEDUNG KUNING: THE POLITICS OF CONTESTED SPACE IN SINGAPORE
Fauzy Ismail and Hidayah Amin
National University of Singapore

WE ARE THE HEIRS OF ALL THE AGES: APPROPRIATION OF GLOBAL TRADITIONS IN THE QUEST FOR MODERNITY, NEW YORK, 1888–1892
Nathaniel Walker
College of Charleston, U.S.A.

WHOSE TRADITION: INNOVATION IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY
Mark Donofrio
University of Oregon, U.S.A.

WHO DOES THE PAST BELONG TO? URBAN PRESERVATION POLICIES IN DOWNTOWN RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE 1970s AND 80s
Flavia Brito do Nascimento
University of Sao Paulo, Brazil

IS JU‘ER HUTONG HERITAGE? THE INHERITANCE AND REDEVELOPMENT OF A TRADITIONAL COURTYARD HOUSING SYSTEM
Yun Dai
Newcastle University, U.K.

GEDUNG KUNING: THE POLITICS OF CONTESTED SPACE IN SINGAPORE
Fauzy Ismail and Hidayah Amin

GEDUNG KUNING, or the Yellow Mansion, is today known as the family home of Haji Yusoff, the Belt Merchant, one of Singapore’s earliest entrepreneurs. The 13,254-sq.ft. structure is situated in the historic area called Kampong Glam, once the center of trade and commerce as well as a religious, intellectual and social hub for the Malays in Singapore. Some have believed the mansion was constructed in 1850 to house the bendahara (prime minister), but Singapore did not have a bendahara during that period. Others have alleged it was built to house the son of Sultan Ali of Johor. However, in 1897 the Court of Appeal ruled that the royal family could not claim the property and land of Kampong Glam due to a succession dispute. Gedung Kuning subsequently became private property in 1907, and was eventually purchased by Haji Yusoff in 1912. In 1999 the Singapore government acquired Gedung Kuning under the Land Acquisition Act, which enables it to forcefully acquire any private land in Singapore. Gedung Kuning was to form part of the Malay Heritage Centre (together with the adjoining Kampong Glam Palace). As a result, what was a family home for nearly a century is currently run as a restaurant called Mamanda by a private company. This paper focuses on the politics of a contested space where family traditions are being reconstructed by the mechanisms of the government, a foundation (in this case the Malay Heritage Foundation, which is responsible for the Malay Heritage Centre), and a commercial entity.

The paper discusses several aspects of this case. First, it explores the question of how traditions have been deployed by the different players through time. Among these are how the architect first embodied them, how the family later embraced them, and how they are presently being exercised.

Second, the paper examines how the history of Gedung Kuning has mirrored the concept of modern Asian architecture in Singapore. Modern Asian architecture has contained different layers of hybridity through various eras — such as those of the Malay tradition, the colonial tradition, Westernization, decolonization, and post-independence Singapore. However, the position taken by Mamanda undermines the history and tradition of Gedung Kuning through its manipulation of these narratives as a marketing ploy.

Third, the paper raises the issue of selective traditions. This describes the selection, omission or negation of existing narratives, and the creation of new ones by the three key players (Haji Yusoff’s family, the Malay Heritage Foundation, and Mamanda).

Fourth, the paper explores how Mamanda’s new narrative reiterates the false tradition of Gedung Kuning as a dwelling place for the bendahara. This hijacking of narrative has been used for commercial purposes to sanitize the history, identity and tradition of Gedung Kuning for a future generation and tourists.

Finally, the paper hopes to answer the question of whose tradition Gedung Kuning portrays. Is it an expression of the government-led narratives, the narratives of Haji Yusoff’s family, or Mamanda-led commercial narratives?

The search for a unique and historically “honest” architectural style for industrial, scientific modernity was a recurring theme in much of the theoretical rhetoric of the nineteenth century. From Heinrich Hübsch’s question “In what style should we build?” to Viollet-le-Duc’s assertions that a new strain of the Gothic Revival must be infused with visible iron structural systems, countless architects and theorists argued that the progressive march of cultural and technological history was such that architecture could, and should, clearly reflect whatever period produced it. One of the many debates that spun out of this search for a “style of today” was concerned with the role of past architectures in informing modernity. Should modern architecture be a departure from the past, or should it be a culmination of the past? In an era of increasing global awareness and exchange, and also of growing imperial conquest and exploitation, the idea that an architecture of modernity should absorb and appropriate all the past traditions of the world — from the ancient Mediterranean to pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, from Mughal India to medieval France — was attractive to many.

In the years 1888 and 1892, two New York-based writers and would-be prophets of the future produced and advocated visions of architectural modernity that hinged upon the appropriation and hybridization of all global traditions. Despite sharing a common belief that the future would be a synthesizing culmination of the past, the two authors’ different views on racial equality and scientific progress led them to direct their futuristic speculation to radically
different social and political ends. The journalist and promoter of science David Goodman Croly claimed that any architecture of the future would transcend the nation-state by incorporating all world traditions — not because the globe would become more unified and equal, but rather because modern, rational, progressive Americans were “the heirs of all the ages.” However, it was clear the future society Croly imagined as populating the hybrid buildings of the future would not be culturally or racially mixed — he was, after all, the man who coined the word “miscegenation” while campaigning against the abolition of slavery in the 1860s. On the other hand, the novelist and animal-rights activist William R. Bradshaw saw in the hybridization of all architectural traditions a symbol of global cultural reform rather than cultural conquest. He believed that modern societies were culturally and spiritually impoverished by their selfish obsession with material progress, and that only a revival of holistic human sympathy would make our shared future tolerable.

Exploring these two visions of architectural modernity reveals many of the fault lines that existed in nineteenth-century speculation on the future, and on the role of tradition in shaping that future. Comparing them also reminds us how vastly different social and political beliefs can still, in the end, produce similar aesthetic concepts. Both Croly and Bradshaw formulated an architecture that asked the question: “Whose Tradition?” in analogous terms. Their answers, however, were extremely different, and were found not in the buildings, but rather in the people they imagined inhabiting them.

**WHOSE TRADITION: INNOVATION IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY**

*Mark Donofrio*

In an industry plagued with fragmentation due to ever-increasing specialization, the question of who is responsible for innovating arises. There are plenty of signs that the built environment in the United States is failing. The economic, social, environmental and technological performance of buildings in the United States, as well as the industry responsible for their creation, has not kept pace with other industries essential to ensuring a healthy and productive society, or even the building industries in other parts of the world. While technology has always been a driver for advancement in the design and production of the built environment, there seems to be heightened anticipation regarding the potential of emerging digital technologies to greatly improve the quality of these advancements. Yet the belief that technology alone can turn things around fails to address the complexity of the rich social, cultural and economic traditions underlying the U.S. building industry.

The silos that exist in both the design as well as production of the built environment result in confusion about just who should be leading the charge for innovation in the building industry. What is of specific interest is the potential for how best to incorporate digital technologies to break down these silos and the tradition of self-interest they foster. This paper examines the building industries in countries with long-established traditions other than the United States to highlight how digital technologies, for both the design and production of buildings, have successfully been implemented, thereby resulting in new, more successful traditions. The analysis of these case studies is used to outline a framework for developing a more robust culture of innovation that embraces emerging digital technologies in the United States. This framework identifies just how much of innovation can be influenced by technology while respecting the social, cultural and economic traditions within the building industry.

**WHO DOES THE PAST BELONG TO? URBAN PRESERVATION POLICIES IN DOWNTOWN RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE 1970s AND 80S**

*Flavia Brito do Nascimento*

In the late 1950s construction began in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on an elevated roadway that would circle around the downtown along the Guanabara Bay coastline, passing through some of the city’s earliest urban settlements. The authorities justified building the road based on a traffic-management perspective, arguing it would provide alternatives for the growing number of cars on busy downtown streets. This express roadway affected urban life, the cityscape, and the daily routine of the population that traditionally lived and worked in the area, and yet these repercussions were mostly absent from any policy debates of the time. In 2013, approximately fifty years after its completion, the avenue was imploded. Regarded as a misguided solution, its demolition was part of the urban renewal of the port area, and part of a 2016 Olympics project. For the mayor of Rio de Janeiro, eliminating the avenue symbolized the rebirth of the downtown area, which had been largely abandoned, but which still held great historical value, having been declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2012.

This paper discusses the historical narrative developed in Rio in the 1970s, which favored preserving fabric of historical value. It attempts to explain the role that preservation of cultural heritage assumed, and upon which the social and building traditions from different moments in the history of the city have solidified (as places for African groups, Arabs and Jewish immigrants, samba and carnival). In addition, the paper attempts to show that this process was not one of univocal understanding, and did not occur without friction. Starting in the 1970s, harsh disputes took place over the need for interest in the maintenance of the traditional built environment.

The paper discusses in particular the moment when urban preservation policies for downtown Rio de Janeiro took shape, in the midst of the military dictatorship. It explores civil society’s reaction at that time to the demolition of buildings of great symbolic significance and how this was coupled with the development and consolidation of an urban preservation project. This took place at the same time that the views of certain political and technical decision-makers toward preservation of the traditional urban fabric were being rejected. I will attempt to show the different positions regarding the place of tradition, and I will discuss how the preservation of certain buildings and the demolition of many others became a harshly contested process amidst a political climate of military dictatorship.

Based on several sources, I will present the points of view and interests which influenced the urban policies for downtown Rio in the 1970s and 80s. I will discuss the arguments for placing value on heritage, and combining it with a developmentalist approach, which culminated in the implementation of a pioneering and innovative “Corredor Cultural” (Cultural Alley) project. This is today regarded as a seminal experience in the history of Brazilian cultural heritage, given its success as a policy that employed urban planning instruments under the watchful and engaged supervision of local residents.
IS JU’ER HUTONG HERITAGE? THE INHERITANCE AND REDEVELOPMENT OF A TRADITIONAL COURTYARD HOUSING SYSTEM
Yun Dai

As Peter Rowe (2002) has pointed out, the history of modern architecture in China is the product of the conflict between “essence” and “form.” Put differently, the initiation and early development of Chinese modern architecture was rooted in the integration of modern essence (mainly from the E.U. and U.S.) and Chinese form. From the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese architects have thus attempted to reform Chinese architecture, considering both modernity and traditional forms.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, when China began its reform and opening-up policy, conflicts between traditional and modern architecture reoccurred as a result of rapid steps taken toward modernization. But new features soon emerged, as the focus shifted to exploring ways of maintaining traditional culture (essence) in modern forms. Even today, Chinese academics and practitioners are still looking for a valid way to incorporate these two elements. This approach is particularly salient in the design of residential buildings. Since habitation is a basic human need, residential building naturally embodies regional history and national culture.

In China, courtyard housing as a basic form (like Beijing’s siheyuan) embodies a hierarchical social structure, a traditional neighborhood based on family units, and top-down principles of urban planning. In modern China, though these social contents have greatly changed, social housing is still regarded as a major carrier of national culture. As concerns over heritage and conservation have continued to rise over the last few decades, Ju’er Hutong, a pilot project of Beijing’s Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment program carried out in the late 1980s and early 1990s, has generally come to be regarded as a successful redevelopment project. It has been honored with numerous awards for its contribution to preserving Beijing’s inner-city life. And its architect has claimed that the new houses of Ju’er Hutong represent an innovative integration of the traditional courtyard housing system, siheyuan (Wu 1994), and modern housing theories such as the Science of Human Settlements (Wu 2001).

Recognized as a rebirth of a traditional housing system under a modern theory, Ju’er Hutong quickly came to attract officials, professionals, practitioners and students interested in inner-city renewal. Twenty years after its first stage of construction, discussion about Ju’er Hutong has moved to valuing its significance in architectural and urban landscape history. However, opponents point out that the project also involved massive demolition of the original old buildings and displacement of their residents. The project was also criticized for causing an enormous loss of social and cultural value in Beijing as an ancient city.

With regard to these controversies, the paper is concerned with the validity of recognizing Ju’er Hutong as a new courtyard housing system. It explores effective approaches to inheriting tradition in the modernization of Chinese social housing, and it comments on the necessity and possibility of listing these modern housing projects as new urban heritage. The paper closes by providing a prognosis for the conservation of modern architecture in China in the future.

B.10 TRADITION AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

FROM THE NEW TOWN TO THE UBQUITOUS ECOCITY: A KOREAN NEW URBAN TYPE?
Sofia Shwayri
Seoul National University, South Korea

THE CREATION OF COMFORT AND CLIMATE-RESPONSIVE DESIGN: THE ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN TREATISE
Vandana Baweja
University of Florida, U.S.A.

NATURAL VENTILATION IN HIGHRISE RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS OF SINGAPORE
Sascha Roesler
Future Cities Laboratory, Singapore

ADAPTATION AND SPATIAL RESILIENCE OF AMPHIBIOUS SETTLEMENTS IN THE FLOOD PLAIN OF THAILAND
Poon Khwansuwan
King Mongkut’s Institute of Technology Ladkrabang, Thailand

LAND ACCESS IN LIBREVILLE AT THE TIME OF “EMERGENCE”: BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY
Jean Aurélien Moukana Libongui and Médard Obiang Ebanega
Omar Bongo University, Gabon

FROM THE NEW TOWN TO THE UBQUITOUS ECOCITY: A KOREAN NEW URBAN TYPE?
Sofia Shwayri

Two decades of successful planning and building of new towns came to an end in South Korea following a series of financial crises that began in the late 1990s and continued through the first decade of the twenty-first century. Following the 1997 Asian financial crisis, the central government adopted a new economic policy focused on shifting from manufacturing to services. With it came plans for a mode of urban development centered on the building of new cities. Initially, these cities were perceived as international centers for attracting foreign investment. However, they were later redefined as intelligent or “ubiquitous” and eco-friendly, resulting in planning for the Korean ubiquitous ecocity, which the government claims is the first program of its kind in the world.

In Asia, a growing number of governments have experimented with the building of a new type of city, the green and smart city. Their efforts have come in response to the dual global challenge of climate change and population growth. The emergence and proliferation of the Korean ubiquitous ecocity in the last decade bears some attributes of this phenomenon in that it reflects the increas-
ing international circulation of knowledge and the involvement of new actors in its planning. Others have emphasized the role of the state in launching, promoting and driving these large-scale developments. Fierce interurban competition has seen both governments and the private sector launch daring urban experiments to test the latest ideas in planning practice and communication technologies. Each perspective privileges different sets of actors and yields distinct models of development. The former is driven primarily by foreign experts traveling from one urban site to the other, copying and transferring ideas developed elsewhere. The latter is a homegrown solution to a local problem and the outcome of collaboration among various levels of government and the private sector.

Although a decade in the making, the development of the Korean ubiquitous ecocity emerged as a unique response at the intersection of the two models. As a new type it responds to the failures of the traditional mode of urban development both in terms of meeting local needs and addressing global environmental challenges. These have impelled the national government along with the private sector to select elements tested elsewhere in combination with some aspects of an existing tradition. The result has been the establishment of a new paradigm of urban development to produce the ubiquitous ecocity, privileging the foreign over the local, the investor over the noninvestor, in setting up new industries. Initially, this new type of city was perceived as a utopian physical form, but it has since become the embodiment of the existing and the exported. The paper focuses on the making of this product, emphasizing the continuity in adopting existing traditions of building and promoting aspects of the urban process while incorporating new practices developed elsewhere.

It argues that the ubiquitous ecocity is at one level an attempt by the Korean nation to place itself at the forefront of experimentation with new planning ideas, while on another it continues to promote the export of urban expertise to aspiring developing countries.

THE CREATION OF COMFORT AND CLIMATE-RESPONSIVE DESIGN: THE ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN TREATISE

Vandana Baweja

Physiological comfort became a well-established field of study in architecture by the first half in the twentieth century. One consequence was the quantification and standardization of temperature, humidity and airflow in environmental design. As scholarship on mechanical means to create artificial indoor climates matured, a parallel field of quantifying nonmechanical conditioning, better known as climate-responsive design, emerged as well. Inquiries into architecture’s capacity to modulate the outdoor climate without mechanical conditioning were subsequently quantified through the environmental-design treatises to establish norms for climate-responsive tropical architecture juxtaposed with tropical and bioclimatic architecture. The paper further argues that climate responsiveness was used to naturalize strains of modern architecture such as tropical and bioclimatic architecture as placemaking projects. The environmental-design treatises used vernacular architecture as an example of modern architecture.

NATURAL VENTILATION IN HIGHRISE RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS OF SINGAPORE

Sascha Roesler

Use of natural ventilation represents a significant element of cultural heritage in Southeast Asia. Still largely unrecorded by experts and social elites, this cultural technology still awaits awakening to a new life. The governing question, which this paper addresses, is how this cultural heritage might today, under conditions of widespread social change and advancing urbanization, be renewed and reintroduced into the architecture of Southeast Asia. The answers proposed are related to power and the political implications of understanding natural ventilation as a cultural heritage. The integration of climate in what Michel Foucault termed “governmentality” denotes the way modern societies deal with their climate. In a Foucauldian reading, mastering the climate means hot-wiring a nation’s weather with its political economy.

Focusing on the case of Singapore, the paper is divided into two related parts. The first traces the distribution of air-conditioning within the social-housing programs of Singapore’s Housing and Development Board (HDB). About 80 percent of the population of Singapore today inhabit HDB apartments. Under the government of Lee Kuan Yew, according to Cherian George, Singapore became an “air-conditioned nation.” According to Reyner Banham, “Air-conditioning was a way of losing less, or making more money.” One could speak of a radical change of thermal regime in Singapore — away from natural ventilation and toward air-conditioning. While residential highrise buildings of the 1970s still made use of cross ventilation, the increasing affordability of air conditioning in later years led housing designs to pay ever less attention to such concepts. Within about 25 years, from 1985 to 2008, the rate of air-con-equipped HDB flats rose by more than 70 percent, laying the foundation for a broad
ADAPTATION AND SPATIAL RESILIENCE OF AMPHIBIOUS SETTLEMENTS IN THE FLOOD PLAIN OF THAILAND

Poon Khwansuwan

Amphibious settlements have long been sustained in floodplain areas of central Thailand as a way to address the problem of human existence there. Annually, the flood season nurtures the growth of rice and blends with people’s way of life, living space, and even their relation to nearby urban centers. These patterns have now become an obstruction for modern living. Specifically, new roads and other infrastructure have been introduced to modernize the area and provide better transportation in both flood and dry seasons. Meanwhile, a new irrigation system has been constructed to enable modern rice cultivation and control water flows.

Such changes have presented a dilemma for the rice-growing traditions of the flood-plain people, who have had to adapt themselves to dramatic urban change, while attempting to maintain their specific living culture through space and time. The adaptation of amphibious settlements thus not only reflects the force of development but also the force of resistance as they seek to maintain their local cultural identity and way of life at a time of dynamic change in the country. Currently, the adaptation of these people to new conditions of place has created a pattern of management and spatial configuration that retains a relationship with various factors of the environment. This includes learned relationships with patterns of water flow, land form, growth of rice, and living space.

The paper explores adaptive mechanisms which reflect the existence of community and spatial systems within these amphibious settlements. How have people responded to the transformation of space from traditional patterns during in flood and dry seasons — historically, year around, and in their everyday life? The paper compares three locations in the Chao Phraya delta of Ayutthaya Province that express different levels of change, and that have been declared flood disaster areas. Data were derived from participatory observation and interviews and analyzed through mapping analysis, factors analysis, and cross-case analysis.

The study found that the adaptability of amphibious settlements reflects their spatial configuration, physical environment, and traditional local wisdom. New infrastructure and modern ways of living have forced them to change their traditional orientation to space. But the factors identified above have helped them retain traditional living spaces. These now coexist with new environments that connect them to the urban center, in a way that reflects a sense of spatial resilience. Such findings give meaning to the continued existence of water-based vernacular settlements in the developing world.

And they offer clues to guide development of the flood-plain area in a way that enables the coexistence of tradition and modern ways of life. These may be seen as significantly enfolded into each other, rather than opposed in a duality.

LAND ACCESS IN LIBREVILLE AT THE TIME OF “EMERGENCE”: BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY

Jean Aurélien Moukana Libongui and Médard Obiang Ebanea

To mark a break with the colonial era and with the last thirty years of Gabon’s history, the national government recently announced a social project to transform Gabon into an emerging country. The built environment has an important place in this policy, whose main principles are described in a document entitled “Strategic Plan for an Emerging Gabon.” The government’s aim is to help Gabonese citizens live within a decent habitat. However, to ensure that this noble goal does not succumb to utopian naiveté, public powers must first solve the problem of ownership, use, and tenure of land. This paper addresses this issue with a focus on land access in Libreville, the capital of Gabon.

Libreville’s current landscape consists of planned urban sections that border spontaneous and unplanned dwelling areas similar to South American favelas, or slums. Several factors have contributed to this form of urban development; but the most problematic relate to issues of land title, and these stem from a conflict between two systems — one based on traditional common law, and another based on modern European land law.

In the traditional land acquisition process, land belongs first to those people who give it value. The first tenant acquires privileges that grant him/her the right to sell back pieces of land to third parties. In opposition to this local principle of land access, however, is a Western conception of property access inherited from the colonial power. This conception is based on a legal and regulatory framework implemented by the appropriate municipal administration.

The coexistence of the traditional principle with that handed down from European law has led to the anarchic development seen in Libreville. Government authorities have failed to contain land speculation and anarchic urbanization, and the results are evident across the city. The paper examines the reasons why. For example, it explains how since the colonial period, modern law has failed to establish itself as a single norm for all property access.

Using detailed field surveys, documentary research, photointerpretation and mapping, the paper compares and contrasts the traditional and modern systems of land acquisition. It also examines the dominant trend over time and the mechanisms by which the two systems have adapted and coexisted in the face of a contested reality. Finally, the paper estimates the probability of success for alternative land projects proposed by the government, as symbolized by its establishment of an Agence Nationale de l’Urbanisme et des Travaux Topographiques (National Agency for Urbanism and Topographic Works).
C.10 PRESERVATION AND REVIVAL OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS


Chris Landorf
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PRESERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF INNER-CITY VILLAGES: THE CASE OF GUANGZHOU CITY, CHINA

Nobuo Mitsuhashi
Utsunomiya University, Japan

WHOSE CIVILIZATION DO WE CELEBRATE? REPRESENTATION IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM FOR EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATIONS

Karim Kesseiba
Cairo University, Egypt

RETRACING PLACES OF MEMORY: LIBERATING AN ARCHITECTURE OF REMEMBRANCE FOR CAMBODIA

Nicole Reckziegel
McGill University, Canada

COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN THE HISTORIC CENTER: BETWEEN “TRADITIONAL” SPACES AND “MODERN” SOCIAL PRACTICES

Wiem Zerouati and Tahar Bellal
Saad Dahlab University and Ferhat Abbes University, Algeria


Chris Landorf

Pressure has emerged at cultural heritage sites worldwide to develop into self-sustaining, if not commercially successful, operations. Essential to the pursuit of this goal are volunteers, who undertake a myriad roles at such sites, ranging from direct interaction with visitors as guides and costumed interpreters to performers of back-of-house functions including conservation work and archival research.

While volunteers are of growing interest in the heritage literature, research on the topic remains fragmented around two notionally discrete streams. The first aims to categorize the individual characteristics and motivations of volunteers. This reflects a desire to enhance the volunteer experience and maximize their participation at heritage sites. The second stream seeks to understand the impact that participation in volunteer activities has on social inclusion and community engagement. It thus relates to wider policy changes and innovative participatory-governance arrangements pioneered by organizations like UNESCO as a pathway toward greater social inclusiveness and community engagement.

As these new arrangements have begun to challenge traditional forms of centralized policymaking, evidence suggests that they are empowering new actors while disempowering others, potentially leading to a democratic deficit. This suggests that new governance arrangements are empowering the volunteer community and disempowering professional managers, which some have argued may lead to an authenticity deficit. The nexus between the characteristics and motivations of volunteers and the governance arrangements at heritage sites is, therefore, considered to be significant and under-researched.

Drawing on Swyngedouw’s notion of the Janus face of “governance-beyond-the-state,” this paper examines governance arrangements at Ironbridge Gorge, an industrial site in the United Kingdom inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986. The paper specifically reports on a study aimed at developing a better understanding of power relations between volunteer and professional staff and the impact of those relations on the management of authenticity at the site. The paper starts by exploring Swyngedouw’s argument that participatory governance arrangements are associated with a contradictory erosion of democratic participation where market forces dominate the decision-making process. The paper considers this in the context of recent World Heritage developments. It then introduces original archival research and data from self-report surveys that provide new insights into the governance arrangements at Ironbridge Gorge. The paper concludes by suggesting that the universal values authorized in the original Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site nomination have evolved into accepted tradition. This has occurred largely without contestation through the engagement of a community of volunteers in the evolutionary process.

PRESERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF INNER-CITY VILLAGES: THE CASE OF GUANGZHOU CITY, CHINA

Nobuo Mitsuhashi

From the early 1980s, under state policies of economic growth, Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province, China, has continuously expanded its urban boundary to incorporate surrounding rural villages. Numerous villages now included in its urban area are called “inner-city villages.” In these places, farmland that was once indispensable as a means of livelihood for the inhabitants has been expropriated for urban uses. To accelerate development, the local government has carried out a system of compensated use of land, and village inhabitants have rebuilt or extended their own residences to earn income by renting space to immigrants from remote inland areas. In addition, the economic organization of the village has built rental industrial buildings on the small amount of land that remains. Villages have thus brought industrial transformation from the primary to the secondary and tertiary levels. The residential areas of inner-city villages in Guangzhou have thus become densely inhabited in accordance with their distance from the city center.

Each inner-city village once had its own peculiar social and economic structure based on agriculture and fish farming. Each also had historical cultural characteristics. These separate identities remain today as a result of the Chinese system of governance, land ownership, and census registration. But this system creates a double standard based on the distinction between rural and urban lands and communities. While the government thus intends to include the inner-city villages in the urban zone of Guangzhou, the villages are unwilling to be incorporated because they fear losing their economic independence. In the present situation, however, the villages have been gradually losing their identity nonetheless. Farmland tends to be abandoned or leased to immigrant farmers, and younger inhabitants choose to work in offices or factories.
On the other hand, some villages are trying to develop tourism by making use of the traditional environment in their residential areas. These are blessed with many historical buildings such as shrines and memorial towers built by influential clans. Riverside residential areas, once served by ship, may also still be adjacent to tasteful waterways and quays, while paved stone alleyways may create an interesting street network. The traditional environment remaining in the area is thus often a worthy tourist attraction.

The pressure to rebuild or expand residences, mentioned above, is injurious to such traditional environments, however. Native inhabitants and immigrants are divided on the subject, with one side insisting on preservation and the other on reconstruction. In addition, because of a lack of personnel, although city planning authorities have tried to institute regulations that would preserve the traditional environment, administrative inspection of construction activities is not sufficient. The paper argues that environmental improvement and industrial revitalization in the inner-city village should respect historical and cultural contexts. And it argues that more harmonious community systems should be organized to improve communication between the local inhabitants and immigrants.

WHOSE CIVILIZATION DO WE CELEBRATE?
REPRESENTATION IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM FOR EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATIONS
Karim Kesseiba

The representation of a nation’s history, memory, tradition and civilization is important and controversial. But the effort implies that architects and historians question who they should represent, especially in nations where several layers of history blend to produce what is known as a civilization, as in the case in Egypt. This was more or less the case with the design of the National Museum for Egyptian Civilizations. Here the architect needed to address several important issues: how to deal with many complicated layers of history; how to present this in a place that will be experienced for many decades to come; and whether the architect should present a personal vision and celebrate a personal style when this may be regarded differently in the future.

The paper sheds light on the contradicting conceptions involved in expressing or representing a multilayered heritage. Should architects try to make a contribution by imposing a statement of “today”? Or should they try to extrapolate the historical line and interpret how history and their framing of it will be evaluated in the future? The paper addresses this issue from three perspectives: that of the architect, the contemporary user, and the multilayered history.

The paper is organized in two main parts. The first offers a brief review of literature on museum architecture and the difference between museums of civilization and other history-related museums. It then analyzes the concepts offered by the architect during the various stages of developing the design for the National Museum for Egyptian Civilizations. This design attempted to account for timeless features of Egyptian architecture through various eras, but it also reflected the aspirations of the architect to add a new layer to this history and the challenge of introducing this work to visitors today.

The second part of the paper relies on interviews with the architect, sketches for the different project stages and accompanying modifications, and the author’s personal experience in project development. The paper hopes to further understanding of the sensitive nature of such projects in the Egyptian context. It examines how to deal with timeless architectural features, while taking into consideration the contemporary architect’s contribution to the present and the foreseen future.
COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN THE HISTORIC CENTER: BETWEEN “TRADITIONAL” SPACES AND “MODERN” SOCIAL PRACTICES
Wiem Zerouati and Tahar Bellal

Historic cities’ centers have often witnessed the coexistence of one or more civilizations. The architectural production of these centers is important because it provides an open book of information about dominance, political power, and urban systems. In this light, this paper studies the city of Setif in northeastern Algeria. With a center composed of a military district and a civilian neighborhood, it has been the cradle of several civilizations (Roman, Byzantine, Turkish, Arabic and French). The authors analyzed the civilian neighborhood, which is composed mainly of collective housing, realized during the French colonial era and developed according to the original Roman urban organization. The collective housing of the colonial period was characterized by two types of structure: the apartment building for settlers; and the *harat*, a common home inhabited by autochthons.

The study first highlights the transposition of the two concepts of power and domination in spatial and social terms and its reflection in terms of planning, which continues to the present. Then, it clarifies the current occupation of the types of housing designed for an earlier era and way of life. These have defied time and are today supporting a different way of life typical of social practices other than those for which they were originally designed.

We found that *harat* inhabitants are today trying to adapt this old form of housing, organized around a common courtyard, by living in rooms that are inadequate to their new needs and different forms of space occupation. On the other side, the inhabitants of apartment buildings, whose units are organized around a staircase with separate entrances, are satisfied with their homes. Until now, the occupation of these two types of collective housing has obeyed the rule of power and dominance.

A.11 WHO OWNS TRADITION?

IMPERIALISM, ANTHROPOLOGY, NOSTALGIA: BORROWED TRADITIONS
Nelson Graburn
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

NEW GOURNA: CONSERVATION AND COMMUNITY
Erica Avrami, Gina Haney, and Jeff Allen
World Monuments Fund, U.S.A.

WHOSE TRADITION IN ARCACHON, FRANCE?
Laurence Keith Loftin and Jacqueline Victor
University of Colorado, Denver, and University of Denver, U.S.A.

WHOSE HERITAGE? CHALLENGES OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN CONSERVATION IN ISFAHAN, IRAN
Mohammad Gharipour
Morgan State University, U.S.A.

THE MOBILE TRADITION AND REVIVAL OF DASTANGOI IN INDIA
Shraddha Navalli
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

IMPERIALISM, ANTHROPOLOGY, NOSTALGIA: BORROWED TRADITIONS
Nelson Graburn

It is my thesis that many people in colonialist countries proudly identified themselves by (and sometimes with) the peoples, ex-colonies, or nations where they or their families used to live and work. Much as anthropologists may call themselves “Indianists,” “Africanists,” or “Japanologists,” these cultures/regions were useful “totemic” categories that were “good to think with” (Levi-Strauss) — much as Durkheim showed that tribal peoples used natural species to identify their descent groups (e.g., the Ravens vs. the Eagles on the northwest coast of Canada and the U.S.).

My personal experience has done much to shape these views. Though I was raised in an old farmhouse in an English village, my family nevertheless called themselves Malayans or Malays (Malaysia was formed from Malaya, Sarawak and North Borneo in 1963). I was surrounded by photos and objects from Malaya, conversations (and swearing) in the Malay language, the monthly arrival of the British Malaya magazine, visits from other “Malayans,” and nostalgic talk about the “natives.” From what I could gather, the natives were masters of esoteric arts, with fascinating clothing and splendid physical abilities — able to run fast on bare feet, climb trees, and see great distances without glasses, all of which I attempted to copy. My family defended the natives — Malays and Chinese — against slurs and derogatory questions from local people who had not lived in “the empire.” Indeed, my darker-skinned uncle, born in Ceylon and educated at the Inns of Court in London, had married my father’s elder sister and worked as a civil servant first in Amoy, and then in Singapore.
NEW GOURNA: CONSERVATION AND COMMUNITY

Erica Avrami, Gina Haney, and Jeff Allen

In 1945 the Egyptian Department of Antiquities commissioned the renowned architect Hassan Fathy to design and construct a new settlement to which the inhabitants of Old Gourna were to be relocated, in an effort to curtail looting at the nearby Pharaonic sites and facilitate tourism development. This misfortune of the Gournawi provided Fathy with an opportunity to create a model village derived from local precedents, which became the subject of his seminal text *Architecture for the Poor.* At New Gourna, Fathy consulted extensively with the villagers, studying their habits and the social and physical organization of Old Gourna. Valorizing the humanity of the rural poor, Fathy employed forms that amalgamated vernacular traditions and earthen construction techniques found within the territorial boundaries of Egypt.

Scholarly work in the last quarter century has debated the successes and failures of Fathy’s grand project, and as an early foray in appropriate technology, sustainable architecture, and participatory planning, this small, experimental village remains a focus of global interest. In 2009 UNESCO initiated a Safeguarding Project for Hassan Fathy’s New Gourna Village, which is within the boundaries of the World Heritage Site of Ancient Thebes. In 2010 the World Monuments Fund (WMF) joined forces with UNESCO to evaluate current conditions. WMF’s contribution included a community assessment, available online, to give voice to local residents and integrate social and economic concerns into decision-making about the future of the village. The findings of the assessment underscore the varying — and often conflicting — perspectives of international organizations, foreign experts, and local stakeholders regarding the value of Fathy’s design, the traditions it emulated and invented, and how the heritage of New Gourna should be preserved. An estimated 40 percent of the original buildings have been lost and others significantly modified, largely due to adaptation of the designs to local practices, changing environmental conditions, as well as evolving social dynamics.

UNESCO’s aims, shared by many in the international architectural community, involve a normative approach to protecting the cultural heritage of New Gourna through the conservation of the original structures. However, Fathy’s buildings, in their traditional form, do not effectively meet the needs of most inhabitants today. While residents are very proud of the legacy New Gourna represents, their interpretation of its value and its spatial manifestation diverges significantly from the perspectives of the international heritage community. Reconciling these differences compels a reexamination of dominant ideologies and professional standards in the heritage field so as to legitimize and incorporate local stakeholder perspectives and traditions in decision-making about their built environment.

WHOSE TRADITION IN ARCACHON, FRANCE?

Laurence Keith Loftin and Jacqueline Victor

Most regions in France have well-established and well-documented traditions of vernacular architecture that can be traced for centuries. This is not the case near the Arcachon basin on the Atlantic coast of France. Instead, a surprising and relatively recent (nineteenth-century) market-driven Classical building style came to dominate. This paper will examine the area and its history in order to determine why.

Two hundred years ago the Atlantic coast of France extending from La Rochelle to the village of Arcachon was a shallow marsh inhabited by fishermen, resin gatherers, and nomadic shepherds who herded their sheep on stilts. This area, though near the sophisticated urban center of Bordeaux, was considered wild, uncivilized, and difficult to traverse. The few visitors to the area noticed the development of an enormous dune which was moving inland at an alarming speed, threatening the desertification of the area around Bordeaux. Fear of the encroaching desert resulted in the widespread planting of rows of pine trees to halt the sand. In a short period of time the landscape and environment of this area was radically changed from a coastal marsh with long grasses to a forest composed of regular rows of pine trees. The few existing vernacular farms were eliminated.

By 1830 the French Revolution was more or less over. A classical facelift of the area by the new bourgeoisie of Bordeaux, now interested in the health benefits of seaside vacations, began in earnest. With their new wealth and power they wished to emulate their recently deposed aristocratic masters. A new railway and the development of medical “cures” of fresh air and water fueled investment possibilities and resulted in a rapid building boom in the Classical style. The new landscape, with its new social class and their interest in recreational medical activities, opened up new investment possibilities. This coastal facelift resulted in one of the oldest “international styles” of architecture, based on aesthetics rather than place and environment.

The paper will document in detail these developments and address the question as to whose tradition this really represents and its current significance.
WHOSE HERITAGE? CHALLENGES OF CONTEMPORARY URBAN CONSERVATION IN ISFAHAN, IRAN
Mohammad Gharipour

In 1598 the most powerful of the Safavid kings, Shah Abbas (1587–1629), moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan. Following the move, he invited scientists, artisans and architects from other areas to transform the city into the focal point of the Orient in terms of economy, science, art and architecture. To reach this goal, Shah Abbas vastly developed the city, reorganized its master plan, and attempted to create a “modern” city that could compete with Istanbul and Delhi, two significant cities of the sixteenth century. The new Isfahan, also called “Half of the World,” included a new civic center (Naqsh-i Jahan), a series of gardens and buildings, new residential quarters with local markets, a grand bazaar, and a central street called Chaharbagh.

Several Safavid complexes, including Naqsh-i Jahan Square, are today categorized as UNESCO Heritage Sites. In January 2006, in the presence of representatives from 57 Islamic countries, Isfahan was also officially declared the “cultural capital” of the world of Islam. However, in the last thirty years, actions by governmental agencies such as the city municipality and by investors have caused serious damage to the historic urban fabric and to the heritage sites. Destruction of traditional dwellings and historic sites, as well as developments that are not harmonious with the urban fabric, have led to debate on the definition of cultural heritage in light of tradition. The conflicts between cultural organizations and the municipality have also led to the downgrading of historic sites to tourist destinations from living traditions.

This paper will explore the role of governmental agencies, as well as the impact of public and international involvement, in defining the future of urban heritage in Isfahan. These issues will be discussed through an analysis of three controversial projects executed in the last fifteen years: the destruction of the Sheikh Bahai Bathhouse, the construction of the Jahan-Nama Building, and the development of the underground subway.

THE MOBILE TRADITION AND REVIVAL OF DASTANGOI IN INDIA
Shraddha Navalli

Dastangoi is the art of storytelling as a courtly ritual in North India, which tapered off in the late nineteenth century. The term originated from the Persian words dastan, which means “story,” and goi, which means “narration.” The Persian version of the practice narrated the adventures of Amir Hamza. However, these same stories circulated in India, and the practice of dastangoi was especially pronounced in the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The first Urdu version of the Hamza narrative also derived from Persianate versions in the sixteenth century. This was eventually translated and published by the East India Company in the nineteenth century, when the Hamza tradition in Urdu thrived as an oral performance tradition.

The modern revival of dastangoi was marked with enthusiasm in May 2005 at the India International Auditorium in Delhi and later in other cultural centers. Mahmood Farooqui, who led the revival, made key alterations to the form, and since 2005 performances by Farooqui with Danish Husain have helped popularize this altered art form not only in Delhi, but in other cities in India as well. The two men perform stories from the Tīlism-e Hoshruba, the most well-known chapter of the Dastan-e Amir Hamza (the printed version) and from their own interpretations of it. While the former dastan is a narration of the nineteenth century text, the latter provides a contemporary narration of the traumas and absurdities of the partition of the subcontinent in 1947.

Communication technology has allowed the further spread of this art form in the contemporary period. Urdu, a language widely spoken in early-nineteenth-century Delhi, was not only suppressed, but stigmatized following the partition in modern India, when it was seen as relegated to the margins of the society—the Muslims. This paper seeks to explore the intersections of art form, narration in Urdu language, and the contemporary revival of this performance-based tradition.

The paper builds on two questions. First, since the 2005 revival of dastangoi in Delhi, what does this new art form tell about twenty-first-century Indian cities and their inhabitants? The paper does not suggest a new typology. It does, however, raise the question of why a subverted language, Urdu, now dominates the cultural and social spaces of Indian cities. Second, within the theoretical purview of the IASTE conference, the paper asks whose tradition is this? Is the twenty-first-century dastangoi a part of Islamic literary tradition, or does the fluidity of the art form escape the particularity of an Islamic or Indo-Islamic interpretation? Situated among these questions is an inquiry into dastangoi itself as social movement, urban nostalgia, or modern tradition. Through the theoretical, literary and urban mélange of the revived and mobile dastangoi, the paper illustrates how the new dastans are far removed from the stereotype of Muslims in India, and highlight transformations, mutations and mobility of people and stories.
B.11 TRADITION AND GREEN URBANISM

YANGON’S GREEN: EVOLVING MEANING AND MESSAGE IN A TROPICAL CITY’S URBAN PARKS
Ivan Valin
University of Hong Kong, China

EMERALD URBANITY: WHOSE TRADITION?
Diane Valerie Wildsmith
University of Indonesia

HIDDEN FARM: A STUDY IN THE AGRICULTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE CHINESE CLASSICAL GARDEN
Hongjun Zhou
Tongji University, China

THE ROLE OF ECOTOURISM IN THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF QINKOU VILLAGE, YUNNAN, CHINA, 2001–2013
Yun Gao, Adrian Pitts, and Jing Gao
University of Huddersfield, U.K.

YANGON’S GREEN: EVOLVING MEANING AND MESSAGE IN A TROPICAL CITY’S URBAN PARKS
Ivan Valin

Recent political reform in Myanmar has sparked an extraordinary transformation of the country’s largest city and commercial capital, Yangon, where traditional social, economic and spatial fabrics are being reorganized, or in many cases replaced, to produce the image of a modern Southeast Asian city. Although this most recent phase of urban change is taking place with alarming speed and is being chronicled by a newly free local press and an ever-suspicious international one, it is not the first time the physical city has endured a reorganization in the service of legitimizing authority and maintaining power. Indeed, Yangon, etched into the swamps and jungle of the Irrawaddy delta just 150 years ago, is by its very nature a volatile city. This paper traces the evolution of public parks — a significant, if scarce component of urban Yangon — to uncover conflicting traditions of repression and resistance as they are practiced through and within these spaces.

Three specific parks are presented, each illuminating different strategies for appropriating meaning in the service of or the rejection of power. The first is a large open space currently known as People’s Park that surrounds the most important religious monument in the city. For nearly a century it was held as a cantonment, a space reproducing military power and colonial recreation while simultaneously destabilizing Buddhist practices and spatial frameworks that predated the British occupation. The second is the park at Inya Lake, which exhibits traditions of occupation at multiple levels. A former colonial suburb, its plantings and spaces have been adapted as it became incorporated into an expanded urban core. The park has most recently being used for the marginal activities of a newly open society. Finally, the paper examines a series of former natural spaces along the riverfront that have come under pressure as land values rise. Some spaces have remained resistant to development by virtue of entrenched religious and cultural practices — a surprising fact in the most volatile space of the city.

Though the production of the colonial city has been well chronicled, urban histories since the 1960s are not well known outside of Myanmar, and archival records are incomplete. Parks and natural areas — as living fabric in the city, evidencing growth, decay, maintenance and interference — offer a lens into the practices that produced them. Parks and open spaces in Yangon also serve as cultural and spatial, and sometimes spiritual, anchors that structure meaning and belonging for the city’s diverse communities. The paper shows that the conflict over parks is deeply embedded in cultural and political practices that are and have been transforming the city since it was first established.

EMERALD URBANITY: WHOSE TRADITION?
Diane Valerie Wildsmith

In “The Question Concerning Technology” (1952), the philosopher Martin Heidegger pondered the essence of technology, as articulated by a four-fold causality involving matter, form, essence and agency. The bringing-forth of green architecture and urbanism may thus be seen as grounded in revealing the dysmism between the environment and technology. Indeed, Heidegger challenged the windmill not only to catch the wind, but also to unlock energy from air currents and store it for future use. This proposition is analogous to requiring a green building to provide its own energy and recycle its own waste. This process of setting-in-order, in the context of twenty-first-century agro-ecosystems, challenges both agriculturists and architects to devise hybrid forms. By expediting the energies of nature through such activities as harvesting rainwater, composting waste, and growing food, green architecture unlocks the resource potential of urban agriculture as standing-reserve.

In the Javanese context the tradition of green architecture and its anchoring in place relates to home gardens, or pekarangan. The stacking architecture of Peruri ‘88 (MVRDV, Jakarta, 2012) features commercial and residential mixed-use elements with overlapping balconies and green gardens. This topology offers the possibility of extending the traditional pekarangan vertically as a way to grow herbs, fruits and vegetables. Yet the high-density skyscraper provokes a discourse on the social authenticity of vertical kampungs and the possibility of anchoring the tradition of the garden and dwelling topology in opposition to hegemonic spatial practices of commercial architecture. Consequently, economic power subjugates the traditional home garden space and valorizes the commercial green skyscraper.

Bringing-forth the globalization of agro-architecture, Asian Cairns (Vincent Callebaut, Shenzhen, 2013) envisages stacked, glazed pebbles for dwellings — thus forming sustainable farm-scrapers. Vertical farms support food security, thereby reducing carbon emissions, mitigating pollution, optimizing transportation networks, and supporting connectivity. Given the universality of space, time and place, agro-urban projects nonetheless raise issues of subjectivity, authorship and power to reveal ecotopian skyscrapers set apart from a humanist sphere.

The dialectic of humankind against nature is transformed into a discourse of humankind in partnership with nature. Moreover, according to Hubert L. Dreyfus (2004), Heidegger went beyond the Cartesian subject/object distinction to emphasize Dasein (being here) in a single subjective sphere. Ecotopian principles are integrated within agro-ecosystems, green urbanism, and socio-cultural relations. By challenging nature and human beings, technology
reveals the destiny and danger of shrinking the ecological footprint into high-density conurbations, thus combining agriculture and architecture into an emerald urbanity.

“Tradition, by whom?” thus implies interrogating the causality of this new emerald urbanity. This discourse reveals the destiny and danger in future ecotopias of highrise projects such as Peruri ’88 or Asian Cairns.

HIDDEN FARM: A STUDY IN THE AGRICULTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE CHINESE CLASSICAL GARDEN
Hongjun Zhou

This study focuses on the agricultural composition of the classical Chinese garden, and reveals how the composition of farm and cultivation was ignored and hidden by the group of literati, the social elite in Chinese tradition.

Although the origin of Chinese gardens can be traced to feudal agriculture, classical gardens are usually considered to be representative of a more elegant art and aesthetic. In classical China, the owners of gardens were mostly well-educated scholars interested in composing poems or paintings about their gardens, or who invited other more famous scholars to undertake this job. Most such gardens from Chinese history have disappeared, but the art and literary work related to them have remained.

This study selected two gardens famous in history as typical cases. The first is Xieshi Shanju, a suburban garden owned by a family with the surname of Xie about sixteen centuries ago. Xie Lingyun (385–433), the most outstanding member of the family, wrote a detailed record and many poems about this garden. The second case is that of Zhuozheng Garden, located inside the city of Suzhou, which was designed and built at the beginning of sixteenth century. Zhuozheng Garden has been preserved until today, but it has doubtless been rebuilt and modified many times, and is thus different from how it would have appeared in the sixteenth century, when the great scholar and artist Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) produced a series of artworks about it.

The research consisted of a careful analysis of the available poems, paintings and records describing the two gardens. Its intent was to calculate the true nature of the agricultural elements described by them. It then attempted to discern how these elements were narrated and described, and to develop a comparison between the two cases. In addition, the research investigated how the two gardens have been cited and recorded in the considerable amount of other historical literature about them and in more typical literature.

It was determined that Xie Lingyun recorded and narrated the situation of Xieshi Shanju, including the elements and composition of its agriculture, in a comparatively objective way, but that this objective view was more or less distorted by the character and style of his writing, which is always gorgeous and magnificent. What’s more, later scholars tended to be more interested in the features of his writing, which is always gorgeous and magnificent. What’s more, later scholars tended to be more interested in the features of Wen’s writings and paintings focus with great enthusiasm on scenery and beauty, and hid the underlying agricultural components behind an overwhelming appreciation for the landscape in the case of Zhuozheng Garden.

This situation is also related to the distinct tendency in Chinese culture to emphasize idealism and despise reality. Under the influence of this cultural attitude, in their writings or paintings, traditional scholars reinterpreted and re-created gardens which were different from the real gardens. Later readers and researchers have then tended to understand these gardens based on artistic representation rather than the true nature of the gardens. As a result, the farm really existing in garden history was hidden behind the brilliant aesthetics.

THE ROLE OF ECOTOURISM IN THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF QINKOU VILLAGE, YUNNAN, CHINA, 2001–2013
Yun Gao, Adrian Pitts, and Jing Gao

This study describes the changes to Qinkou village during the period when it was developed as an example of ecotourism in Yunnan Province, southwest China — a process which began in 2001. By examining the aims of various development projects and changes in the village in 2001, 2006 and 2013, the paper explores how traditions have been understood and deployed with regard to the built environment in Qinkou. It also investigates the shift in focus of academic research to traditional and sustainable development of rural villages over different periods.

In 2001 a development project was implemented in Qinkou to demonstrate how tourism could help modernize the village. The local government of the Honghe Hani and Yi autonomous prefecture, where the village is located, worked with academics in the fields of architecture, planning and anthropology to develop the plan and to obtain funding to transform Qinkou into an ecotourism village.

By 2006 the infrastructure of the village had been significantly improved. However, many originally planned activities could not be carried out because of a lack of ongoing funding support and effective management. Tourism alone was also unable to bring fundamental change to Qinkou. Instead, many villagers who worked in the cities returned with savings from higher-paying jobs, and they brought back new lifestyles that led to further major transformation. At the same time, the village remained a coherent settlement, and the head of the village and its management group organized many cooperative activities. Academic research, however, focused more on the cultural symbols of local families and the built environment than on providing advice to help the village improve living conditions.

In 2013 an application for the spectacular stepped paddy fields in the prefecture to be listed as a World Heritage Site attracted significant funding from the local government. Qinkou was included in the development master plan; however, the development project for the village focused primarily on preserving traditional forms as cultural symbols. Academic research and local policies discussed the need for sustainable development in order to comply with the requirements of the UNESCO process for World Heritage listing. Yet details of how to achieve social and cultural cohesion remained missing.

The paper argues that tourism development in the market-oriented economy now operating in China has worked as a catalyst for the transformation of the village and the improvement of living conditions there. However, social-cultural sustainable regeneration of rural settlements must create places for the needs of different groups in the local community. The academic research also needs to reinterpret the traditions that were formed and changed by the local communities in a way that is perhaps more diverse and flexible than previously.
C.11 REVIVAL OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

ENTANGLED MODERNITIES: SOUTHEAST ASIAN COLONIAL URBANISM
Julie Nichols
University of South Australia

MAPPING THE PAST: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PRESERVATION TRADITION IN BRAZIL
Leonardo Castriota
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil

HANOI’S EVERYDAY SPACES: “IMAGINED” TRADITION THROUGH PAINTINGS OF/IN THE STREETS
Dinh Phuong
Swinburne University of Technology, Australia

THE SICILIAN LATIFUNDIUM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: BEHIND THE LARGE FARMING MASSERIE
Manfredi Saeli and Tiziana Campisi
University of Palermo, Italy

RECONSTRUCTING THE POTALA PALACE: THE QING EMPEROR AND THE DALAI LAMA IN THE TEMPLE OF POTARAKA DOCTRINE
Xu Yang
Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

ENTANGLED MODERNITIES: SOUTHEAST ASIAN COLONIAL URBANISM
Julie Nichols

Looking specifically at Batavia and Melaka, this paper investigates the assertion by the historical geographer Rhoads Murphey of a shift from a “Great Asian Tradition” to the establishment of modern metropoles of commercial and entrepreneurial dominance. In a seminal paper on traditionalism and colonialism, Murphey argued that the colonial port city model has now been supplanted across Southeast Asia to the detriment of the “Great Asian Tradition” archetype. These urban formal transitions occurred slowly in a period spanning from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. By the nineteenth century the full force of modernization had obviously and completely affected urban transformations of these colonial ports.

The paper asks a number of questions with regard to this thesis. To what extent did understandings of traditions of socio-cultural practices, assist or mediate these urban environmental changes? To what extent are traditions anchored in a place, or do the cases of Batavia and Melaka demonstrate closer connections of traditions tied to mobile populations of urban citizens? The paper highlights how the overwhelming desire to be modern and actively contribute to modern society bridges, for better or worse, concerns of moral and ethical injustices — as well as what may be seen as significant economic and socio-cultural undoing in the short-term, in the pursuit of a perceived long-term elevation to modernity.

The paper emphasizes that in the port cities of Batavia and Melaka, nineteenth-century modernization and industrialization was on the whole achieved by the colonial model and the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas. The paper also elaborates on the concept of “entangled modernities” as a vehicle to illustrate how becoming modern was a reciprocal process that encompassed embracing, manipulating and disregarding traditions and practices from all perspectives. As these port cities succumbed to a myriad of external influences throughout their histories, postcolonially these built environments, their urban fabric, and their societal structures became sites of entangled modernities, rather than boasting clearly and definitively constructed sets of traditions.

The paper shows that insight gained from analyzing the versatile nature of traditions, meanings, and socio-cultural and religious-sacred values at the core of the Southeast Asians sense of being all contributed to the transition of physical urban form and intellectual beliefs to modernity. These factors also have ramifications in contemporary societies. By tracing historically fluid and evolving socio-cultural and urban traditions, concepts of entangled modernity facilitate a frame to consider contemporary urban sites and their identity as mobile and pertaining to their inhabitants, rather than being fixed within inflexible notions of spatial traditions. Traditions enable past influences to flow into the socio-cultural practices and ideas of the present time and space, and contribute to the richness of urban environments as they are played out spatially as well as ideologically. In spaces of entangled modernities, traditions provide multiple meanings for resident and nonresident communities to negotiate the urban environments of the contemporary age.

MAPPING THE PAST: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PRESERVATION TRADITION IN BRAZIL
Leonardo Castriota

In a country like Brazil, marked by the ideology of the new, where the landscape is extremely changeable, the preservation of entire ensembles of buildings from the past centuries seems remarkable. The fact is that since the 1930s, against all odds, Brazil has adopted a conservation policy that, along with churches and important buildings, also protects urban complexes through a mechanism known as tombamento (listing), which creates a system of co-responsibility between the owners of private property and the state. In order to try to understand this phenomenon, I will present in this paper, if only briefly, the history of urban conservation in Brazil, focusing on its early days, trying to understand especially what led intellectuals and politicians to propose the preservation of complete ensembles as early as the 1930s.

Initially, it is necessary to draw attention to a peculiarity of the Brazilian case. This is that heritage-preservation policies in Brazil have traditionally been drawn up and implemented by progressive intellectuals rather than conservative groups. One reason is that in addition to its strong criticism of traditional academic arts, the Brazilian modern movement has stressed cultural renovation and a search for roots, and has placed the issue of identity on the national agenda. Thus, while keeping in close contact with the European avant-garde, Brazilian modernists developed a peculiar relationship with tradition, refusing the idea of a radical rupture with the past. In this context, it should come as no surprise that Brazilian modernists “rediscovered” entire ensembles in the State of Minas Gerais, including Ouro Preto, Mariana, Diamantina, São João del Rey, Tiradentes, and Serro. In their search for a “deep” national identity, they identified expressions of genuine Brazilian civilization in these eighteenth-century ensembles, and in so doing, they reval-
ued the local Baroque style, which had long been considered eccentric and unimportant. Instead, the modernists claimed the style was a new cultural synthesis, created by an isolated society which had managed to rework various cultural influences in its own manner.

In this sense, the approach of Brazilian modernists to the eighteenth century can be compared with that of the European avant-garde to the primitive and archaic — with the particularity that the primitive in Brazil pointed to the country’s cultural roots. In Brazil the avant-garde rediscovery of primitive culture corresponded to the rediscovery of another, nonofficial national culture, one which had been ignored for years. In terms of architecture, this reading of the national past eventually came to play an important part both in the formulation of Brazil’s preservation policy and Brazil’s distinct strain of modernist design.

HANOI’S EVERYDAY SPACES: “IMAGINED” TRADITION THROUGH PAINTINGS OF/IN THE STREETS
Dinh Phuong

Local authorities, conservationists and residents in Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, face challenges in maintaining the city’s architectural and urban identity. This may be partly the result of the differences in defining and promoting traditions by involved parties. This includes, for example, differences in understanding between the authorities and local residents about which “traditional” aspects of the everyday built environment need to be preserved and which should be “cleaned up” for heritage protection. Given that the issues are always complex, an initial approach to such challenges is to get a grounded understanding of aspects that, on the one hand, may be identified as economically and culturally meaningful to the life of local residents, and on the other, might sit comfortably within the vision of involved agents, including policymakers, in promoting tradition. How do the viewpoints on heritage and tradition converge and diverge among various agents, and how have these claims been influenced by current economic and political change in Vietnam? Such understanding will be useful for local decision-makers as they struggle to come up with a better definition of “tradition” and more effective and balanced heritage regulations and practices.

Hanoi is today characterized by dynamic transformation, reflecting different layers of identity due to a history of Chinese domination, French colonization, and post-independence support from the former Soviet Union. Doi Moi (economic reform), which started in 1986, has brought rapid change in the built environment, including places of heritage. How do these overlapping layers of architecture, and their ongoing transformation, contribute to the making of traditional places? How have the characteristics of places been imagined and illustrated through artwork such as paintings? And how might the making of artwork be contextualized within the larger realm of cultural production and conservation practice? Examining these questions will hopefully lead to a better understanding of the nature of change in these places, which are influenced significantly by interaction between local culture and shifting public attitudes toward place character.

To examine the above questions the paper focuses on several streets in Hanoi’s Ancient Quarter. It first reviews the streets’ history and provides observations and interpretations of everyday life and architecture there. It then examines the shifting sense of identity in Hanoi’s streets via an analysis of street paintings by local artists whose identities, experiences, and visual expressions reflect Hanoi’s architectural tradition and present-day changes. Local challenges in (re)defining, promoting and maintaining the city’s tangible and intangible identities will be discussed in relation to conservation practices and the making of a 4,000-meter-long ceramic mural along the city’s dike. These findings will be supported by a review of relevant literature. In conclusion, the paper will highlight implications for current and future practices of maintaining traditional streets in the face of rapid change of the built environment in Hanoi or elsewhere.

THE SICILIAN LATIFUNDIUM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: BEHIND THE LARGE FARMING MASSERIE
Manfredi Saeli and Tiziana Campisi

The Sicilian land-tenure system has always been characterized by the presence of latifundium. Broadly, the term evokes a complex of economic, social and cultural mechanisms rather than serving as a reductive designation of land area. Introduced under Roman domination, the historical phenomenon continued in almost identical form until the mid-twentieth century. However, in recent decades, an agricultural crisis, worsened by globalization and strict European Economic Area (EEA) directives, has led to a steep decline and, in many cases, a deep stagnation in the Sicilian rural economy. This has caused a rapid degeneration of the rural landscape, including traditional economic and social values.

Sicilian masserie (large fortified farms) once represented the highest expression of the island’s rural society. A masseria was, at once, a center of production, land management and control, economic/political/social power, and residence. Every masseria was interdependent with the surrounding landscape and inseparable from its location (climate, environment, cultivations), history, function, the social level of its owner, and local construction techniques and materials. This generated a strong binomial relation between architecture and nature, where the land was molded by economic activities and expressed an equilibrium between human actions and natural systems.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, however, agriculture was transformed by industrial principles characterized by well-established shapes and functions derived from the diffusion of manuals. Such new models of production caused a rapid transformation in rural architecture, which led it to lose its aesthetic nature and strict relation to its surroundings and become more of container for productive activities. Following widespread industrial development, agriculture also became a more marginal economic sector. Finally, due to the agrarian reform of 1950 and the fragmentation of the last large properties (which had been ongoing since the abolition of feudalism in 1812), masserie became too big and expensive to maintain. In relation to new land entities, they lost their functionality and manageability and began an inexorable decline.

In this paper we analyze the cultural-economic background that led to masserie development in Sicily and how such traditional constructions might today be refunctionalized and reused. The original architectural configuration and construction of a masseria deeply reflected its rural location and society, taking its cue from ancient feudal systems. Each construction further varied in relation to its owner’s financial resources and social class, the extent of lands it controlled, and the nature of the nearby environment. Such settlements were augmented over the decades by new, more modern constructions, the refunctionalization and reuse of obsolete structures, and the enlargement of houses, warehouses, and animal/tool shelters. Nineteenth-century rural architecture, in particular, was based on ideas of self-sufficient industry, far from the old bucolic model. It introduced a continuously evolving socioeconomic reality based on new processes (automation, farming techniques), species (animal, plant), systems (fertilizer, insecticide, herbicide), and markets.

Rural architecture has in many ways represented the Sicilian economy through the centuries, reflecting socioeconomic change by means of additions, modifications, and deep alterations. Nowadays, however, it suffers from progressive abandonment, with a consequent decline that will lead inescapably to its ruin and disappear.
In the present climate of globalization and worldwide loss of values, however, it is precisely the rediscovery of such a rural world, albeit in a modern context, that might generate “new” opportunities.

RECONSTRUCTING THE POTALA PALACE: THE QING EMPEROR AND THE DALAI LAMA IN THE TEMPLE OF POTARAKA DOCTRINE

Xu Yang

Among large-scale ancient architectural complexes inside China, the royal temples constructed during the Qianlong reign (1736–1796) of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) undoubtedly are the most diverse. They exhibit characteristics distinct from those of any other era. As the secondary political center of the Qing dynasty, Jehol (now Chengde) played a special role in the national, religious and military affairs of the empire at the time. This led to the appearance of complicated architectural cases, the construction of which reached a climax during the Qianlong reign.

This paper discusses the originality of design ideas in the Temple of Potaraka Doctrine, the largest complex in Jehol, constructed during the Qianlong reign. The temple was a monument of imperial governance — both an important part of the Jehol landscape and a key stage for national political affairs. Its complexity in form, function and meaning make it an excellent window through which to appreciate issues of political operation, religion, and ethnic identity during the Qianlong reign. In this paper, I attempt to answer the following questions. What design ideas, mental motivations, and political purposes were reflected in this architectural complex? How did the patron (the emperor) and the designers “copy” the Potala Palace in Tibet to establish their own political center? How did Emperor Qianlong define the hierarchical relation between himself and the Dalai Lama through architectural language? And through what elements did the Qing court choose to express its own material outlook when facing its Mongolian and Tibetan allies? I analyze these issues by discussing the relation between the temple and its “prototype,” the Potala Palace in Lhasa, and the unrecorded changes made during the imitation process.

The Temple of Potaraka Doctrine has traditionally been thought of as a copy of its architectural prototype — the Potala Palace. Some scholars have argued that the emperor intended to establish a legitimate equivalence with the Potala in religious significance. However, the paper reveals that these two constructions cannot be seen as equivalents, either in physical form or internal symbolic meaning. Two levels of symbolism were involved in the Potala Palace and the Temple of Potaraka Doctrine: the theory of Bodhisattvas as a source of authority; and the projection of this theory onto specific leaders. With political purpose, construction of the Temple of Potaraka Doctrine not only involved imitating the form of the Potala conceptually, but also modifying and creating new features that replaced material and spatial symbols of the Dalai Lama on both levels with those of the Qing emperor. In this process, Emperor Qianlong projected the theory of Bodhisattvas as the source of authority from Tibetan Buddhism to a new architecture entity so that he could take full advantage of this theory to exposit an ideal politico-religious model for his own empire. Meanwhile, Han-style architecture was chosen to represent the Manchu material outlook, which led to an unspeakable embarrassment in terms of facing the empire’s inner-Asia allies — Mongolian and Tibetan ethnic groups.

All of these symbolic processes were not clear or straightforward in their expression. But their abstract translation through religious, art and architectural interpretation shows an aspect of how the ancient Chinese empire, especially the Manchu court, used architecture as a kind of imperial weapon.