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# Editor's Note

This special issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is dedicated to IASTE's 2016 Conference, to be held in December in Kuwait. As with past special TDSR conference issues, it intends to provide individual and institutional IASTE members who are unable to attend with information about the content of the event. For those attending, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, as it contains all abstracts of papers accepted for presentation.

The theme of the Fifteenth IASTE Conference is "Legitimizing Tradition." Participants will explore the role that tradition plays in legitimating practices that produce place-based or placeless built environments, as well as uncover how traditions that relate to the built environment have been legitimated or used as tools of political and social legitimation.

Legitimacy, in the particular context of tradition, can have several meanings, including authenticity, legality, and the possession of value or worth. These aspects of legitimacy are not inherent within traditions themselves, but are bestowed by agents for particular reasons.

The acknowledgement or denial of legitimacy can come from within or without; in other words, it is possible for a tradition to be internally but not externally legitimate, or vice versa. A discrepancy between internal and external views of legitimacy can lead to conflict, but disputes about legitimacy within the bounds of one group can have the same consequences. In political theory, legitimacy is sometimes conceived as being derived from the consent of the governed. Thus, if coercion or even violence is required to uphold a tradition, is it still legitimate? When politics within or between communities come into play, the exercise of power of the ruler over the ruled finds its expression in built form. For instance, tradition may be used to maintain the legitimacy of dominant narratives in volatile and eruptive regional environments. It has also acted as an agent of legitimation in the construction of particular forms of the built environment. Conversely, tradition itself may need to be legitimized. Many historic and traditional sites have been lost due to a perceived lack of value, while others have been saved because their worth is legitimized at the right time and to the right people. This prompts consideration of how and why traditions are legitimized, by whom, and in what circumstances. Tradition, when considered in the context of regulated policies, opens the discussion on the social and cultural values encouraged or discouraged in different modes and techniques of practice. This requires investigation of how policies secure, conceal or overcome tradition.

Hosted by Kuwait University, the conference brings together more than 140 scholars and practitioners from a variety of backgrounds to present papers structured around three broad themes: "Building Legitimacy Through Tradition"; "Legitimizing Tradition"; and "Tradition and the Ethics of Practice." We would like to thank this year's conference sponsors, which include the College of Architecture at Kuwait University, SSH Kuwait City, the Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Science, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, and, of course, the University of California, Berkeley.

*Nezar AlSayyad*

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## KEYNOTE SESSION

### FORMS OF LEGITIMATION: IMAGINARY AND INSTITUTIONAL VIEWS OF TRADITION

#### THE INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMIZATION OF TRADITION: HALF A CENTURY OF HERITAGE POLICIES AND THE PRESENT CHALLENGES

*Francesco Bandarin*

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#### IMAGINED TRADITIONS: ON THE U.A.E.'S PARTICIPATION IN WORLD FAIRS

*Yasser Elshestawy*

*United Arab Emirates University, Al Ain, U.A.E.*

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#### THE INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMIZATION OF TRADITION: HALF A CENTURY OF HERITAGE POLICIES AND THE PRESENT CHALLENGES

*Francesco Bandarin*

The legitimization of tradition as a tool for national cultural policies originated in the nineteenth century in connection with the emergence of the nation-state as the main political actor on the world scene. While John Ruskin and William Morris had already proposed an international discourse on heritage and its conservation in the nineteenth century, it was only in the 1930s that a process of international legitimization took shape. This led, in the post-World War II period, to the creation of many intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies dedicated to heritage preservation in all its forms (UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, IUCN, etc.). The creation of these bodies led eventually to the establishment of a formalized system of international heritage legitimization that has been embodied in international treaties, like the World Heritage Convention of 1972, the Intangible Heritage Convention of 2003, as well as many other programs run by a variety of actors.

Throughout the past half-century an elaborate system of procedures, criteria, assessment practices, and conservation policies has been developed that today represent the reference for all national, regional and international legitimization processes. While the system has been successful so far in supporting heritage conservation as an international and national public policy, the progressive formalization of the process has generated a doctrinal rigidity that has been criticized by local communities, creative actors, and even government agencies. Can the existing system fully represent the cultural diversity that it is supposed to respect? Can this

system fully respond to the needs of mass urban societies in the twenty-first century? Are other processes of legitimization emerging?

#### IMAGINED TRADITIONS: ON THE U.A.E.'S PARTICIPATION IN WORLD FAIRS

*Yasser Elshestawy*

The heritage and identity discourse in the Gulf region is fraught with many difficulties and conflicting motives. Ultimately, however, it can be construed as a form of legitimization, accomplished in a number of ways: by establishing a sense of independence vis-à-vis a dominating expatriate population; by seeking to assert a presence in the midst of traditional and established centers of culture; and perhaps more importantly, by affirming the position of being the protectors of fading cultural symbols, real or imagined. Such issues are evident in the construction of national pavilions in world expositions.

The U.A.E. began its participation as a still-not-formed nation at Expo'70 in Osaka, Japan, where its pavilion took the shape of a traditional fort. Recognizing that there was no substantive built patrimony or clear architectural heritage from which to draw references, a fort was the only recourse available. Recently, a more sophisticated imagery relying on landscape references and indirect allusions to tradition and history is being used. Such depictions are framed through the notion of modernity, in the form of exhibits and displays that demonstrate progress. This raises issues pertaining to whose identity is being represented: Who are the various stakeholders involved in portraying the nation's cultural achievements to the world? And what criteria are being used to select components of local culture?

The aim of this paper is to document the U.A.E.'s participation in these events. An examination of how world expos are approached and conceptualized allows a glimpse how the U.A.E. chooses to display itself. Such approaches ultimately aim at boosting the role of the authorities as "custodians of culture," thus legitimizing their credentials — in turn, affecting architectural and urban developments in their respective home cities.

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## KEYNOTE SESSION LEGITIMIZING FORGOTTEN HERITAGE

### LEARNING TO LOVE THE UNLOVED: LEGITIMIZING UNWANTED HERITAGE

*Mike Robinson*

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### LEGITIMIZING THE ILLEGITIMATE: A CASE FOR KUWAIT'S FORGOTTEN MODERNITY

*Farah Al-Nakib*

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### LEARNING TO LOVE THE UNLOVED: LEGITIMIZING UNWANTED HERITAGE

*Mike Robinson*

The past is known to us more than ever before. Indeed, it seems there is no escape from the past, and not just our own pasts but those of others. Each day the past — transformed, mediated, imagined, legitimated, denounced — confronts us, and we now carry with us, willingly or not, biographies of the world. Heritage, in both its tangible and intangible forms, is an important and highly symbolic way in which we mark the past. Indeed, it is generally taken to be an embodiment of what we value and care about. Each generation inscribes its own marks upon previous and present inheritances; traditions are made and remade; and structures and frameworks for anticipating future heritage are shaped and reshaped. Designating heritage is a way of legitimizing the past, but to varying extents this is contingent on who is “doing” the designating. By reference to shifting power relations, we can see the ways some heritages are privileged above others and how vernacular and subaltern heritages, for instance, are often occluded by those who exercise political and economic dominance. This process implies a relative and ongoing power struggle between agents who value some or someone’s heritage over another’s. It is generally argued that in the context of democratic governance there appears to be some consensus at work in the exercise of power to designate heritage, and thus legitimate wider agendas of social stability, upholding national traditions or optimizing economic opportunities founded upon heritage-driven tourism. Notwithstanding asymmetrical power relations, all of this suggests a heritage that is “wanted” by society, or at least wanted for some purpose.

In this paper, using various examples from differing geographical and cultural contexts, I ask: Are there legacies of the past that are not wanted, that have been abandoned and are disconnected from social life, political purpose, or

economic imperative? Are there parts of material culture or immaterial traditions that are not of sufficient value to be categorized as heritage and that remain beyond utility or interest? Is this so-called “unwanted heritage” merely not wanted at certain moments in time? And what processes may therefore be involved in its transformation from having no value to having some value?

### LEGITIMIZING THE ILLEGITIMATE: A CASE FOR KUWAIT'S FORGOTTEN MODERNITY

*Farah Al-Nakib*

The city-states of the Arabian Gulf have undergone significant transformations since the advent of oil. For the past sixty years this has included vigorous, state-led development processes that have constantly replaced old with new. Kuwait was the first Gulf city to experience rapid oil urbanization, in 1950. And, over the ensuing three decades, almost all pre-oil structures inside the historic urban center were systematically demolished to make way for a new, modern city.

Since 2003 the city has been experiencing a renewed cycle of demolition and development; but this time it is the modernist landscape, itself, that is being destroyed and replaced by something newer still. However, alongside this new cycle of demolition has emerged a seemingly contradictory desire to revive the pre-oil city, as historic courtyard houses that escaped the first round of demolition are being renovated into sites of national heritage. This reification of the pre-oil landscape reflects a deep-seated regret for the erasure of Kuwait’s traditional city. By contrast, the current destruction of the modernist city is not viewed with the same regret, for the landscape that is being erased today — and, by extension, the era in which it was built — is not considered a valid representation of Kuwait’s historic identity. Rather, the resurrected pre-oil landscape is seen to more authentically symbolize the country’s traditions and values.

In this talk, I argue that Kuwait’s early oil modernity, and the landscape that it created, is in fact a vitally legitimate part of Kuwait’s historic identity and should not be erased and dismissed as an illegitimate era in the city’s, and the nation’s, past.



## A1. ARCHITECTURE AND LEGITIMATION

### NATIONALIST PARTICULARISM AND LEVELS OF LEGITIMIZING ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN TRADITIONS IN FOUR GULF CITIES

*Ashraf Salama*

*University of Strathclyde, U.K.*

### THE CITY AND ITS MINARETS REVISITED: ANKARA'S NEW MOSQUES

*Şebnem Yücel*

*Yaşar Üniversitesi, Turkey*

### LEARNING FROM RIYADH: THE *ARS TRADENDI*

*Fiorella Vanini*

*Prince Sultan University, Saudi Arabia*

### THE ROLE OF NONTRADITIONAL EMERGING TECHNOLOGY IN LEGITIMATING MASS-CUSTOMIZED PLACELESS ENVIRONMENTS

*Hussain Dashti*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

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### NATIONALIST PARTICULARISM AND LEVELS OF LEGITIMIZING ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN TRADITIONS IN FOUR GULF CITIES

*Ashraf Salama*

Architectural and urban traditions are being legitimized in various forms in the context of Gulf cities. This paper approaches the notion of legitimacy from the perspective of the modern state and the rise of nationalist particularism, while problematizing the way such a perspective is manifest in contemporary practices.

Increasingly and assertively, relationships between rulers and the ruled in the Gulf region have changed dramatically to emphasize uneven power relationships. Replacing a local tradition of people shaping their environments under tribal leadership, the modern state has become the organizing body and legal authority claiming to represent the will of the people. Guided by the principles of the modern state, Gulf cities are also engaged in a continuous process of transforming themselves according to the expression of a variety of architectural and urban qualities. Yet, also within the framework of the modern state, the dominant discourse of current rulers (as well as of the intellectuals who represent them and voice their opinions) advocates the recycling of elements of architectural and urban tradition as a way to perpetuate the character of the city. In this respect, architectural and urban traditions are treasured as a legitimizing strategy

at the interface between regional, national or local cultures (including their underlying value systems) and the power and governance structures that may influence them through decision-making. This condition becomes apparent when one looks at how rulers in the region make decisions about land use, public spaces, real estate development, and even the establishment of a local architectural language. As such, the rise of nationalist particularism has challenged earlier socio-political constructs at the regional level, while manifesting itself in many physical interventions in Gulf cities.

Acts of legitimization have been evident over the past several decades in a number of Gulf cities. Examples include refurbishing old palaces or traditional marketplaces to become new cultural enterprises (and potentially visual and spatial references), while depicting traditions for contemporary and future practices. To explore the meaning of these acts, the paper analyzes cases supporting the perspective of nationalist-particularism from four Gulf cities at three different levels. The first is chronological, and involves an attempt to explore spatial patterns within typological transformations adopted both by people and governments in Abu-Dhabi, Doha, Dubai and Manama. The second is representational, and includes cases that utilize traditional imaging at various scales to impress local societies with their roots, and at the same time vaunt the marketing profile of the city. The third is interventional, and involves a closer look at one urban intervention — the Msheireb urban regeneration project in the heart of the capital city of Qatar, Doha — which was supported and sponsored by the ruling family, and which has adopted and adapted traditional visual and spatial elements while attempting to legitimize a real or imagined past.

The paper argues that a problematization of nationalist particularism and the underlying levels of legitimization may lead to better understanding and insight into the problem of maintaining a sense of continuity while responding to contemporary life requirements and social aspirations.

### THE CITY AND ITS MINARETS REVISITED: ANKARA'S NEW MOSQUES

*Şebnem Yücel*

Ever since Ankara became the capital of the Republic of Turkey, it has found itself in competition with the old Ottoman imperial capital, Istanbul, for spatial recognition. At the outset, the new capital was to be modern (to represent the new, modern republic), with flat roofs, unadorned facades, and cubic forms that would set it apart from Istanbul, whose domes and minarets marked it as Oriental and exotic. Indeed, new Ankara was dubbed “the city with no minarets.” Nevertheless, throughout Ankara’s twentieth-century history, the modernist ambitions of its founders were challenged by more conservative views. The architecture of mosques has been one of the major fronts for such spatial confrontations,

with the forty-year saga surrounding the construction of Kocatepe Mosque (1987), the city's biggest, being the most emblematic.

This paper picks up from where a 2004 IASTE presentation titled "The City and Its Minarets" left off. It describes a new chapter in these spatial confrontations in Ankara, that which began following the victory of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in the general elections of 2002. It focuses on three mosque projects in Ankara with symbolic importance for the ruling party: Basyazicioglu Mosque (2007), Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque (2013), and Bestepe Millet Mosque (2015).

Basyazicioglu Mosque (for 2,500 people) is located across from the headquarters of the AKP in Ankara, and is modeled after the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (Al-Masjid An-Nabawi), the second holiest site in Islam. Its opening in 2007 took place during the holy month of Ramadan, on the holiest day, *laylat al-qadr*. To celebrate this event, the imam of the Prophet's Mosque led evening prayers from opening day until the end of the Ramadan holidays (Eid al-fitr). Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque (for 6,000 people) is located on Eskisehir Road, one of the main arteries leading into Ankara, within the campus of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. It is named after the third president of the directorate, who was also the founder of the "Society to Build a Mosque in Ankara," which led the effort to build Kocatepe Mosque. Hamdi Akseki Mosque is the biggest in the country, a modern-looking structure with a prominent dome, 66 meters in diameter. The third project, Bestepe Millet Mosque (for 3,000 people), is located within the new presidential complex, and was built during the current presidency of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Presented as a synthesis of modern and Ottoman architecture, it also opened during the month of Ramadan.

Ankara has long since moved away from being a city without minarets, but the discussion of its mosques continues. Despite their varied architectural styles, scales and locations, the three projects discussed here all try to establish ties with Turco-Islamic tradition and anchor the current governing socio-political discourse in Ankara's cityscape.

## LEARNING FROM RIYADH: THE *ARS TRADENDI*

*Fiorella Vanini*

This research examines how tradition has been translated into the architectural field in Saudi Arabia in the last five decades. The vernacular architecture of Saudi Arabia has been studied widely, and scholars have identified specific languages in each area of the country: the Hijaz region, the Najd region, the Eastern region, and the Asir region. Those architectural languages are different in several key respects: construction materials, structural systems, typologies, and so on. In this paper I will seek to understand how, and if, this tradition survives today.

Since the production of oil began in Saudi Arabia, Riyadh has seen an unprecedented level of urban development. This has increased on every level during the last two kingdoms (of King Fahd and King Abdallah), and corresponded to an increase in the city's population, according to the Census database, from 150,000 in the 1960s to 5.9 million in 2013.

In Latin, the word *tradeo* carries two meanings: one is the transmission of a legacy; the other is the betrayal of that legacy. Both meanings relate to the transmission of knowledge — the idea of carrying "something," and then returning it at the end of the process. In this frame, the concept of *ars tradendi* contains all the seeds for forms recognizable in the traditional environment. Indeed, it is possible to identify three different design approaches to tradition: first, to copy; second, to neglect; and third, to evolve. The three approaches to tradition reveal three different ways to look for legitimacy. They may in turn be associated with different recent building projects in Riyadh.

The first approach involves reproduction of a model that is not supposed to be changed, because adherence to it provides the source of value. The reconstruction of the Masmak fort may be placed in this category. The second approach involves betrayal of every relationship with the local tradition and the adoption of a foreign tradition. This solution may be preferred when there is something unsolved in the outline of cultural identity which establishes an inferiority complex in the face of an interlocutor. The Ritz-Carlton Hotel and the King Abdallah Financial Centre might be seen as part of this "family" of work. The third approach is the most difficult: it involves looking back at the past and learning lessons from it to apply today. The Diplomatic Quarter, the Princess Nourah bint Abdulrahman University, the King Fahad National Library, and the KAPSARC Mosque might be considered representative of this approach.

The strategies identified above can be applied in different contexts, regardless of time and location. In this case, they will be used to understand a political and social project.

## THE ROLE OF NONTRADITIONAL EMERGING TECHNOLOGY IN LEGITIMATING MASS-CUSTOMIZED PLACELESS ENVIRONMENTS

*Hussain Dashti*

This paper describes the role of emergent technology in legitimating "mass-customized" placeless structures. It argues that computational (parametric) thinking in architectural design allows for the invention of complex architectural forms that humans cannot otherwise conceive. Computational form may be of such complexity that the human brain cannot think it, and certainly the human hand cannot sketch it using conventional drawing methods. The paper sheds light on new, nonconventional mindsets, trying to assess and evaluate means of "legitimizing" the built environment.

The main hypothesis here is that the main power of this technology (parametric design thinking) will be to legitimate a new set of architectural typologies. This power is reflected in the ease of form “change” and the capability of form modification and customization. In order to match different individual preferences, many derivations and design iterations on architectural form-making may take place via modifying geometry-related parameters (mass customization). Recognition of this kind of legitimacy is not based on the status of being lawful, but on its recognition and acceptance as valid by individuals with varying personal tastes and desires. The paper argues that both emergent technology and a “digital-thinking” design construct allow for a “mass-customized” mindset to replace traditional “mass production,” as echoed in building materials and even architectural schools of thought and styles.

This paper deals with emergent technology and the “comfort of change” and possible design iterations in the context of tradition. Legitimacy here means to establish authenticity through attempts to reach perfection in shape-making and fabrication. This kind of technology is not only shifting conventional design processes but becoming worthy and inevitable, allowing for avant-garde styles through linkage with advanced computational thinking and new fabrication machinery such as robotic arms. High-precision machines may even today produce seamless, complex structures that are not comprehensible or possible to produce using conventional fabrication and construction tools and methods.

A review of the literature on computational thinking in architecture and the current rise of practices using non-conventional, free-form, complex geometry will support the above hypothesis. The products of an innovative research-based design studio using the parametric design approach will also support the hypothesis. The author believes that the digital-design mindset is legitimate, not because it meets the requirement of the law, but because it predicts the role of digital design in the next millennium. And the paper will discuss who will legitimate or delegitimize this construct, which combines a new design approach and fabrication tradition, and what their reasons for doing so will be. Historic reference should not be the basis for what is saved, but rather how past forms were created and how much knowledge they may transfer to present or future environments (and how much they contribute to the field of knowledge in general).

## B1. LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: FROM THE VERNACULAR TO THE MODERN

### A NINETEENTH-CENTURY IMPORT BECAME A LEGITIMATE EXPRESSION OF ISTANBUL’S URBAN TRADITION AND A CATALYST FOR NEW VERNACULAR

*Alison B. Snyder*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

### IN SEARCH OF A LEGITIMATE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

*James Steele*

*University of Southern California, U.S.A.*

### LEGITIMIZING TRADITIONS: A RECIPE FOR VIBRANT ARCHITECTURE

*Khaled Asfour*

*Misr International University, Egypt*

### CONTEMPORARY ATTITUDES TO VERNACULAR ELEMENTS IN KUWAIT’S DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

*Yousef Al-Haroun*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### THE POETICS OF THE ARABIAN SOUQ

*Jasmine Shahin*

*De Montfort University, U.K.*

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### A NINETEENTH-CENTURY IMPORT BECAME A LEGITIMATE EXPRESSION OF ISTANBUL’S URBAN TRADITION AND A CATALYST FOR NEW VERNACULAR

*Alison B. Snyder*

The city of Istanbul, Turkey, has a deep-rooted and complex culture made up of a lively composite of traditional, modern and contemporary conditions, which have formed over millennia. Today, the city continues to transform and defy characterization, as local, regional and global pressures bring different responses to the built environment (Keyder 1999, Clark 2012). How, then, can we distinguish what parts of the city, or which buildings, are legitimately “traditional”? And which of Istanbul’s building types signify vital urban architectural traditions that might potentially provide legitimate positive new models for the future of the city?

This paper focuses on a building type, the arcade, that originated as a nineteenth-century import from the West, representing modern and cosmopolitan values (Benjamin 1999, Geist 1983). Known as the “passage” in Turkey, it is an infill structure that has taken many shapes and sizes, and

whose exteriors and interior forms have changed the city's ancient built surround. Today, approximately 21 varying passages, constructed through the middle of the twentieth century, still exist in the center of the Beyoğlu district, mostly along the infamous İstiklal Avenue. Since at least the 1700s, Beyoğlu, located opposite the Old City, has been Istanbul's most diverse, international, modern and welcoming district (Gul 2009). Here, an open tradition of passages provided a multicultural, multifaceted grouping of shops and businesses, set amongst libraries, restaurants, consulates, churches, mosques and arts establishments, suggesting a lenient attitude toward human and political rights (Aksoy/Enlil 2010).

Research shows that these passages, with their unusual interior volumes and many floors housing a mixture of activities, evolved to become iconic, respected monuments expressing a combination of foreign and local references and symbolizing a kind of authentic vernacular. Yet, due to economic and political pressures, changing ownerships, and evolving tourist interests, the diversity and freedom previously characteristic of the area have begun to break down, and passage buildings are succumbing to alterations, closure and disappearance, changing the character of streets and the nature of movement through the city (Snyder 2011).

A hypothetical design project was developed to focus on the passage as a catalyst for rethinking, and therefore legitimizing, new forms of architectural infill for the present and future city. All of the solutions addressed current social and cultural needs in a globalizing city, and all activity programs incorporated new passage spaces as a means to sustain public freedoms. The street was addressed by inviting people inside to be a part of new possibilities for the arts, education and activism (Snyder 2015).

These new hypothetical passage infill buildings, with their linear spaces and volumes, not only try to blend the layered complexity of Istanbul's past and present, but also consider the future. The buildings are further meant to expand social relationships and encounters and suggest an exploration of the utility and metaphorical associations of "passing through the city." They thus evidence respect for the past while ultimately forming a new legitimate urban vernacular (de Certeau 1984, Adanali 2011, Soja 2000).

## IN SEARCH OF A LEGITIMATE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

*James Steele*

Collective forms of built cultural expression, which have been an inherently concomitant part of great civilizations in the past, were likewise an unrealized dream of architects and planners during the industrial age. But they now seem to be an anachronism in its postindustrial aftermath. Or are they?

Augustus Pugin's call for a Gothic architecture for Britain, Thomas Jefferson's dream of its Classical alternative for

America (later seconded by Daniel Burnham in his design of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893), Tony Garnier's Cité Industrielle of 1904, the Futurist's La Citta Nuova of 1909, Le Corbusier's 1924 Ville Radieuse, Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City as a 1932 antidote to urban congestion, and Bertram Goodhue's quest to create a vernacular California "Mediterranean" style, are but a few of the utopian visions put forward as aggregate narratives of a common social purpose and legitimacy.

Each of these were also accompanied by an apologia of sorts, typically in the form of a written rationale, arguably last seen in the Metabolism Manifesto, of 1960, and in the Charter of the New Urbanism, updated in 2013. Each has also been based on a tradition of some sort, in the sense of explaining established beliefs that are transmitted through form, whether they have a vernacular or technical foundation.

This paper addresses the possibility that there has indeed been yet another concerted contemporary attempt at communal architectural expression, which has been largely unrecognized because it is happening in the Islamic world, and so has not received extensive media coverage. Its justification was first enunciated by the Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy in 1969 in his book *Gourna: A Tale of Two Cities*. This volume, initially released by the Ministry of Culture in Egypt, was later reconfigured for an international audience as *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt*, published by the University of Chicago Press in 1973, and *Construire avec le Peuple: Histoire d'un Village d'Égypte: Gourna*, published by Sindbad in Paris in 1979.

These texts describe how Fathy synthesized typological elements from both medieval Cairo and Nubian sources into what he was convinced was an authentically Egyptian architectural vocabulary, deliberately intended to contradict Western influence. He tested it in numerous residential applications as well as in communities in Egypt, such as New Gourna in Luxor and New Baris in the Kharga Oasis, and in Dar al Islam, in Abiquiu, New Mexico. None were ever completed.

This tectonic lexicon has since been adopted unquestioningly by a multigenerational slate of disciples, who in turn have inspired others to use it in the belief that it represents a truly legitimate Islamic expression. This sizable faction is balanced by another, equally committed, cadre of architects who are searching for an equally authentic, truly contemporary means of expression which can satisfy a collective mandate.

The paper will critique the origins of Fathy's lexicon, trace its current trajectory in selected recent projects by his major disciples, and contrast them with an equal contingent of practitioners attempting to find a contemporary alternative.

## LEGITIMIZING TRADITIONS: A RECIPE FOR VIBRANT ARCHITECTURE

*Khaled Asfour*

Vibrant architecture is that which offers users a distinguished spatial experience, through which they may interact well with a building program and be provided a sense of satisfaction through productivity and enjoyment. This has been the case from the time of the ancient world through the advent of modernism. However, in recent times spatial experience, more often than not, has been replaced by shapes and forms that do not tie in with the experience of the user. Building programs have been reduced to mere functions, to be performed without considering the mood of the space or how it affects the user. Such mechanical organization has led to spiritless design that does not touch the human soul.

When regional modernism came to rectify what is missing in modernism — that is, by adding local character to architecture — it continued in many cases to ignore the issue of vibrancy. Architectural production thus came to give more emphasis to superficial image-making than to the serious design of spatial experience.

In the Arab world, architecture that lacks vibrancy has been the norm since traditional architecture disappeared to be replaced by modernism and regional modernism. Even with the awakening of sustainable ideas in the region, there has been a lack of attention to spatial experiences that positively connect with the user. In order to understand what is missing in the Arab world, designers need to adopt a parallel historiography. Toward this end, this presentation will provide examples of Western contemporary practice displaying excellent vibrancy alongside traditional medieval Arab architecture — specifically, the Mamluk architecture of Cairo.

The first example is Vitra Haus by Herzog & de Muron, in which the architects created the “feeling of home” by bringing a sense of coziness and intimacy to a furniture showroom. They accomplished this by taking the traditional shape and dimensions of a house, as a unit, and accumulating them on top of each other in a seemingly sporadic way. The scale of and light within the interior spaces thus provide a strong domestic environment, which is relevant to the furniture on display. This intimate mood recalls the *kuttab* of the Mamluk school-mosque, which was sensitively designed to accommodate children, cheerfully as in their homes, while they learned to recite the Koran.

The second example encompasses both the sociable plaza Norman Foster created inside the British Museum and the large “living forum” Rem Koolhaas produced inside the Seattle library. Through these vibrant spaces, these architects wanted people to become more interested in cultural and educational environments. In both projects, a transparency of activities, intensely stacked in layers, one above the other, is similar in many respects to Kheyamiya Plaza, as it is surrounded by the El Ghuri complex in medieval Cairo.

The third example is the office building Camenzind Evolution designed for Unilever in Schaffhausen, Switzerland. The interiors here, which merge formal work spaces with casual seating areas, blur the line between life and work. As such, they recall a similar environment created four centuries ago in the Wakalat Bazara of medieval Cairo, in which spaces for making business and living were placed together in one location. The mood of these work spaces fosters a strong business milieu based simultaneously on friendliness and productivity.

Parallel historiography does not imply that contemporary Western architects were influenced by traditional architecture of medieval Cairo. But the kind of architecture they are producing has the same spirit. Instead of showing these architects’ own historic references, however, I want to show that similar experiences may be found in Arab history. In this way, I hope to encourage Arab architects to look into their own past if they want to produce similar spatial quality that we see today in the West.

## CONTEMPORARY ATTITUDES TO VERNACULAR ELEMENTS IN KUWAIT’S DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

*Yousef Al-Haroun*

This research concerned contemporary attitudes, perceptions and understandings of vernacular architecture in the context of environmental and cultural sustainability. It used Kuwait’s domestic architecture as a case study. Specifically, it employed elements of Kuwait’s traditional vernacular architectural as a vehicle to examine socio-cultural, economic and political issues surrounding the move toward modernity and away from vernacular sustainability. The study did not seek to find ways to nostalgically re-create past architecture, but instead sought to learn from its principles to inform a more sustainable future.

The study employed a mixed method, in two stages: the first qualitatively driven; the second a quantitatively driven follow-up. The first stage consisted of two workshops — the first with homeowners and the second with designers — conducted so as to simultaneously employ questionnaires, cognitive maps, photo elicitation, and group interviews. The second stage used questionnaires and cognitive maps to examine the findings of the first stage in more detail. The use of more than one research method yielded rich descriptive data, which enhanced understanding of Kuwait’s complex social phenomena.

The findings highlighted how the effects of modernity changed people’s understandings of their domestic built environments. They revealed how people dealt with and adapted to the collision between traditional concepts and modern practices — for example, the way the courtyard has been replaced by the family living room. In this case, diverse interpretations of the traditional courtyard revealed how



many people perceived it to embody different spaces in front, back, or around the house (which may suggest how perceptions are closely linked to characteristics of the modern villa). Nevertheless, participants found something desirable about the traditional courtyard, and it thus emerged as a consistent theme throughout the various phases of the study. Yet, the research was unable to narrow this elusive quality down; this may suggest that it is a synthesis of socio-cultural and environmental factors that makes this element attractive.

Other findings from the research reflected people's adaptation to their environment in response to government mismanagement of public housing welfare. A scarcity of residential land and high real estate prices have led to Kuwait's current housing crisis. As a result, people need more space and have added apartments for their children to their houses to secure them future housing. This has helped inflame an already sensitive situation, and further reshaped the typical Kuwaiti house into a heterogeneous box-like structure.

The study captured a moment of Kuwait's contemporary architectural reality by studying people's understanding of traditional vernacular elements. In so doing, it highlighted an unstable dichotomy between tradition and modernity. It also supported the argument that without a fundamental change in government policy, a more sustainable built environment may not be possible.

## THE POETICS OF THE ARABIAN SOUQ

*Jasmine Shahin*

This paper, which is part of a larger research on the hermeneutics of festival spaces, takes for its core subject the phenomenon of the Arabian souq and its manifestation as an integral form of dwelling for ancient and contemporary Arabic societies alike. It argues that the souq, as a representative of traditional urban spaces, is facing major challenges due to its inability to rejuvenate its identity in relation to current modes of being. Its deteriorating value must thus be addressed not only on a physical, urban level, but, more importantly, in relation to mental and psychological understandings of historical communal being-in-the-world. For this reason, the paper starts from the assumption that the urban and architectural representation of the Arabian souq, conceived historically as a market street or thoroughfare, embodies the totality of people's social, religious and political understanding of communal space. The souq's apparent commercial activities are thus transformed into an orchestrated series of spatial rituals, which may be historically translated as variables pertaining to the faculties of memory, imagination and movement.

The paper approaches this issue by focusing on the poetics of the Arabian souq — in other words, its dialectic manifestation as a symbolic urban space that presents a multilayered reservoir of memories and imaginary reflections of communal being. In order to understand the relationship

between the physical representation of the souq and its mental implications for Arab societies, the paper grounds itself in the phenomenological hermeneutics of Hans Georg Gadamer. It argues for this approach as an all-encompassing methodology that may provide a better understanding of the types of rituals embodied in the experience of the souq. Such a proposition hinges on Gadamer's theoretical emphasis on the role of history and language in shaping understanding of social and architectural phenomena, where dialogical interpretation is seen as a key component in the development of a sustainable socio-urban discourse. As such, the main concern of the paper revolves around the literary productions through which to a holistic understanding of the historical importance of the Arabian souq may emerge in relation to the types of rituals (symbols of memory and imagination) embodied in the physical and formal representation of its overall urban layout.

## C1. CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND PRACTICES

### LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: GLOBALIZATION AND THE REAPPROPRIATION OF THE CAFÉ IN SPAIN AND CHINA

*Marta Catalan*

*The University of Hong Kong, China*

### (RE)EVALUATING TRADITION: RITUAL PRACTICES AND PLACE-MAKING IN HANOI

*Phuong Quoc Dinh*

*Swinburne University of Technology, Australia*

### MAKING GOOD AT THE MANOUCHEHRY HOUSE: HERITAGE CONSERVATION AS CULTURAL PATRONAGE

*Maryam Gusheh*

*University of New South Wales, Australia*

### THE ROLE OF VILLAGE LEADER (*DEHDAR*) AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AT THE HISTORIC VILLAGE OF PALANGAN, KURDISTAN

*Namsub Choi*

*Seoul National University, Korea*

### MYTH, RELIGION AND RITUAL AND THEIR ROLE IN DEFINING THE EXISTENCE OF TANKS IN KUMBAKONAM, A SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE TOWN

*Shanmugapriya Balasubramanian*

*Independent Researcher, U.A.E.*

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### LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: GLOBALIZATION AND THE REAPPROPRIATION OF THE CAFÉ IN SPAIN AND CHINA

*Marta Catalan*

In the last fifteen years, the increased presence of Chinese and Chinese capital around the globe has been reshaping the forms of cities and spatial practices at an unprecedented scale and pace. In Spain, the investment capital of Chinese immigrants has produced new “Chinese” residential, commercial and industrial areas, particularly in Madrid and Barcelona. These dynamics have also begun to reorganize existing everyday spaces such as markets, restaurants, and other commercial facilities. Back in China, residents of Qingtian, where most of the Chinese immigrants to Spain come from, have been investing their remittances in their own urban projects. These have led to accelerating growth in the city and the construction of new urban forms such as

restaurants, museums and schools. This study will examine at a closer scale one particular type of everyday space, the café, and how its forms, meanings and associations have been reappropriated as a result of rising transnational flows of people and capital between China and Spain. It asks: How is the interpretation of culture of the Other significant within processes of globalization? What happens when the forms and meanings of these spaces change, and how do they change? And what are the cultural assumptions associated with the café in the Chinese and Spanish imaginations?

Since the 2009 Spanish economic crisis, Chinese entrepreneurs in Spain have modified their forms of investment. The saturation of the Chinese restaurant market has induced a diversification of commercial activities. Thus, in Barcelona, Chinese entrepreneurs are purchasing cafés, but instead of turning them into Chinese restaurants, they are preserving the existing interior decors, menus, and types of clientele. Meanwhile, in Qingtian, which has become an attractive location for foreign investment, Chinese returnees from Spain have opened “Spanish” cafés with imported names, food and layouts that offer alternative encounters for local urban dwellers.

By focusing on the cafés in Barcelona and Qingtian, I trace the transnational flows of immigrants and investments and their impacts on everyday spatial practices. I will first look into the Spanish cafés taken over by Chinese in the area of Poble Nou, a residential neighborhood in uptown Barcelona. I will then examine the cafés opened by Chinese returnees in Qingtian in the area called “European Town” (欧洲城, Ouzhou cheng), and how these “Spanish” spaces are being inserted into the Chinese city. By contextualizing these cases within processes of globalization, the study raises larger questions about China’s emerging position in the world economy and how cultural imaginations of the Other have been used to reappropriate the forms of contemporary cities. In a broader context, the paper seeks to explore how narratives of architectural and urban traditions have been altered and legitimized in these transnational flows of capital.

### (RE)EVALUATING TRADITION: RITUAL PRACTICES AND PLACE-MAKING IN HANOI

*Phuong Quoc Dinh*

Traditional ritual practices in Asia’s fast-developing societies, such as those under relatively rigid governments in China and Vietnam, have gone through different and even contrasting experiences as a result of social, economic and political change. While many traditional practices are widely accepted, others may be seen as illegal and backward according to certain political ideologies, historical and social contexts, or within certain communities. How have traditional ritual practices related to the production of the built environment been legitimated in those contexts? Why are they accepted in some contexts by certain groups but rejected

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by others? How is the built environment affected by the rise and fall of these ritual practices?

Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, is characterized by different layers of built form, reflecting a turbulent history of Chinese domination, French colonization, the Vietnam War, and several decades of post-independence support and assistance from the former Soviet Union. The introduction of Doi Moi (economic reform) in 1986, and the subsequent opening of the country to the world, has likewise brought rapid change to the city, which seems to be adding yet another layer to its built form. These layered identities represent different ways in which traditional practices have been perceived, recognized, or, in some cases, rejected. Almost equally significant are the ways that internal traditions have been adapted in response to external influences, (re)creating a local culture. For example, the recent revival of *phong thuy*, a local system of belief and building rites adapted from Chinese *feng-shui*, is now fully a part of Vietnamese culture. In this regard, the paper asks several questions: To what extent does the ritual practice of *phong thuy* act as an agent of legitimacy in making places in Vietnam? How are *phong thuy* practices accepted or rejected? How do such opposite attitudes contribute to the construction of both physical and ritual space?

Focusing on these questions, the paper presents an investigation of the ritual and spiritual practices of *phong thuy* in place-making as representative of a wider Chinese influence on Vietnam. And it focuses on several places and people in Hanoi to examine how factors such as the physical characteristics of place and personal experience and belief contribute to ritual aspects of urban space in Hanoi. It further investigates how these factors can be influential in legitimating understanding and application of *phong thuy* in the evaluation and making of places. Finally, the paper discusses tensions between different agents and shifting attitudes toward ritual practices in relation to broader theories regarding the production of space and place. Some key lessons or implications will hopefully be drawn from this discussion.

### MAKING GOOD AT THE MANOUCHEHRY HOUSE: HERITAGE CONSERVATION AS CULTURAL PATRONAGE

*Maryam Gusheh*

On a recent architectural tour of central Iran, I was keen to combine significant historic sites with contemporary projects and public settings. Among key recommendations by my childhood friend, now an art curator in Tehran, was a stay at the “Manouchehry House” hotel (Khane Manouchehry, former Khane Reshadi), a revitalized courtyard house in the city of Kashan. In her view, the project surpassed conventional restoration projects to impart a fresh cultural ambiance. With a focus on the transformation of this structure from a dilapidated traditional dwelling to a vital new facility, the paper will discuss the manner in which highly precise con-

servation of courtyard building types in Iran have legitimized progressive, at times politically sensitive, social programs.

Located within Kashan’s relatively legible “traditional” urban core, the Reshadi House was representative of the seventeenth-century urban order (substantially reconstructed after the fire of 1778). A single-court dwelling, it is today among the more modest manifestations of courtyard house types in Kashan. With state-led restoration efforts directed at more refined, spatially complex architectural models, this house remained outside regulatory protection and heritage controls. Purchased in 2007 by the Geneva-based designer Saba Manouchehry, daughter of the Kashani philanthropist Parviz Manouchehry, it was meticulously reconstructed over two years and adapted to new use. Renamed the Manouchehry House in 2010, the building has been admitted to the heritage register of national monuments.

Arrival at the hotel’s inner court comes via an intimate, dimly lit corridor along a steep incline; and, as intended by the architectural strategy, the entry to the light-filled garden is memorable. More than a spatial and sensory expansion, however, it is the elegant austerity of the interior that is striking. Through material precision and refined construction practices, the traditional characteristics of this house are not only restored, but newly amplified. Elemental brick walls, the finest of plaster skins, and a sharply defined shimmering horizontal liquid plane all float relative to each other within this abstract whole. The modest material character of the original home has allowed the reconstruction to retain a limited palette of materials, deftly blurring the historic framework with a modernist sensibility. The effect is not incidental and runs through every detail. Elegant, black steel Eames chairs are paired with large-scale local antique ceramic pieces; rose-colored IKEA glassware completes a traditional tea set; and artisanally printed cotton sheets feature modified, minimal graphic motifs. Thus carefully curated and juxtaposed, traditional artifacts are renewed. Inserted within this contemporary environment is a hybrid new program. The hotel facility has gradually evolved to incorporate an art gallery, craft workshop, shop, film room, and restaurant. More than a tourist accommodation and commercial facility, it now serves as a cloistered public room within the city.

Through an earnest commitment to the conservation of “Islamic” built heritage, the Manouchehry project has garnered support for subtle forms of cultural patronage. A private court “made good” as public rooms, it is open to new possibilities.

## THE ROLE OF VILLAGE LEADER (*DEHDAR*) AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AT THE HISTORIC VILLAGE OF PALANGAN, KURDISTAN

*Namsub Choi*

This paper narrates the role of a leader (*dehdar*) in the Kurdish village of Palangan who has allowed new traditional houses to be built despite the Iranian Protection Law of Historical Villages. In Iran, as elsewhere, many villages designated as cultural properties have lost the vitality of their traditions due to laws established by the government or by external specialists. Such statutes force them to make buildings that are fixed and old-fashioned. However, such regulations, defined from the outside, are often not appropriate to the villages, and in many cases they deconstruct their traditions. On the other hand, Palangan villagers have asserted the authority to manage their own built environment. This autonomy has allowed them to build new place-based houses.

Recently, the leader of the village, the *dehdar*, became the most important person determining the character of this place. He is concerned with the construction process, and his standard of judgment has great influence today on each house and the entire villagescape. His activity is legitimating tradition. To analyze this role, I performed a field survey and conducted interviews with local Kurds and an Iranian professor.

Palangan is located on the steep slope of four mountains. Its houses are stepped, with flat roofs, and have been constructed over the course of many years. They are built of different materials, have different structures, scales, and spatial compositions. Even though they display much variation, the villagers have sustained a unified image of their settlement and local landscape. For this reason, the village was registered on the National Heritage List of IRI on December 31, 2014.

Since 2015, when the villagers have sought to construct or repair their houses, they have been obliged to seek advice and approval from a branch office of ICHTO (the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicraft Organization). This has also meant they must follow the Iranian Protection Law of Historical Villages, established in 1994. This law is focused on the physical condition of structures, and was intended to make and keep village buildings old-fashioned. But this law has not been applied in Palangan; interestingly, the villagers have followed their village leader's opinion instead.

The *dehdar*, as the leader of Palangan, is responsible for managing common facilities and approving individual construction. He approves or denies the location and construction of houses, and is also concerned with the appearance of the overall environment. Because this leader is a local person, born and raised in Palangan, he has a different standard of tradition. He is accustomed to houses with physical differences, and he has not resisted houses with new shapes and styles of planning. This attitude has made a great contribution to the setting of the village, keeping the locality up to date. In this way, the Palangan village leader has played

an important role in legitimating tradition based on place-based characteristics.

## MYTH, RELIGION AND RITUAL AND THEIR ROLE IN DEFINING THE EXISTENCE OF TANKS IN KUMBakonAM, A SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE TOWN

*Shanmugapriya Balasubramanian*

Kumbakonam is a multicentered South Indian temple town with a unique urban and ritual topography. The city lies in the very center of the former Chola Kingdom, near the ancient capital of Palayarai. Famously called Kasi-on-Cauvery, the city is bounded by the Cauvery river on the north and the Arasalar river on the south. In Kumbakonam, the Shiva temples predominant during the Chola dynasty are organized about an east-west axis, while the Vainava temples built during the Nayak and Marath dynasties are organized about a north-south axis, resulting in a multicentered layout.

Each of its temples contributes a tank to the city form, which is determined by temple complexes, sacred water tanks, river edges, *agraharams*, and secondary shrines. Such a land-use pattern reflects the overall water network in the city. Traditionally, to maintain water levels, the urban geography of Kumbakonam was such that all the tanks were connected to each other and to the two rivers by water channels.

In temple towns, rituals and urban form are inseparable. Their physical form provides the setting for sacred rites. All the sacred sites in Kumbakonam, even today, combine to provide a performance space for enacting the creation myth.

Water is elemental in Hindu religion, and temple tanks, or *thirtas*, are integral to them. The tradition of pilgrimage to a *thirta* is an important aspect of Indian religious life. Temple tanks are used purely for ritual purposes, providing water for temple rites, ablution, and float festivals.

According to legend, Brahma, the creator god, placed the seeds of creation in a pot. As it floated, Lord Shiva released the Amrta with his arrow. This entire series of events is symbolized and related to various sacred sites in Kumbakonam. Myth has it that the place where the nectar spilled from the divine pot, after the great deluge, formed the Mahamaham and Porttamarai tanks. On the day of Mahamaham, the sacred rivers and gods come for a holy dip, an event which occurs once every twelve years when Saturn passes over Leo. Termed "Thirthavari," this sacred bathing attracts millions of devotees. It is through these rituals and myths, handed down over generations, that a sense of continuity is reinforced with the past.

During the annual float festival the presiding deity makes a circumambulation in Teppakulam. This further transforms the city, which would be prosaic otherwise.

This paper attempts to understand why, out of the many tanks in Kumbakonam, only a few have retained their religious, social and cultural significance, while over the years

others have disappeared entirely. What value has led to the celebration of some and closure of others? Does this relate to the city's shift from being a religious center to a center of state authority? Or does it relate to the shift from an agrarian to a commercial society, in which patronage of temples becomes essential for the well-being of their tanks? Regardless, it appears that Mahamaham tank, which has religious significance and receives patronage from the state, and which contributes to the identity and character of the city, has stood the test of time.

## A2. HERITAGE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF LEGITIMACY AND IDENTITY

### RIO DE JANEIRO'S IMPERIAL PALACE: DISPUTES OVER THE USES OF MEMORY IN A CULTURAL CAPITAL

*Flávia Brito do Nascimento*

*University of São Paulo, Brazil*

### COMMUNITIES OF EXPERTS: EMERGENT HERITAGE PRACTICES AND THE RECONFIGURATION OF POWER-KNOWLEDGE

*Cecília Chu*

*The University of Hong Kong, China*

### HISTORIC VERSUS TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

*Andrzej Piotrowski*

*University of Minnesota, U.S.A.*

### LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: THE CASE OF SYRIA'S PALMYRA

*Rosalie Smith McCrea*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### CONSTRUCTED TRADITION: TEHRAN AND FEZ

*Somaiyeh Falahat*

*Technische Universität Berlin, Germany*

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### RIO DE JANEIRO'S IMPERIAL PALACE: DISPUTES OVER THE USES OF MEMORY IN A CULTURAL CAPITAL

*Flávia Brito do Nascimento*

In the late 1970s material evidence of the passage of time in Rio de Janeiro's urban space was fragmented, superimposed in many layers, and reflective of the nearly didactic aspect of urban scales, proposed by Bernard Lepetit. Recent transformations had changed or nearly wiped out many of the most unique architectural specimens in the city center. After the capital was moved to Brasília in 1960, Rio de Janeiro found itself mired in harsh negotiations with symbols from its past. And the turbulent political period faced by the city between 1960 and 1975 thrust its urban space and former representations of power into crisis. In the course of political and administrative change, symbols from past periods were not spared.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the preservation policies of Rio de Janeiro, with a focus on the Imperial Palace, located at XV de Novembro Square and restored in the early 1980s. The area occupied by the square was first settled in the sixteenth century. But it was not until the eighteenth

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century that the city came to serve, due to its strategic location as a site from which the Portuguese Crown could ship products across the Atlantic, as Brazil's main port. It later also served as a seat of government, a residence for nobility, and a place for the public display of power. By the mid-nineteenth century the square's urban ensemble (including the Imperial Palace), as depicted by numerous artists and photographers, took on a monumental aspect, reflecting the rhetoric and symbology common to seats of power in the Americas. However, with the proclamation of the republic and the end of monarchy in 1889, the former residence of the imperial family was transformed into the headquarters of the Post and Telegraph of Brazil, undergoing renovations and changes that reflected an eclectic aesthetic.

In the early 1980s, Rio de Janeiro's new role as a cultural capital placed concern for culture and history at the forefront of discussions about the city's identity. At the same time, XV de Novembro Square and the Imperial Palace became the subject of real estate disputes, as developers pushed for the demolition of many buildings in the surrounding area and the construction of new high-rises. Ultimately, however, discussion of the place of tradition in the city and of how to take advantage of its colonial and imperial past became predominant factors in the restoration of the square. Having become a cultural center, with movie theaters, cafes and art galleries, many of its layers of history, however, had been removed. And new designs idealized features that supposedly had only been present during the colonial period.

How did the Imperial Palace and XV de Novembro Square try to legitimate the role of cultural heritage in Rio de Janeiro during the period of political democratization? What is the place of imperial history in the republican city? And what did architects and intellectuals do to preserve such history? These are the questions this paper aims to address.

## COMMUNITIES OF EXPERTS: EMERGENT HERITAGE PRACTICES AND THE RECONFIGURATION OF POWER-KNOWLEDGE

*Cecilia Chu*

This paper explores the growing prominence of heritage conservation as a specific kind of future-oriented urban practice through which different social actors contest the forms and norms of cities. There is by now a significant body of critical writing that interrogates the making of heritage as part and parcel of neoliberal globalization and that describes its role in the ongoing commodification of the environment. The emphasis on adding economic value to cultural assets also entails a growing adherence to a business-management approach to conservation practice. However, it would be too simple to see the burgeoning interest in heritage, which cuts across different sectors of societies, merely as the imposition of a hegemonic market rationality from above. Rather (to

follow Aihwa Ong's study of the rise of spectacular cities in Asia), many heritage initiatives, along with other ambitious urban projects, can be seen as "worlding practices," in which different constituencies seek to reinvent the urban future by breaking away from established norms.

On a different note, Rosemary Coombe has argued that conservation practice is becoming increasingly "neoliberal" — not in the sense that it leads to the retreat of the state, as neoliberalism is often understood, but that it leads to a redistribution of governmental power to growing assemblages of local community groups with competing agendas. While the move toward an "inclusive approach" to heritage, as encouraged by UNESCO and other agencies, may help usher in positive social change, it thus also opens the door for multiple stakeholders to challenge local authorities in unexpected ways. These dynamics are evident across different parts of the world, where NGOs and civil-society groups have become increasingly active in soliciting support from international agencies and local communities for projects of environmental and heritage protection. In these campaigns, conservation is often posited as the key means not only for safeguarding local cultures, traditions, and "ways of life," but also for ensuring the long-term sustainability of cities. It can be argued that it is precisely the ability of conservation to reconcile the need to connect with the past within a (universal) paradigm of continuous social and economic progress that allows it to gain traction as a powerful idea in an unsettling present.

The paper will explore some of these dynamics by examining emergent "activist practices" centering on the protection of heritage in three cities in Asia: Macau, Hong Kong, and Singapore. It will argue that closer attention to the ways that "heritage movements" have unfolded and captured public imagination in each city can provide a fuller understanding of the construction of cultural discourses that involve the participation of constituencies holding different possessive relationships to the city. The comparison of situations in the three territories can also elucidate how these "worlding practices" have been significantly shaped by specific historical experiences. While all three cities have been confronting accelerating urban change under neoliberal economic restructuring in recent years, their very different "heritages" have continued to serve as key sources for the generation of collective aspirations and discourses of urban pasts and futures.

## HISTORIC VERSUS TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

*Andrzej Piotrowski*

This paper will challenge the epistemic bases of what is categorized as historic or traditional architecture. Following the logic of nineteenth-century scholarly methods, a building is frequently considered historic when its understanding is rooted in well-formed knowledge about important people, dates and events. Such an understanding appears

most legitimate when it explains the explicit intentions and technical reasoning behind that building's design, as well as its symbolic role. In effect, this kind of knowledge builds architecture into the system of master narratives affirming a particular dominant view of history. Most preservation policies follow this biased attitude and primarily protect those material features of architecture that support such a politically charged set of assumptions. On the other hand, when a building belongs to the category called traditional architecture, it implies that the structure has resulted from a consistent but mostly intuitive or unconsciously habitual cultural production. When sufficiently repetitive, such examples may earn the status of a vernacular style. Less-repetitive traditional or hybrid compositions are deemed provincial. In this model of knowledge, architectural features that are idiosyncratic and difficult to explain become irrelevant or may be superficially appreciated for the visual effect they produce.

I will argue that this epistemological construction is dubious and inadequate to analyze the complexity of built environments. It not only limits the understanding of architecture, but more importantly, it preempts the knowledge of cultural phenomena that shaped the world. Buildings have always contributed to the evolution of cultures and given form to nascent ways of thinking about socio-cultural relationships. I believe that the idiosyncratic features of architectural expression have frequently represented what William James once called "things in the making" — aspects of living reality that are in the process of becoming thinkable. These dynamic issues may have been difficult to explain, even at the time they prompted design decisions; but they are particularly difficult to understand nowadays, when common research methods eliminate ideologically inconvenient questions. Unique symbolic features of architecture, especially in historically complex regions, should be considered a material record of little-known processes. Neither nominally historic nor traditional, such features may reveal nonverbal attempts to shape modalities of thought and perception in culturally or socially contested environments.

To substantiate this argument I will discuss three examples. First, the Great Mosque, built in 1229 in Divriği, Turkey, will be presented as a possible site of cross-cultural negotiation. Specifically, its ornate decorations may be seen as non-Islamic imports, indicating the destabilizing role of Armenian Paulicians. Second, the Boim Chapel, a Catholic building constructed in 1615 in Lviv, Ukraine (and especially its nonreligious symbolic features), will be shown to reveal an architecture that questioned the religious status quo in that region. Finally, the elevation (completed by 1614) of the Koponicka Family Townhouse in Lublin, Poland, will be shown to exemplify how a private structure was able to record a resurgence of pre-Christian beliefs at the time of the Protestant Reformation in that part of Europe.

## LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: THE CASE OF SYRIA'S PALMYRA

*Rosalie Smith McCreia*

This paper examines a central hypothesis about the ancient city of Palmyra. It establishes that, due to its strategic location in the desert, its hybrid forms of architecture, and its encounter with and domination by cultures such as the Greco-Roman, Arab, Mamluk, Ottoman, British and French, this two-millennia-old city is one of both myth and fact. As such, it has long inspired travelers, historians, imperial leaders, antiquarians and archaeologists. Palmyra's legitimacy as a site worth preserving thus derives from "historical memory" and the authenticity of ancient and modern texts. My paper seeks to "unpack" aspects of this proposition by offering reasons why legitimacy around "tradition" has been conferred on this ancient city, which in 1980 was acknowledged as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO.

The first aspect of my analysis concerns Palmyra's location, which is one of "splendid isolation." Through time this allowed its relative preservation as an important site for caravan culture along the Silk Road between East and West. Next, I will examine the role that Biblical exegesis and Roman and Palmyrean leaders and historians (for example, Pliny, Josephus, Aurelian, Zenobia) played in establishing its fame and reputation.

Of great significance also has been its hybrid architecture, based on Assyrian and Greco-Roman models. Palmyra's Classical "ruins" and "ruined fragments" have led Western visitors, regardless of their status as amateurs or professionals, to describe its monuments/objects in words and images as "signifiers." The authority of "tradition" attached to Palmyra was further enhanced by findings at Herculaneum and Pompeii and by the highly influential publications by J.J. Winckelmann that followed in the eighteenth century. The new meaning of "architectural timelessness" associated with the Neoclassical paradigm was now directed toward eighteenth-century cultural elites and societies with polymathic tastes for illustrated folio editions of travel pictorials on the "Orient." This taste for Neoclassical revivalism has survived in public and private architectures to this day, observed in abundance for all who visit major cities both East and West — Kuwait notwithstanding.

This taste was challenged in the late eighteenth century, and even more so by the twentieth century. My paper thus shifts to discuss the opposite elements associated with Neoclassical revivalism, that of "poetry, nostalgia and loss." I turn to descriptions of Palmyra that conformed to the Romantic "sublime," similar to Burke's treatise on the sublime and beautiful. Finally, I flesh out connections between Ruskin ("restoration" vs. "repair," "value," "trusteeship") and Benjamin ("authenticity and presence") concerning unique originals.

In light of Palmyra's present endangered status, since 2013, due to the Syrian Civil War, the murder of Dr. Al-Asaad, and the destruction by ISIL of sarcophagi, the Temples of Bel, Baalshamin, and the Arch of Triumph, how can its past be restored? Or, should it be? My paper ends in looking at processes thought to lead to the shattering of tradition, a crisis in contemporary life due, in one respect, to the anti-historicist nature of present culture. I challenge the notion that digital technology can revive the memory, symbolism, and cultural richness within those structures now gone.

## CONSTRUCTED TRADITION: TEHRAN AND FEZ *Somaiyeh Falahat*

Justifying architectural or urban interventions in the built environment of cities by referring to local identity has been a tool long employed by governments, political systems, and city administrations to insert their ideologies, principles and preferences into the urban fabric. This phenomenon is easily observable in many cities of the global South, most of which are struggling with issues related to context-based space-making, and which are trying to promote local identity and indigenous architecture as a response to a rapidly globalizing world. The physical implementation of such interventions have, of course, social consequences, and they ultimately also influence the social fabric of the changed areas.

The way identity is determined in these processes has a close connection to the definition and interpretations of "indigenous traditions." This is reciprocally in direct relation to the period of time extracted from the history of each city, or the kind of built environment highlighted as the reference point for framing tradition. In the cities of the global South, in outlining benchmarks for tradition, and subsequently for identity, the ruling systems have in many cases prioritized certain periods over others based on agendas or ideologies. In this way, the systems legitimize their actions by referring to the traditions they have already (re)constructed.

This paper takes a closer look at the current urban policies of urban (re)development and heritage conservation in the cities of Tehran and Fez. It reviews some of the theories produced by national academies, through urban governmental projects, and in policies, to illustrate how these circle around particular ideologies in Tehran and around the king's preferences in Fez.

In Tehran the agendas of the Islamic government promote a focus on tangible or intangible heritage from the Islamic period. The pre-Islamic era is intentionally ignored. To that end, a large number of academic and research-based projects have been funded to construct identity based on "Islamic traditions," which has led to a concept called the "Iranian-Islamic city." On the one hand, a great number of scholars, city administrations, and urban researchers have been engaged in developing this concept. On the other, a

number of urban and architectural projects are being implemented by referring to this new paradigm. The concept has been used, in fact, to legitimize many recent urban and architectural interventions in Tehran. Among interventions being justified under the name of "local identity" and "indigenous traditions" have been the construction of mosques in critical locations and of numerous neighborhood mosques; the building of the Mosalla; the regulation of architectural typologies, facade elements, ornaments, and "urban texts" in national urban-design codes; the encouragement of Quranic or Islam-related activities at the neighborhoods scale; and the naming of spaces in an Islamic way.

In Fez, by contrast, the monuments that have been chosen for the latest heritage-conservation project (about 26 buildings) are in line with efforts by the king to attract people's sympathy. While a number of important monuments have been neglected, some others have been fully funded and preserved in a very short time.



## B2. RELIGIOUS SPACES AS LEGITIMATION AND THE LEGITIMATION OF TRADITION

### NAVIGATING TRADITIONS OF THE MOSQUE OF THE PROPHET IN MADINA: INTERROGATING THE EARLY MOSQUE IN ISLAM

*Heba Mostafa*

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### COLLABORATIVE LEGITIMIZATION: THE FATES AND SPACES OF COMBINED CHINESE TEMPLES IN SINGAPORE

*Chee-Kien Lai*

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### SUBALTERNITY, RELIGIOUS POLITICS, AND THE APPROPRIATION OF URBAN PUBLIC PLACES: THE CASE OF ROADSIDE SHRINES IN AHMEDABAD, INDIA

*Gauri Bharat*

*CEPT University, India*

### ARCHITECTURE AND INTENTION: IZNIK TILEWORK AS AN ICON OF CULTURAL PURITY

*Ann Shafer*

*State University of New York - Fashion Institute of Technology, U.S.A.*

### CHANGED AND UNCHANGED TRADITION: THE SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF RELIGIOUS SPHERES IN TAINAN CITY, TAIWAN

*Ping-Sheng Wu*

*National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan*

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### NAVIGATING TRADITIONS OF THE MOSQUE OF THE PROPHET IN MADINA: INTERROGATING THE EARLY MOSQUE IN ISLAM

*Heba Mostafa*

As a charismatic authority figure, who preached a religious message while adopting a political role as the founder of an emerging state, the Prophet Muhammad's influence upon the development of the mosque in early Islam is seldom questioned. The precedent of the early Prophet's Mosque in Medina consequently looms large in the minds of architectural historians, despite its nonextant nature. While the impact of the mosque in Medina has defined the discourse, the nuance of how this influence played out is, however, often lost.

This paper seeks to interrogate the extent to which the precedent of the original Prophet's Mosque in Madina

shaped the development of the mosque in early Islam (c.632-715 CE). It does so by reconsidering the role of traditions related to the example (*sunna*) of the Prophet Muhammad and to traditions (*hadith*) related to the early mosque that focused on the interaction of religious and political authority. The paper also considers traditions related to acceptable conduct in the mosque and the various *hadith* explaining the role of the mosque within the Islamic community. In terms of architecture, this includes the relationship of the mosque to the Prophet's house, the reorientation of the *qibla* toward Mecca, and the introduction of the *minbar* (pulpit).

The paper will problematize these issues by considering that adherence to these traditions (which generally veered toward austerity, simplicity, and the use of nonpermanent materials) was often in direct conflict with the need for empire-building through architecture and rivalry with Byzantium, which entailed expense, lavishness and monumentality. Furthermore, the early stages of mosque development in Islam witnessed decades of religious and political upheaval. These often centered on the mosque as a public space and an arena for the negotiation of religio-political contracts, such as the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) and the pledging of the oath of allegiance to the caliphs of early Islam (*bay'a*), with conflicts often breaking out within the mosque.

The paper will conclude by shedding light upon the navigation of tradition that arose as a result of adhering to conflicting positions vis-à-vis the articulation of Islamic authority and the evolving institution of the caliphate, within legitimizing traditions that centered upon the precedent of the Prophet Muhammad and his mosque.

### COLLABORATIVE LEGITIMIZATION: THE FATES AND SPACES OF COMBINED CHINESE TEMPLES IN SINGAPORE

*Chee-Kien Lai*

From the 1970s onward, the island-country-state of Singapore acted to realize its U.N.-advised master plan, which drastically altered its landscapes and seascapes. This involved filling in swamps with excavated materials from its hills, creating an east-west developmental corridor along the island's southern coasts, and constructing new housing estates encircling its only forested water-catchment area. By 2015, 25 percent of Singapore's total land area had been reclaimed from the sea. Amidst these geographical transformations, a parallel priority was the reduction of residential congestion in the densely crowded city center through the dispersion of the population to new areas. This resulted in the massive rehousing of citizens from all over the island in apartment blocks of public housing estates and other new residential forms, as farmlands, ponds, work areas, and greenfield sites were acquired for comprehensive redevelopment.

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Such tumultuous uprooting of long-established villages and their communities also precipitated the relocation of religious buildings and communal structures from the old estates. While many older and larger religious buildings, such as mosques and large temples, were able to resist relocation, many less-elaborate structures — where a mixture of Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, ancestor worship, and medical and martial arts were practiced — were served notices of eviction alongside the local population. Over decades, these temples had created their own communities of faithful followers, and they had inducted or created local legends and myths that were installed alongside the folk deities brought from southern China by the island's original migrant population.

The dilemma of the temples' future was partly resolved when caretakers from several small temples jointly negotiated and purchased government land on which to relocate their facilities together, as one structure within a shared compound, but with clearly demarcated spaces. Such an institution, serving different pantheons of deities, was dubbed a "combined temple." In time, the Urban Redevelopment Authority permitted this new temple typology, and even encouraged temples facing this same conundrum to consider combining with other temples. Between 1974 and 2012, 64 combined temples were established (or reestablished) as amalgams from hundreds of older structures once scattered across the habitable regions of Singapore.

The challenges facing individual temples now lodged amongst each other but within one land parcel are numerous. These include the need to maintain and appease the respective congregations (which may now also include people living near the new location), as well the need to host rituals and activities that may extend to the outdoor areas of "shared" temple compounds. This paper discusses the combined temple as a new hybrid entity, whose resilience emerged despite Singapore's land policies and efforts to simplify the religious landscapes (in this instance, syncretic local religions). As more combined temples are constructed, they permit a critical survey and analysis of this new religious building type in terms of its space use and architecture.

### **SUBALTERNITY, RELIGIOUS POLITICS, AND THE APPROPRIATION OF URBAN PUBLIC PLACES: THE CASE OF ROADSIDE SHRINES IN AHMEDABAD, INDIA** *Gauri Bharat*

This paper explores the phenomenon of roadside shrines in urban India as a process of appropriation of public place legitimized in the past few decades by the rise of Hindutva politics. Roadside shrines, as the name suggests, are religious structures built on paved areas, in the middle of roads, and even on unoccupied public or private land. Various, often extremely tenuous reasons lie behind their construction (such as the death of a monkey, resulting in a shrine to

Hanuman — the monkey god). But, over time, small or large, such shrines may become firmly established within the urban landscape. They gain legitimacy as sacred spaces in spite of being illegal (in that they often obstruct roads and violate urban building regulations). Yet urban authorities rarely find it in their power to dismantle them.

What is ironic here is that these shrines are often dedicated to gods and goddesses unknown to a majority of urban Hindus. These are deities typically worshipped by specific communities or in specific regions; and when those groups migrate into the city, their deities travel with them and become enshrined within the urban landscape. Over time, irrespective of origins, these lesser-known deities become associated with the performance of certain miracles, and they develop a body of worshippers well beyond the individual or community that first established the shrine.

Using the case of roadside shrines in Ahmedabad, the paper explores the genesis and development of these structures in order to illustrate the manner in which they appropriate public places. As proclamations of social and political identity, such shrines may become important physical markers of how marginalized communities locate themselves within a city. By focusing on instances of demolition and rebuilding and contemporary narratives of myths and miracles surrounding these shrines, the paper reveals how other citizens and urban authorities explicitly or implicitly lend patronage to these appropriations. The shrines thus come to be seen as part of a larger Hindu urban landscape.

The paper concludes that the equation between the shrines as assertions of marginalized communities and their acceptance by the wider city is not a simple one, by which a dominant majority accepts and lends benevolent legitimacy to a gesture made by a subordinated group. Rather, the politics of the emergence and proliferation of these shrines reveals a complex relationship between subaltern religious practices and dominant Hindutva narratives. Hindutva politics is premised on elitist imaginations of Hinduism as a belief and practice. It has, in complex ways, thus been framed in relation to upper- and middle-class Hindus rather than lower-caste or other socioeconomically marginalized groups. But the roadside shrines draw legitimacy from the very narratives that render them as marginalized identities in the first place. The paper explores this improvisational mode of spatial practice in an effort to determine the ways that subalternity in urban India is intrinsically linked to the legitimacy offered by the dominant narratives of religion and politics.

## ARCHITECTURE AND INTENTION: IZNIK TILEWORK AS AN ICON OF CULTURAL PURITY

*Ann Shafer*

In mosques all over North America, once bitter opponents over “modern” versus “traditional” design agendas have now capitulated, it seems, and a stylistic *mélange* prevails. Large, purpose-built mosques are driven by contemporary design protocols, yet old-world surface ornamentation in the authentic “Islamic” style persists as a necessary legitimating agent. A typical example is the Islamic Cultural Center (ICC) of New York, Manhattan’s only purpose-built mosque, opened in 1991 as a showpiece of the city’s elite Muslim presence. While the project architects engaged the then-palpable design debate with a postmodern Ottoman solution, in reality, the clean lines of the monumental main hall are unintentionally subverted in the “real” basement prayer space, where daily taxi-driving congregations face a lavish, Iznik-tile *qibla* wall. Ill-equipped to explain or resolve this stylistic disjunction, potential critics and admirers alike remain silent. The fact remains, in other words, that this space, and so many others like it, seem to have slowly and imperceptibly preserved and reinvigorated a supple narrative of Islamic faith and identity.

Likewise, on the other side of the globe, in old-world Muslim societies, an equally unexpected and subtle dynamic has emerged in the ongoing attempted revival of traditional artisanal materials and techniques. In counterpoint to the ICC of New York, for example, in Istanbul, traditional Iznik design and production techniques have now found their way into the urban environment in the form of intricately painted, large-scale ceramic wall panels in subway terminals, many designed in conjunction with contemporary architects and artists. While at face value these panels express the excitement of urban youth-culture and ultimately, perhaps, lend legitimacy to Turkey’s emerging social project, the progenitor of this initiative, Professor Işıl Akbaygil, confesses a profound intention to revive the principles of her culture’s faith and reason.

Ultimately, through an examination of this case-study duality, this paper explores what appears to be another dimension of so-called “Islamic” architectural design, whereby the evolving forms contain elusive wisdoms that legitimate — in unexpected ways — the design and inhabitation of sacred space, old and new.

## CHANGED AND UNCHANGED TRADITION: THE SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF RELIGIOUS SPHERES IN TAINAN CITY, TAIWAN

*Ping-Sheng Wu*

Folk-religion activities are an important tradition of city life in Taiwan. Within this tradition, the concept of the “religious sphere” is often used to refer to the spatial territories formed by communal worship and communal temples. In Tainan City, the oldest city on the island of Taiwan, the concept of *jing*, as a representation of the religious sphere, has become an important element of the urban context. This paper will explore whether religious spheres formed in Tainan City during the Qing dynasty have been able to maintain their original structure and operation by local organizations under conditions of urban development.

The paper will first consider the case of a local temple, Pu-Ji Temple, and investigate changes in its religious sphere from the time the walled Tainan City of the Qing dynasty was spatially transformed into a modern city according to an urban plan established under Japanese colonial rule. Second, the paper will explore the association of religious spheres, namely Liang-Jing, which was originally established during the Qing dynasty not only for religious affairs but also for public security. During the Qing dynasty, Pu-Ji Temple belonged to an association of religious spheres called Qi-He Jing. However, Qi-He Jing has disappeared, and Pu-Ji Temple has now established a new association, called Si-Lian Jing, with three other nearby temples. Further, the paper will analyze how religious spheres and associations of religious spheres are operated by local organizations and residents. It will conclude by exploring the socio-cultural meanings underlying the transformation of religious spheres in Tainan City.

## C2. DESIGN AND DESIGN EDUCATION

### IDLENESS AND LIVED SPACE: CAMPUS LIFE AND THE DESIGN OF THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, AHMEDABAD

*Tanu Sankalia*

*University of San Francisco, U.S.A.*

### BACK TO THE COUNTRYSIDE! (RE)LEGITIMATING TRADITION AS A MODE OF INTERVENTION FOR THE CHINESE VILLAGE

*Shannon Bassett*

*University at Buffalo, U.S.A.*

### FROM THE EDGE, OUTSIDE AND ABOVE: AN “UNBIASED” VIEW OF MIDDLE-EASTERN MORPHOLOGY

*Alison B. Snyder and William A. Hallgren*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

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

*Hajo Neis*

*University of Oregon, Portland, U.S.A.*

### ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT HOUSING IN KUWAIT

*Ahmad Al-Qallaf*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

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### IDLENESS AND LIVED SPACE: CAMPUS LIFE AND THE DESIGN OF THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, AHMEDABAD

*Tanu Sankalia*

If we ask the question of how architectural thinking and practice might transform in the future, then we must also ask what role architecture schools might play in such a transformation. In other words, how could architectural pedagogy change? To answer this question, instead of turning to discussions of institutional mission and curriculum, which are arguably shaped and legitimized by formal structures of knowledge, I turn to campus life.

Part of campus life, I suggest, is characterized by students' engagement with “idleness.” Contrary to the popular belief that idleness is unproductive and slothful, Walter Benjamin, in “Convolute N” of his *Arcades Project*, argued that idleness is a precondition for artistic production, particularly in a “bourgeois society that knows no leisure.” Thus could

idleness be a precondition for intellectual and artistic production in an architecture school or university?

Idleness on a university campus is possible, because, as a space, a campus is not only a place of systematic learning, but also a place of living. Here, vital rhythms — working, sleeping, interacting or idling — layer with traditional conceptions of formal learning, for which university campuses are generally designed. I understand student idleness as a manifestation of what Henri Lefebvre identified as lived space and attempt to shed light on how this vital practice relates, or should relate, not only to the conceived space of the campus — its architectural dimensions — but also to the very teaching of architecture.

By examining the built environment of the School of Architecture, at the CEPT (Center for Environmental Planning and Technology) University campus in Ahmedabad, India, designed by Balkrishna Doshi in 1962–1964, the paper proposes that the daily spatial practices of student life should be taken into account in reimagining architectural education. The paper demonstrates how the School of Architecture building's Cartesian geometries and modernist volumes, set amidst an array of informal structures and landscape features, provided a fertile ground for lived space, and thus idleness. The paper specifically explores how the relationship between informal everyday life on a campus and the design of the campus can mold a nascent form of learning that might enhance and transform formal architectural pedagogy.

### BACK TO THE COUNTRYSIDE! (RE)LEGITIMATING TRADITION AS A MODE OF INTERVENTION FOR THE CHINESE VILLAGE

*Shannon Bassett*

Recently, there has been a movement back to the countryside in China and a reconnection with its agricultural landscapes. This has come at a time when intellectuals, artists, and the elite are seeking to retreat from the ills of China's industrializing and modernizing cities. What role might tradition play in the “re”-legitimation of the Chinese village as a viable alternative or model for dwelling at both the scale of the building and the settlement? What forces are at play in its social and political reconstruction and spatial reinterpretation?

This paper examines these issues through the lens of Xixinan township in the Huangshan (Yellow Mountain) region of Anhui province. Its scope includes emerging “official” policies and strategies of the Chinese government, including the reinstitution of traditional religious and cultural practices. Among these are reinterpretations of existing vernacular building typologies, in order to “re”-legitimate various cultural and social rituals of “village life.” Ironically, these are based on “traditions” that were, arguably, erased during the Cultural Revolution of Chairman Mao Zedong.

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However, specific to this region is also a further development by the government of the tourism economy as a mechanism to prevent its youth and leaders from moving to the cities to seek work.

The paper further offers a counterpoint, or critique, of the above policies through the lens of an architectural design studio led by the author in China. Through cultural research and precedent studies, the studio sought to produce design proposals for series of architectural interventions in Chinese villages. These aimed to reinterpret the traditional vernacular form of the built environment, attempting to imbue it with new meanings and hybrid programs. The goal was to outline new possibilities for China's landscape and ecological recovery, in the face of the country's urbanization and the deterioration of its ecology and cultural identity. The proposals included the reconfiguring and hybridization of traditional typologies to reinsert and re-embed everyday social and cultural practices and processes into the public spaces of the village. The design schemes worked across a spectrum of scales, from that of the building to that of the individual settlement and region, to renew relationships between nature and culture.

These projects offer possible new models for vernacular building typologies which might reconfigure traditional typologies and begin to address larger social and political issues in China, such as food security and the recovery of agricultural and water landscapes. As such, both the official Chinese-government proposals and those of the studio offer a model based on the "re"-legitimation of the traditional Chinese village as a dwelling model.

### FROM THE EDGE, OUTSIDE AND ABOVE: AN "UNBIASED" VIEW OF MIDDLE-EASTERN MORPHOLOGY

*Alison B. Snyder and William A. Hallgren*

Broadly speaking, we know that today's Middle-Eastern or Islamic city, as it is often referred to, contains a mixture of local, regional and international built conditions. To assess its urban forms and spatial patterns, terms such as "traditional," "original," "natural," "organic" and "planned" can be used to describe both the built fabric that is considered "authentic" or "vernacular" and the contemporary insertions and expansions that have often appeared at its edges (Kostof 1991, Khan 2008, Oliver 1997). With all of the changes that have taken place over hundreds of years, many so-called traditional Middle-Eastern cities continue to retain their dense and complex composition, which stems from their original condition as protected, walled settlements. The lively interior character of these areas have long been dependent on the integration of the Islamic city's main public and private zones, including the mosque, *sug*/market, residence, and public square/park (Al-Bayati 1984, Lapidus 1973). An obvious result of nineteenth-century industrialization, general modernization,

or colonization, however, was the introduction of a planned street grid, which also affected urban activities. We thus focus in this paper on different types of settlement ruptures and ask: Are the longest-standing elements the only legitimate traditional pieces of the city today? Or can we also effectively consider the rifts as part of the legitimate vernacular? Our intention is to show how transplanted city irregularities mimic, interweave or oppose earlier patterns, thus becoming new ones.

The investigation began by working with design students who had little knowledge of the Middle-Eastern city aside from exposure to news coverage of events in the region. Its premise, to develop an urban morphological study conducted as "outsiders," was predicated on knowing that no visits to our adopted cities — Yazd, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Istanbul, Marrakesh and Jeddah — would occur. The work began by considering the notion of bias associated with the imagined or real Middle East. We then examined multidisciplinary viewpoints, including "Orientalism," gender and identity, and how early-twentieth-century politics created the geography and dynamics of the Middle East (Said 1978, Pamuk 2004, Bianca 2000, Neshat 2002, Mernissi 1987, Mansfield 2003).

The typical, yet static, method of researching architectural precedents then became secondary to a study consisting of "active visual investigation." Our objective research began by using the time-based technology that Google Earth Pro provides to enable assessments of traditional city patterns from high above (Peeters 2012, Balamir 2011). We also reinterpreted graphic methods used for representing urban and rural settlement patterns (Lynch 1963, Graves 2009; Herdeg 1990, Tice and Nalli 2005). Eventually, by coupling photographic and mapping systems with digital and handmade multidimensional renderings at different scales, we arrived at new ways to understand the Middle-Eastern city, its spaces and built components. These mixed approaches helped us revisualize and highlight the changes that exist in today's city. By essentially limiting our view to the broad lens of aerial imagery, we were able to objectively illustrate present morphological trends that transcend the division between the traditional and contemporary city, thereby providing clues about their legitimacy. The coexistence we have identified asserts itself as a legitimate vernacular.

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

*Hajo Neis*

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, 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(s) 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, OTCTJT 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 OTCTJT. Second, it is a development priority under the 1988 Portland Plan and the current 2035 plan (in progress), a missing link between the typical high-rise 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 possible 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.

This paper will present the current research and urban design efforts underway (including development through 2016). All of these traditions have been explored with urban and architectural design tests based on a framework of inclusive urbanism and in terms of socioeconomic and spatial understanding. The key question, "In what tradition should we develop and build?" is intended to help unravel this difficult development dilemma.

## ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT HOUSING IN KUWAIT

*Ahmad Al-Qallaf*

Identity is a result of a process and is not the main goal in design. It emerges from designing according to the environment and human needs. In the post-oil period, Kuwait went through a rapid transformation, leading to a period of modernization. New materials and new building techniques and processes were used. However, identity is something that develops originally out of cultural, social and environmental conditions.

The research will look at current architectural designs to determine if they reflect Kuwaiti identity, and if their architectural trends reflect the cultural landscape. The method involves a survey focusing on the systems of settings, activities, and lifestyles in government housing projects. The research will ask if these projects reflect Kuwaiti identity, and if the current identity is located more in the process than the product.



### A3. CONTESTED LEGITIMACIES OF NEOLIBERAL URBAN SPATIAL ENGINEERING

#### TENANTS' RIGHTS TO THE CITY: THE STORY OF BEIRUT'S RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS

*Abir Saksouk-Sasso and Nadine Bekdache*

*Public Works, Beirut, Lebanon*

#### GOVERNING DAHIYA: RESISTANCE, PIETY, AND CITY-MAKING IN HEZBOLLAH'S CAPITAL OF RESISTANCE

*Fouad Gehad Marei*

*Freie Universität Berlin, Germany*

#### THE PRODUCTION OF ILLEGITIMATE SOCIAL SPACE: THE RECONSTRUCTION WITH MISSED VOICES

*Sahera Bleibleh*

*United Arab Emirates University, Al Ain, U.A.E.*

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#### TENANTS' RIGHTS TO THE CITY: THE STORY OF BEIRUT'S RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS

*Abir Saksouk-Sasso and Nadine Bekdache*

Over the course of the past two decades most of Beirut's neighborhoods have been subjected to drastic waves of demolition, paving the way for the emergence of new forms that disregard history and social context. Buildings, and at times entire urban clusters, have been razed to ground, and their inhabitants displaced. The displacement reflects a citywide trend to push lower- and middle-income families out of the neighborhoods that have sustained their livelihoods and social networks. This form of spatial erasure has targeted people, places and practices long underrepresented in Beirut, and increasingly positioned them within the realm of the illegitimate.

With the end of the Lebanese civil war, the dominant mode of accessing housing in the city abruptly shifted from tenancy to homeownership. This shift was typified by the abolition of rent control in 1992 for new residential leases (while it was maintained for older ones). Such actions greatly increased the vulnerability of tenants in all of Beirut's neighborhoods, and in many instances, tagged them as illegitimate occupants of houses. Such a condition has also had enduring effects on how space is conceived, governed and practiced in Beirut's neighborhoods.

Starting from the scale of the building, this paper investigates the ways tenants' vulnerabilities have been constructed and produced over the years in relation to dominant perceptions of property, heritage, and shared space. It builds

on the participatory research project "Mapping Beirut from its Tenants Stories" that the authors conducted in 2015-2016. Along with young participants who were involved through workshops, we explored the impacts of market-driven development and policies on residential rights in Beirut, and on the creation of spatial injustice. Through legal and symbolic processes that disrupt historical place-making practices, both old tenants and landlords have increasingly been transformed into outsiders vis-à-vis the future of the city. The aim of the work was to uncover the underlying reasoning for pushing longtime residents out of inner-city neighborhoods, and to pertinently represent neighborhoods and ways of life, otherwise rendered invisible by dominant representations of Beirut. This was facilitated by in-depth research in five neighborhoods in Beirut, addressing similarities and differences in transformations occurring in each of them.

The motivation behind this project has been to fight the displacement of longtime residents and position their struggle within the notion of the right to the city. The Committee to Defend Tenants' Rights (established in 1952) is likewise working within this framework. It is a framework that not only elaborates on tenants' rights to the city but also produces counter-narratives of property and challenges restricted expressions of heritage.

#### GOVERNING DAHIYA: RESISTANCE, PIETY, AND CITY-MAKING IN HEZBOLLAH'S CAPITAL OF RESISTANCE

*Fouad Gehad Marei*

Based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork, I examine the complex processes of city-making in Beirut's southern suburbs. By whom is this process being directed? And to what effect? Essentially, the paper interrogates "governance." It asks: Who governs? How? And where does "governance" take place? Moreover, it examines the complex triangulation of "the Resistance" project, Shi'i "piety" (and faith-based political activism, more broadly), and models of governance and urban revitalization associated with neoliberal globalization and developmentalism.

The paper proposes understanding "governance" as the large-scale management of people and spaces as well as the regulation of the micro-politics of everyday life. Governance, I contend, is negotiated, transformed, and takes place within "new state spaces," which embody complex assemblages of relations produced through interactions and recompositions of a complex nexus of entities operating, intersecting and diverging across different scales and categorical imperatives.

Focusing on reconstruction and urban redevelopment in post-2006 Dahiya, I map some of the actors involved in the urban intervention, unravel the social relations latent in the "new state spaces" governing Dahiya, and examine how they assume physical, institutional-structural, and discursive forms. I argue that reductionist understandings of religio-

ity/piety as “traditional,” and “the Resistance” as inherently averse to U.S.-led neoliberal globalization, are empirically indefensible. Instead, the paper conceptualizes Shi’i-Islamic religiosity/piety as a technology of governance regulating complex processes of city-making in Beirut’s southern suburbs.

### THE PRODUCTION OF ILLEGITIMATE SOCIAL SPACE: THE RECONSTRUCTION WITH MISSED VOICES

*Sahera Bleibleh*

In 2002 the Israeli military launched its most lethal attack on the West Bank since 1967. The offensive affected almost every Palestinian city, but was mostly devastating in the old town of Nablus and in the Jenin refugee camp. The assault included the deliberate destruction of homes and infrastructure, including historical and residential buildings at the first site, and the entire Hawashin neighborhood at the second.

This paper considers the memories of Palestinian women who survived the war at both sites. Through these accounts, it focuses on the reconstruction process and the ways in which the women’s voices were excluded, or simply ignored. Based on ethnographic research conducted between May 2011 and August 2014 in Nablus and Jenin, it examines the ways the committees formed to negotiate the reconstruction process underscored women’s lived-space experience. Through women’s narratives, the paper underscores specific forms of agency grounded in gendered subjectivities.

The experience of living through the Israeli invasion (Edjeyah) and the process of the reconstruction of physical space highlight the production of illegitimate social space, the dichotomous ordering principles of negotiation and tension, as well as the vulnerability and resilience of Palestinian women at the two sites.

## B3. PARKS, GARDENS, AND THE LEGITIMATION OF TRADITION

### THE PUBLIC LIFE OF WOMEN IN SAUDI ARABIA’S BUILT ENVIRONMENT

*Sumayah Al-Solaiman*

*University of Dammam, Saudi Arabia*

### LEGITIMIZING THE VALUE OF SUBURBAN PARKS IN KUWAIT

*Lamis Behbehani*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: GARDENS AND THE NATURAL WORLD IN NORTHERN MOROCCO

*Colette Apelian*

*Independent Researcher, Morocco*

### SPATIAL RE-CREATION FOR POLITICAL RECREATION: LEGITIMIZING REGIME GOALS THROUGH PARK DESIGN IN CONTEMPORARY TEHRAN

*Ayda Melika*

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

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### THE PUBLIC LIFE OF WOMEN IN SAUDI ARABIA’S BUILT ENVIRONMENT

*Sumayah Al-Solaiman*

Segregation between men and women is a fact of life in Saudi Arabia. It permeates all aspects of life, based on Islamic principles that don’t allow the mixing of genders. Yet, while this is a long-established tradition, its manifestations are continuously defined and redefined. The physical applications of this requirement are not constant, and they find expression in different spatial solutions.

For most institutions serving women, a complete duplication of facilities provided for males is the most accepted solution. Schools and university campuses are thus designated exclusively for either male or female occupants. Public services and banking also provide female-only environments. However, even when a facility may be designated solely for women, there may still be special considerations that need to be taken into account, such as privacy, drop-off and pick-up points, and thresholds. In shopping malls things are also not so clear-cut. Here, there is no segregation in most areas, yet there may be “family-only” shops or sections in shops. Further controversy was raised with the introduction of cashier jobs for women. While it was acceptable in the past that a female customer paid a male cashier, the reversal of roles was contested by some as unacceptable and in breach of Islamic

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principles. The environment did not change, nor did the transaction; it was rather the roles attached to each gender that created the problem. Even when clear divisions and rules exist, their inconsistency in application is rarely questioned.

An important point to consider here is that while segregation may be a physical attribute of the built environment, it is justified as an extension of the veiling of women. In other words, all-female environments are essentially expanded veils. In viewing the environment with this understanding, we can start to differentiate between what is an extension of already legitimate practices and what goes beyond that. For the latter, questions of where these arguments stem from come to the forefront.

The increasing role of women in public life has pushed boundaries and opened up new possibilities for ordering the public environment. These opportunities have come about as a result of women's participation on university councils, the Shura council, municipal councils, and chambers of commerce. While some of these arenas were quietly opened to include women, the participation of women in others has been publicly debated and highly controversial. In each of these instances, legitimacy is reestablished and authority is invoked at different levels.

This paper will attempt to unravel the traditions surrounding the ordering of spaces for women in nondomestic environments in Saudi Arabia. It will provide a historical overview of the roles of women and their presence in the public sphere within traditional environments. Arguments based on religious, cultural and social restrictions will be linked to the legitimization of their presence in these new environments.

## LEGITIMIZING THE VALUE OF SUBURBAN PARKS IN KUWAIT

*Lamis Behbehani*

Positive social interactions and public engagement among residents of suburban neighborhoods are in decline in Kuwait due to many factors. Some of these relate to the poor architectural design and quality of existing neighborhoods, brought on by a lack of stringent regulations and authority, residents' choices, and the nation's great dependence on private vehicles. This concoction has altered the visual appearance and harmony of Kuwait's traditional suburbs, initially designed by the British firm Minoporio, Spencely and Macfarlane in 1952, into something disorganized and disorienting. In addition, traffic is a major contributor to pollution in Kuwait (Abdul-Wahab and Al-Araini 2004). A great increase in the number of vehicles has also affected safety and all aspects of visual aesthetics in a majority of both urban and suburban areas.

Kuwait essentially still abides by its 1952 master plan. It is divided into six governorates, each of which consists of

several areas that include commercial and residential districts. Initially, residential areas were planned and designed to accommodate high- and low-density housing. However, this is currently not the case, as more and more low-density areas are being converted into medium-density residential blocks. Moreover, the original plan for suburban areas contained standard amenities, which included public parks for recreation (which varied in size depending on their location), public schools, public health clinics, and public cooperative market zones (co-ops). The location of the public parks also varied, as some were closer to amenities, such as the co-ops, while others were not.

As a result of existing conditions, residential areas have adapted to their surroundings by utilizing the amenities and facilities available to them. Some of these areas are located, for example, within the governorates of Hawalli and Kuwait City, which accommodate many of the residential neighborhoods most affected by traffic, a lack of regulations, and a lack of authority to maintain pedestrian walkways and reinforce architectural designs. These are also areas with the most diverse residential population, housing a large number of foreigners.

Suburban neighborhood parks are a crucial element in the heritage of modern Kuwait, and they could play an important role in enhancing social ties and interactions. This paper will explore some of the ways neighborhoods have been able to bridge the gap and enhance local social and environmental conditions through private activities and initiatives. The aim of this research is to highlight the possibilities for future improvement of Kuwait's residential planning policies.

## LEGITIMIZING TRADITION: GARDENS AND THE NATURAL WORLD IN NORTHERN MOROCCO

*Colette Apelian*

On the eve of hosting the twenty-second Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP22) in Marrakesh, the Moroccan government has authorized construction in the Bou Regreg River Valley. The construction includes a Zaha Hadid Ateliers-designed theater and a massive structure containing luxury housing units. The theater will join an Aga Khan award-winning bridge, also designed by Zaha Hadid Ateliers. Signs around the construction site further state that the new projects are meant to add to the appeal of Rabat as a city of light and culture. Yet, the buildings are placed in a floodplain with the same or similar characteristics as those in nearby Ramsar-classified national parks. They are also placed in close proximity to sites with significant historical and cultural value, recognized in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) classification of Rabat.

In this paper I briefly present the social history of the Rabat-Salé region's environment, and I propose ways that fresh

visions of it and its uses could become valuable additions to the contemporary Moroccan economy — specifically, its two pillars of tourism and agricultural production and export. The presentation is excerpted from a manuscript to be published before COP22 in Marrakesh, November 7–18, 2016.

The history of Rabat-Salé is similar to other Moroccan cities, such as Fez, so it presents a model that could be adopted in other regions. Like the forthcoming manuscript from which the paper is excerpted, the presentation is based upon archival and on-site research and observations in the old and new cities of Rabat-Salé.

### SPATIAL RE-CREATION FOR POLITICAL RECREATION: LEGITIMIZING REGIME GOALS THROUGH PARK DESIGN IN CONTEMPORARY TEHRAN

*Ayda Melika*

By examining the transformation of urban open spaces in Tehran, this paper aims to illuminate the legitimizing role of urban park (re)design and recreation in the modern history of Iran. In it, I examine the history of Pârk-e Laleh, focusing particularly on its transformation, first from Jalalieh hippodrome, used as military parade ground, to Pârk-e Farah, one of Tehran's largest recreational parks, named for Iran's last queen, Farah Diba, in 1966; and then to its current Islamized state, renamed Pârk-e Laleh in 1979 in memory of martyrs of the Islamic Revolution.

By studying various examples of environmental design and architecture in the park, I demonstrate the manifest political intentions of its builders and users to create new forms of political socialization and spaces of resistance. I argue that, in Iran, top-down urban park planning has been utilized to disseminate regime goals into the public sphere, in order to socialize people into desired cultures promoting structures of power.

Illuminating both the pre- and post-revolutionary purpose of park planning as being to create spaces of reform and control, I argue that the design of Pârk-e Farah reflected a strategy of urban modernization and cultural Westernization, while the design of its current reformed version, Pârk-e Laleh, aims at promoting large-scale Islamization. In the paper, I demonstrate how political leaders in the Pahlavi era created and used park settings to assimilate people into the regime's political and military culture. Similarly, I show how the leaders of the Islamic Republic have utilized similar techniques to design and build spaces that comply with and attempt to socialize users into an Islamic military culture of martyrdom. Examples are provided to demonstrate how political leaders shape and reshape urban parks as part of ongoing power struggles.

## C3. IDENTITY: REAL AND IMAGINED

### COMPOUND CONSTRUCTIONS: REAL AND IMAGINED

*Joseph Godlewski*

*Syracuse University, U.S.A.*

### THE SPACES OF SUBLIMATION: MODA, ISTANBUL

*Serdar Erişen*

*Middle East Technical University, Turkey*

### THE LEGITIMACY OF A CITY: HONG KONG'S CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN A STATE OF FLUX

*Evelyn Kwok*

*University of Technology Sydney, Australia*

### IMPRESSIONS OF WESTERN VOYAGERS OF THE VANISHED VERNACULAR KUWAIT CITY

*Abdulaziz Al-Qitali and Abdulmuttaleb Ballam*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

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### COMPOUND CONSTRUCTIONS: REAL AND IMAGINED

*Joseph Godlewski*

Despite Nigeria's tremendous ethnolinguistic and geographic diversity, the country's domestic environments are often organized into similar walled-compound configurations. Surrounded by a high wall or fence and enclosing a small open-air courtyard, compounds can be found in cultural traditions as varied as the Hausa, Yorùbá, and Ìgbo. In particular, the Èfik of southeastern Nigeria have a long history of constructing walled compounds. Dominating the landscape of the earliest fishing villages in the seventeenth century, the compounds served as interiorized zones protected and set apart from the existing coastline and forests.

Built from local mud, thatch, and mangrove posts, Èfik compounds contained single-story wattle-and-daub structures that housed a lineage-based social structure in compartmentalized rooms. As such, they provided a less permanent built environment than that of the more centralized trading kingdoms to the west. However, the very impermanence of these structures afforded the constantly fissioning and fusing social groups of the region a degree of flexibility in their built environment. Indeed, the continual process of fragmentation and movement displayed by the Èfik of Old Calabar contests the image of Africa as a static and timeless entity. Nevertheless, early European observers conceived of these urban configurations as essentially unchanging spaces that were home to a litany of uncivilized practices. To these commentators, the compound served as a theater of barbarity that justified both the institution of slavery and the missionary enterprise.

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As if to reverse hundreds of years of epistemic violence, years later, a generation of post-independence scholars conceived of such compounds as symbols of national identity and primordial traditions. However, the ephemeral quality of this building tradition presented the postcolonial state with the challenge of preserving and legitimizing these building traditions. Close readings of local cultures and their spatial practices were central to the construction of the emerging national imaginary in anti-colonial and post-independence Nigeria. For instance, the opening chapters of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* take place in a precolonial Igbo compound much like one documented by Olaudah Equiano, in his native Igbo village as it existed before he was captured and sold into slavery. Likewise, the outspoken Afrobeat pioneer Fela Kuti's resistance to the Obasanjo military regime in the 1970s emanated from his controversial bohemian compound, Kalakuta Republic, in Lagos.

Compounds, in the newly minted state, were markers of national identity and a link to the distant and distinctly noncolonial past. In the general absence of physical historical evidence, though, it is necessary to analyze the compound's discursive existence — as a rhetorical construction pulled between ethnocentric descriptions of a primitive building culture creating sites of barbarous, inhuman acts and nationalist discourses extolling the compound as a symbol of authentic Nigerian culture, free trade, cultural unification, and environmental coexistence. The discursive site of the compound is itself a contested space as integral to identity formation as the physical artifact.

## THE SPACES OF SUBLIMATION: MODA, ISTANBUL

*Serdar Erişen*

Moda, in Istanbul, has a peculiar history of settlement that reveals the relationship between the identity and desire of its inhabitants and the ideology of the state and its apparatuses used in regulating the public sphere and spatial practices. In the context of Moda, an analysis of the relation between the subject and the law can be used to illustrate the significance of bureaucratic procedures with regard to economic, social and political relations and the transformation of the public sphere. Specifically, the idea of spaces of sublimation can be used to understand the condition of citizenship in the changing structuring of the state and the evolution of a multiplicity of identities through spatial practices. This idea emphasizes the dynamic balance between the spatial practices of the reflected identities and the desire of certain families and citizens with their power to inhabit new geographies, and the regularization of these new areas by the norms of the state. Spaces of sublimation represent the unity involved in the emergence of multilayered spatial practices in diversity, as a reflection of a multiplicity of identities, and the discourse between the desire of the subject and the cultural and collective values and ideological forces of the state.

Initial settlement of Moda took place under the law of Ottoman Empire, according to the desire for Westernization influenced by certain groups of individuals representing the value and power of immigrant families. It especially emphasized the role of “non-Muslims,” segregated under the norms of citizenship defined by the Ottoman Empire. The following period, however, revealed the changing identities and associated relations of citizenship regulated by the state. Thus, the condition of Moda, starting from the mid-1800s, revealed other sides of a multilayered cultural formation, according to changing ideological atmospheres and forms of state control. These extended from the imperial era to that of a secularized nation-state, resulting in the emergence of spaces of resistance — and later from the nation-state to the restructuring processes created by international-trade-driven state apparatuses. At least three different periods of habitation can be distinguished, based on the particular Moda environment; these can be categorized as involving idealized, practical and speculative spatial practices. Sublimation provides the idea of interrelated cause-effect actions between the citizens and the state, based on the dependency of each on the other, which together created varying layers of identity throughout the history of Moda.

This article will discuss the multiplicity of constructed identities in Moda throughout its history, from the late Ottoman period to the early and mid-Republican periods, to understand the changing relation between the self and the state. It will seek to understand spatial practices in the specific condition of Moda to understand how continuities and discontinuities evolved, influencing the above-mentioned notions of desire, sublimation and identity.

## THE LEGITIMACY OF A CITY: HONG KONG'S CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN A STATE OF FLUX

*Evelyn Kwok*

Hong Kong has been suffering an identity crisis since its transfer of sovereignty from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) in 1997. At the time, Ackbar Abbas published an influential book about Hong Kong's culture and the politics of disappearance. Two decades later, many reflections, discussions and speculations have ensued locally and internationally within academic and popular discourse. Many follow a similar trajectory: nostalgic reflection for the colonial past, resistance toward the P.R.C. government, and apprehension over the future of Hong Kong after 2047. After July 1, 2047, Hong Kong will become a full, legitimate part of the P.R.C., no longer a Special Administrative Region. Since 1997, this status has allowed it to maintain its long-established condition as part of China yet apart from China — with a capitalist service economy, an independent legal system, and its major languages of Cantonese and English. However, as 2047 creeps closer, the state of imminent crisis

in which Hong Kong abides reflects questions about how to legitimate, maintain and secure its identity and culture.

Hong Kong is internationally known as a consumerist wonderland, with abundant shopping malls and a dense fabric of skyscrapers akin to the futuristic urban landscape of the film *Blade Runner*. Upon closer analysis, however, Hong Kong's cultural narratives and traditions may be better seen to exist within its finer-grained urban environment. It holds a rich industrial history stemming from the local manufacturing boom of the 1960s. And despite the current northward shift of manufacturing to the mainland as a result of cheaper costs there, the spirit of industrialization remains in everyday life. Street-level stores combine points of sale and workshops for metal, plastics and tiles; traditional bamboo scaffolding is the preferred method in building construction; plastic bottles and cardboard boxes are collected and transported by the elderly in trolleys to be reused and recycled; etc. These everyday practices reflect the diverse vernacular material culture of Hong Kong and the value of traditional practices of production. More importantly, these practices are part of a disappearing tradition and a local economy that could be delegitimized in the near future.

Michael Wolf, a German photographer whose work and life have been based in Hong Kong for the last two decades, has celebrated Hong Kong's traditions by documenting public-housing facades and utilitarian assemblages of vernacular objects in back alleys. He has also observed how (motivated by Hong Kong's vast urban-renewal projects and the political unrest that has occurred since the Occupy Movement in 2014) these urban assemblages of everyday objects are now, more than ever, emblematic of the notion of passive resistance. In fact, these assemblages are propelled by the individual's need to resist and reclaim space from the ever-densifying urban fabric.

This paper explores how residents of Hong Kong, both at the micro and macro scales, have been attempting to establish socio-political legitimacy through traditional practices of everyday life — in effect producing a culture and identity of resistance and resourcefulness within the unique state of flux that currently exists in Hong Kong.

## IMPRESSIONS OF WESTERN VOYAGERS OF THE VANISHED VERNACULAR KUWAIT CITY

*Abdulaziz Al-Qitali and Abdulmuttaleb Ballam*

Many Western voyagers, passing through Kuwait City prior to its independence from the British Empire, wrote detailed descriptions of its architecture and urban environment. Yet, their opinions about the city's physical aspects differed depending on their nationality, age, gender, and profession. In spite of this valuable written information, there is no known scientific research that has investigated and analyzed

their opinions about the vanished vernacular architectural and urban environment of Kuwait.

Based on the descriptions of these numerous Western travelers who passed through the city, the paper aims to reveal how the architecture and urban environment of Kuwait City evolved. The method of research is built upon collecting, reviewing, analyzing and comparing the different descriptions about the city's urban and architectural environment over the period of a century, from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. The investigation includes critiques of their narratives, and bridges between their opinions and the opinions of other historians about the city's former vernacular environment. The outcome of the research is intended to alter the current historical knowledge of Kuwait's vernacular urban environment, and aid future efforts to reconstruct the vanished city.

## A4. HISTORY AND THE LEGITIMACY OF HISTORIC STRUCTURES

### STRANGER AT THE DOOR: HOSPITALITY AS LEGITIMACY IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANSIONS OF BEGUM SAMRU

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*

*University of Pittsburgh, U.S.A.*

### THE CASITA RINCÓN CRIOLLO AND THE DESIGNATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PLACES: TRADITION AND THE ETHICS OF PRACTICE

*Michael Ann Williams and Virginia Siegel*

*Western Kentucky University, U.S.A.*

### SHIFTING AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS

*Paul Memmott*

*University of Queensland, St. Lucia, Australia*

### USING THE CONCEPT OF THE HEARTH TO LEGITIMIZE NUSANTARA ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA

*Pancawati Dewi and Raziq Hasan*

*Gunadarma University, Indonesia*

### THE TASTE OF DISTINCTION: LEGITIMIZING A TRADITIONAL TEA FACTORY DURING THE AGRO-INDUSTRIALIZATION OF TONGMU VILLAGE, CHINA

*Huaqing Huang*

*Tsinghua University, China*

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### STRANGER AT THE DOOR: HOSPITALITY AS LEGITIMACY IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MANSIONS OF BEGUM SAMRU

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*

This presentation examines the architectural works patronized by a ruling dowager — Begum Samru — in nineteenth-century India. Despite her modest beginnings as a dancing girl in the Mughal courts, Begum Samru amassed a great deal of territory and power through her association with Walter Reinhardt, an Austrian soldier who managed a mercenary army in northern India. Following Reinhardt's death in 1778, Begum Samru inherited his very large estate in Delhi, his independent territory 60 kilometers north of Delhi, and his standing army. By the time of her death in 1836, she had built three large mansions, a lavish Catholic church, and a more modest Protestant church as a means to consolidate her power within a political milieu marked by the waning of the Mughal Empire and the rise of European colonialism.

This presentation focuses on Begum Samru's lavish mansions, which combined Neoclassical facades and large living rooms in the manner of European salons with other regionally and culturally specific spaces such as the *zenana* and the *hammam*. I argue that Begum Samru deliberately organized her homes as spaces of strategic hospitality, where powerful European and Indian benefactors were welcomed as guests, while she, as host, displayed her sovereign agency. I utilize Emmanuel Levinas's and Jacques Derrida's theories of hospitality as frameworks to understand Begum Samru's mansions and the architectural strategies through which they legitimated her position as a female ruler in North India. I illustrate how Begum Samru's mansions were designed to welcome the "perpetual stranger at the door" — European men in positions of power — who were culturally and racially other than her. Through her architecture, however, she was able to legitimate her own claims to territoriality in a precarious political climate marked by rising European hegemony.

### THE CASITA RINCÓN CRIOLLO AND THE DESIGNATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PLACES: TRADITION AND THE ETHICS OF PRACTICE

*Michael Ann Williams and Virginia Siegel*

In 1990 the National Register of Historic Places in the United States issued Bulletin No.38, "Guidelines for Documenting and Evaluating Traditional Cultural Properties." Unlike other properties recognized by the National Register, traditional cultural properties (or "places" as they are now more commonly known) derive significance from the cultural practices of living communities. Although the bulletin explicitly did not limit the cultural affiliation of the property, during the past 25 years the TCP designation has been applied almost exclusively to Native-American places. In the past several years, the National Park Service has initiated possible revisions of the bulletin, but this process has stumbled when it comes to how tradition is defined and who defines it.

Among other problems, recent discussions of expanding the use of the designation that focus on definitions of "traditional group" make distinctions that are at odds with those of folklorists and other cultural specialists, as well as with the communities interested in the TCP designation. In 2011 the American Folklore Society authorized a policy working group on historic preservation. The group initiated a TCP pilot study carried out by Western Kentucky University in conjunction with Traditional Arts of Upstate New York and City Lore/Place Matters in New York City, both of which maintain grassroots-nominated registers of special places. Of the projects initiated, Western Kentucky University and Place Matters continue to pursue the nomination of Casita Rincón Criollo in New York City. Often built illegally and therefore impermanently, casitas serve as gathering places for Puerto Ricans for various social interactions and celebrations, gar-



dening, and the playing of music. However, the guidelines and conventions of the National Register nomination process pose several obstacles. For one, the Casita Rincón Criollo is not fifty years old and has been moved. However, the community's efforts to save it indicate its significance; it is also exemplary among surviving casitas as a key site for the flowering of traditional Puerto Rican music.

This paper examines the difficulties of governmental designations of tradition and traditional communities, and it explores the impact these definitions have on the protection of traditional properties. Many traditions are intrinsically tied to place and may be imperiled by governmental or private development. Poised to assess traditional cultural places through ethnographic fieldwork, folklorists offer more inclusive definitions of traditional groups. However, participation in this manner of documentation poses issues concerning the ethics of practice. How do folklorists negotiate the oft-times inflexible rules of the National Register system without doing injustice to what people believe to be important? The paper will examine the American Folklore Society working group's project, and specifically discuss the documentation of the Casita Rincón Criollo as a traditional cultural place.

## SHIFTING AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS

*Paul Memmott*

The cycle of tensions between cultural and political modes of settlement-legitimation in Indigenous Australia are evident in recent government attempts to close down 100 to 150 small, remote settlements in Western Australia and the Northern Territory to create hub settlements. These changes are conceptualized as the machinery of neoliberal governments intent on fiscal sustainability. The spatial distribution of Australian Indigenous populations supports the view that the majority of Indigenous people reside in urban settlements and a minority in remote centers. However, this representation does not offer a complete picture of the spectrum of Indigenous settlement or the circumstances faced by resident populations. Indigenous urban dwellers are simplistically conceptualized as devoid of tradition, while remote residents are portrayed as having retained traditions. In light of the ongoing intractability of Indigenous disadvantage, this paper reexamines such a reductionist view of tradition to ask whether this shifting frame delegitimizes Indigenous ways of being and modes of living.

The spectrum of Indigenous settlements across city areas, regional towns, and remote communities has been increasingly recognized as an important contributor to a more nuanced representation of the evolution of Indigenous settlement as a result of the historical phenomenon of colonialism. During the colonization and post-colonization eras, a period spanning some 230 years, Australian Indigenous people have experienced a continual cyclic process of losing and reassert-

ing legitimation of their settlement traditions. The varied mechanisms of loss have involved state hegemony as manifested both through legislation, in the form of containment and control policies, and overriding executive powers that have relied on a range of justifications and rationales. It may thus be observed that the state closure of remote communities by withdrawing public funding and services, as opposed to exercising state control by revoking land title or passing new resettlement legislation, represents a significant shift in the operation of power. Other state activities, meanwhile, legitimate ideologies of social engineering that are continually reformulated, privileging the administrative machinery and its plethora of programs and service providers over local Indigenous agency.

Sometimes, in more liberal modes of government, these hegemonic forces have been partially retracted. Policies have been reversed, and forms of land regulation and access imposed through legislation have emerged, such as Land Rights, Native Title, or sustainable economic development. For their part, various groups of Aboriginal people have also asserted local agency to relegitimize their settlement traditions through cultural adaptations, return-to-country movements, and self-constructed domiciles and infrastructures. Sometimes this has been done in blatant opposition to and defiance of the state, but in periods of liberal government, it may involve some support from the state. The embellishment of Indigenous living environments, merging customary signs with new meanings and modes of expression, are reflective of new transmissions. These patterns of cultural change have played out historically under some six or more colonial, then state governments, as overlaid by federal and territorial supervision since 1901. It has resulted in such diverse settlement types that new traditions of settlement have emerged in modified traditional camps, town camps, urban enclaves, missions, remote communities, and outstations — all with varying expressions of Indigeneity and shifting views of legitimacy.

## USING THE CONCEPT OF THE HEARTH TO LEGITIMIZE NUSANTARA ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA

*Pancawati Dewi and Raziq Hasan*

The discovery of fire changed the foundations of human life, including traditions of civilization. In architecture, fire became an important element determining the form of space and place. In the architecture of Nusantara (the Indonesian archipelago), the hearth indicates the role played by fire in the genesis of community space, with its imaginary boundaries. The mythic origin of fire also underlies the creation of architecture, and from the myth, fire derived its symbolic power. As a symbol, fire provides the basis of many religions and beliefs around the world. Almost every tribe or society has a strong memory of it. Fire may be considered a god with

supernatural powers, who gave prosperity to mankind. The diversity of social and cultural conditions of the people of Nusantara helps determine the meaning of the hearth.

The architecture of Nusantara is very diverse, covering an area of social culture that includes the mainland countries of Southeast Asia, and which extends west to the east from Aceh to the islands of eastern Papua New Guinea, and north to the south from the Japanese islands to Rote Island. Indonesia occupies a large area of Nusantara, and its territories display a rich diversity of architecture in terms of shape, layout, ornament and meaning. Within this area, the hearth is the only interior element still maintained that may serve as a unifying element. Although in tropical regions (particularly in Indonesia) the main function of the hearth is not to provide heat, the hearth can still be seen in the area today from the highlands to the lowlands.

In Nusantara architecture the tradition of maintaining a hearth is not static but dynamic, subject to changes in time, social culture, and technology. But even the presence of new technologies that can replace the function of the hearth has not been able to eliminate it in a house. In some areas in Indonesia the number of hearths has even increased with its diverse functions. The shape of hearths also vary, from the permanent to the portable. Besides their diversity (in terms of shape, number, location, function and meaning), hearths in Indonesia turn out to have similarities — that is, the retention of sacred values. As long as the traditions and beliefs underlying the value of the hearth still exist, it will never be gone. The paper argues that this legitimizes the existence of a Nusantara architecture. It will further try to reveal the traditions of hearth management in Indonesia through an interpretive-historical method.

### THE TASTE OF DISTINCTION: LEGITIMIZING A TRADITIONAL TEA FACTORY DURING THE AGRO-INDUSTRIALIZATION OF TONGMU VILLAGE, CHINA

*Huaqing Huang*

This article examines a traditional tea factory in Tongmu village in China, exploring how and why its value has been legitimized during the recent industrial transformation of the local tea industry. Tongmu village, located within the World Heritage-listed Wuyi Mountains, is the hometown of Lapsang Souchong black tea and boasts a tea-production history extending back more than 400 years. Traditionally, the production of this tea, with its special smoky flavor, took place in a particular architectural space, the *qinglou*. This was a wooden-structured, wood-fired factory of three or four floors, where each floor was maintained at an appropriate temperature for the different procedures of tea production. Since the 1980s, however, with the rapid transformation of the local tea industry to reflect agro-industrialization and capitalization, the *qinglou* has been gradually replaced by modern factories

with better fire resistance and higher efficiency. However, since 2005, when the local industry regained profitability through the successful development of a new luxury tea called Jin Jun Mei, some *qinglou* have been readopted, with intentions that go beyond tea production. The process vividly illustrates the current status and latent crisis of rural livelihoods within current social, ecological and spatial frames.

The paper will examine one of the most representative and well-preserved *qinglou* to show how and why this “tradition,” both as a technique and a place, has been legitimized during the agrarian transformation. With a length of over sixty meters, this gigantic structure is a remnant of the collectively owned tea industry from the 1950 to the 1980s. In the late 1990s the building was renovated, and it has since been rented exclusively by the biggest tea company in the village, Zheng Shan Tang, which uses it not only for tea production, but also as an iconic image on posters, in news releases, and in videos promoting their tea products. The value of the *qinglou* has thus been legitimized and revived for at least two reasons. First, this special structure is an irreplaceable place in which Lapsang Souchong may gain its iconic smoky flavor, which is rendered as a “taste” of “distinction” for higher prices (Bourdieu 1984). Second, the link between “taste” and “place” is amplified when the building is shown to potential customers as an “imagined representation” of traditionally valued tea-production techniques (AlSayyad 2014). Furthermore, as tea produced in Tongmu is recast as a luxury beverage — whose principal use is more “rhetorical and social” (Appadurai 1986) — the use of the *qinglou* has also contributed to the social stratification of local tea producers, workers and farmers, delineating an unprecedented rural-social ecology filled with unexpected conflict and tension.

In terms of methodology, the research combined architectural investigation with anthropological fieldwork to describe the process legitimization of the *qinglou* during agro-industrial transformation. Moreover, it adopted a “food system perspective” (Besky 2013) — considering how tea is produced, distributed and consumed to reveal the influence of this legitimized tradition on rural livelihoods. In conclusion, the paper aims to understand not only how the traditional factory is legitimized by the distinctive taste of tea, but also how local tea producers and farmers really “enjoy” this taste of distinction, sweet or bitter.



## B4. PLANNING, TRADITION AND LEGITIMACY

### POSTINDUSTRIAL LEGITIMIZATIONS

*Howard Davis and William Hallgren*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

### BUILDING LEGITIMACY VIA THE BOX

*Robert Gurney*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### URBAN MORPHOLOGY VERSUS LEGITIMACY

*Mohamed Alaa Mandour*

*Helwan University, Egypt*

### THE “DESERT” IN EXPO MILANO: TRADITIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE IN THE MAKING OF A “LEGITIMATE” NATIONAL IDENTITY

*Amina Alkandari*

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

### THE FUNDAMENTALIST URBAN GROWTH MACHINE AND ITS URBAN IMAGE IN THE “ANATOLIAN TIGERS”

*Meltem Al*

*McGill University, Canada*

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### POSTINDUSTRIAL LEGITIMIZATIONS

*Howard Davis and William Hallgren*

The reuse of industrial buildings from the mass-production economy of the early twentieth century for the creative industries of the “New Economy” has been written about extensively. These factory and warehouse buildings are often located near the central city, are flexible in use, and offer an “honest” aesthetic that is appealing to professionals and craftspeople, providing an image that becomes a part of their occupational persona.

Less discussed are earlier buildings that housed pre-industrial crafts — smaller buildings that sometimes combined work and dwelling, and that were often more highly integrated functionally with the urban fabric and urban economy than the larger industrial buildings that came later. These buildings are not as visible: many were demolished to make way for larger industrial buildings, or else they have been converted to purely residential use. When they housed craftspeople, however, they were often clustered together, supporting a dense, networked production culture, in which firms had strong interrelationships, trading and competing with each other.

Fieldwork in London and in Portland, Oregon, has led to a comparative study of several industrial buildings and building clusters in both categories above. These include an old automobile factory in Portland that now houses several dozen small, craft-oriented businesses; a fabricator’s shop in an old industrial district of Portland; two London districts that once housed hundreds of small shops associated with the furniture industry; and a mixed-use project in London, built by a local developer in about 1900 that combined dwellings, workshops, retail stores, and factory lofts for the furniture industry, and that is still in use for manufacturing and creative enterprises.

This analysis, relating spatial structure to use, connects directly to questions of the legitimization of tradition, particularly in relation to the urban vernacular. It is well understood that vernacular architecture is dynamic, changing over time as needs, habits and likes change. But this dynamism may obscure the idea that earlier vernacular forms may regain their legitimacy even after long periods during which they were abandoned. This may be particularly the case when vernacular buildings and districts are analyzed closely, revealing deep configurational patterns transcending style or visual preferences.

We conjecture that this is the case with the industrial configurations under study, in which economic factors — including transport costs, competition, and system redundancy — help form spatial configurations. The earlier workshops supported fluid and changing business relationships among relatively small firms — relationships that included what were essentially support networks that complemented competition. This system was supplanted by the advent of mass-production models that were better served by large, autonomous factories, often separated from other elements of the urban fabric. But in some respects the new, creative economy that is occupying the spaces of mass production, and the remaining small workshops, includes multiple, small firms with fluid relationships analogous to those of the old, craft-based economy. This leads to a fresh look at tradition and its legitimization, requiring a detailed understanding of the purpose, structure and dynamics of traditional configurations.

### BUILDING LEGITIMACY VIA THE BOX

*Robert Gurney*

This paper will investigate urban density as a factor in the creation of sense of place and in relation to the family as a social institution. Today, in Kuwait, several governorates are undergoing rapid expansion, and this has caused significant changes to municipal rules regarding plot dimensions and built-up area. In particular, many plots have been developed to their maximum height, width and depth, which has transformed certain areas into a collection of volumetric nonplaces. As described by Marc Augé, nonplaces are “spaces of tran-

sience that do not hold enough significance to be regarded as places.”

A focus on maximizing private space was a key feature of traditional Kuwaiti town layouts. In traditional residential areas only a building’s front facade could be seen from the street; all other sides of a house were built adjacent to neighboring structures. This tradition allowed greater freedom in terms of interior volumetric layouts, providing space for the life of multigenerational families, divided only by thick mud walls and interior courtyards. Meanwhile, all public activity was channeled through the front facade, activating the street as an extension of the home, and making it a lively public realm where families and the community interacted.

As the government began to distribute land, however, lots were established by the municipality; organic growth was eliminated; and spatial layouts became predetermined by the limitations of plot size. The contemporary living styles of families (parents, grandparents and children) changed; no longer were they separated by walls and courtyards, but by streets, blocks and governorates. The breakup of multigenerational family housing, coupled with lot maximization, has forced a sense of placelessness onto these new communities. And the density in many of these districts only helps reinforce the sense of empty streets devoid of pedestrian life and filled with cars that transport people to work, school, and family obligations. Streets are no longer the center of community life but a place where the service class resides, and which lead to faceless box-like facades that lack connection to residents. It is thus that a return to a tradition of urban density has intersected with the modern notion of nonplace.

The paper will explore the difference in character between several governorates through an analysis of GIS data and visual surveys. The paper hopes to establish why older districts have a sense of place, while newer ones have become nonplaces.

## URBAN MORPHOLOGY VERSUS LEGITIMACY

*Mohamed Alaa Mandour*

The development of urban form in a metropolis such as Cairo can be the result of many complicated circumstances, but this paper proposes that political shifts have been the main force affecting Cairo’s urban form throughout history. Political change may not only alter the physical aspects of urban space but also its perceptual image (Wanas 2013). However, the formation of any city depends on a complicated mix of decisions, choices, and sometimes visions in relation to political power. Cairo’s vibrant history includes numerous political eras and changes in policies that have affected its urban nature in many ways. Each era has embossed its power and influence on this ancient city through different reflections. Each era has further implemented its vision on the thriving forms that preceded it.

This empirical study will attempt to establish a timeline that explains the political decisions affecting the urban morphology of Cairo, revealing the factors that affect political legitimacy and its impact on this form. Its hypothesis is that there is a direct relation between the legitimacy of decisions and changes in Cairo’s urban form. The methodology was based on interpretive-historical research, developed through a four-stage process. This started with the collection of physical evidences and data that relate political decisions to alterations in the form of Cairo. This took into consideration the reality that the influence of the past on present circumstances may sometimes be hard to clearly identify.

The research will try to answer these questions: Is there a relation between political legitimacy and decisions affecting Cairo’s urban form? If there is, why does it exist? What are the factors affecting it? And, finally, what have its impacts been on changes in urban form through time?

## THE “DESERT” IN EXPO MILANO: TRADITIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE IN THE MAKING OF A “LEGITIMATE” NATIONAL IDENTITY

*Amina Alkandari*

Architecture uses space and form as an instrument to express sociopolitical and cultural ideologies even in the simplest means of production. This paper will examine the nature of the “traditional” practice of architecture, and how its outcome has contributed to the formation of Kuwait’s national identity.

The first part of the presentation explores a number of state and public buildings produced in post-independence Kuwait — specifically, from the late 1970s to the present — including the Kuwait Towers, the Kuwait National Assembly, the Kuwait National Museum, and the Kuwait Scientific Center. It will demonstrate how design concepts and themes produced by foreign architects, commissioned by a ruling elite, sought to construct an ideal visual image for the nation. These idealized images were “Arab,” “Bedouin,” and “Islamic” representations that inaugurated the ruler’s superiority. Collections of “traditional” forms, they became the sole repository of national identity.

The second part of the essay explores the Kuwait Pavilion at Milano Expo 2015, by means of which Kuwait’s visual national identity was displayed in Europe. The pavilion included a nostalgic image of Kuwait’s past — the utopian “imagined desert” — designed by the renowned Italian architect Italo Rota. This design used “traditional” and “cultural” objects mixed with modern elements to emphasize Kuwait’s national and regional uniqueness at a time of global and international exchange. The pavilion won an award for construction art at the Expo in October 2015.

The Kuwait Pavilion at Expo Milano represents an extension of the state and its public building campaign on an

international level. However, it is important to note that all the works described — both in part one and two — were state-sponsored projects designed by foreign architects in a top-down fashion, where selected “traditions” were privileged and legitimized by the state and its ruling elite. In this regard, the paper will unfold the political and social factors that legitimize selected “traditional” forms and objects. These, in turn, act as agents that secure and maintain the power of the elite over the ruled majority, especially at a time of both internal and external national threats. The paper will thus also address questions related to how architecture is utilized by the state to disseminate political and social legitimation, and why its practices are “legitimate” for the nation-state.

## THE FUNDAMENTALIST URBAN GROWTH MACHINE AND ITS URBAN IMAGE IN THE “ANATOLIAN TIGERS”

*Meltem Al*

Global economic changes in the second half of the twentieth century have transformed the function of cities and brought them into competition with one another based on their contribution to national and global economies. In order to survive in such changed circumstances, urban social and spatial characteristics have undergone major transformation all over the world. As part of this process, the agents of neoliberal transformation — such as the state, private companies, financial institutions, entrepreneurs, and elite groups — have promoted and legitimized their interventions by exploiting the cultural, religious and national values of their contexts by promoting discourses of “freedom,” “individual well-being,” and “entrepreneurialism.”

In the case of Turkey, the function and identity of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir — the country’s largest cities — have been redefined according to the ideological and economic desires of the major actors in the neoliberal era. These cities long contributed to the economic development of the country through various kinds of industrial activities. Yet, due to the changing social and cultural codes of the context, the concept of political Islam and the role of fundamentalist groups have also gained strength, largely through the agency of political actors who have exploited the liberal discourses of the milieu. Islamists, in particular, who dissented from the dominant idea of the secular nation-state, and who stayed underground during the early decades of the Turkish Republic, have now become an important economic and political constituency. Considering how urban space is a platform for manifesting power, these fundamentalist groups are now playing a role in the economic, social and spatial transformation of Turkey’s large cities, and they have produced a nationalist and Islamist discourse to legitimize their “revanchist” urban interventions.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, however, Turkey’s large metropolises started to lose their industrial character. Due to rapid population growth and an increased atten-

tion to culture industries (rather than production activities), the need arose for new industrial/marketing fields and new places for these industries. Thus, other Anatolian provinces have now emerged as alternative industrial centers. New national and regional policy arrangements, trade agreements, and coalitions between local businessmen associations, local governments, and fundamentalist groups have become important constituents of this “development scenario” wrapped within a conservative discourse.

The paper will investigate the neoliberal development of what are now referred to as the “Anatolian Tigers,” including Denizli, Gaziantep, Malatya, Konya, Çorum, and Kayseri. These were small cities with modest economies before the 1980s, that have now been transformed into the new economic centers of Turkey. The paper will explore the urban consequences of capital accumulation in the Anatolian Tigers and the spatial representations of fundamentalism in them. It will raise the issue of the production of space in them, as legitimized by a fundamentalist discourse seeking to revive religious and national values. It will further question the role of the Islamist elites, and these elites’ overt and covert alliances with national/local actors in the production of new urban images within these cities.

## C4. VISUAL NARRATIVES AND TRADITIONS

### FRAMING CULTURAL NARRATIVES: VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF KUWAITI URBAN MODERNITY

*Asseel Al-Ragam*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### TECHNICS QUA TRADITION: ON STIEGLER, TECHNICS AS LEGITIMATOR, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT — AN EXCURSUS

*John Stallmeyer*

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

### TRADITION AS EVENT: IMAGINED PASTS IN ABU DHABI'S URBAN FORM

*Surajit Chakravarty*

*ALHOSN University, U.A.E.*

### FROM SITCOMS TO SNAPCHAT: THE EVOLUTION OF VISUAL HOME SPACE IN KUWAIT

*Shaikhah Almubarak*

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

### DRUK WHITE LOTUS SCHOOL AND HISTORIES OF SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE FILM *3 IDIOTS*

*Vandana Baweja*

*University of Florida, U.S.A.*

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### FRAMING CULTURAL NARRATIVES: VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF KUWAITI URBAN MODERNITY

*Asseel Al-Ragam*

Images selected to illustrate Kuwait's 1950s urban transformation, in both academic and popular publications, have reinforced the view that visual representations can reproduce or resist established socio-cultural narratives. The March 1957 issue of *Architectural Design* presented the transformation of Kuwait and other countries in the "Middle East" with images that romanticized a traditional urban vernacular and everyday life in the old city. Photographs of realized and proposed "modern" buildings were set against these images, framed to capture little of their urban context, but rather to highlight imported technologies and building techniques. Whereas the aerial photographs reproduced representations of the local "other" in the myriad clichéd settings of the old town, those that depicted the modern were empty of any signs of inhabitation. This selective framing limited the discussion to imported methods, values and aesthetics rather

than the ways these ideas were appropriated to fit the local context. Cultural hierarchies and socio-spatial divisions were, thus, reinforced.

The paper locates this reading within a much larger debate on the ways traditions are legitimated through different modes of representations, and the ways in which locals "speak back" against their authority. It argues that hegemonic narratives are regularly being negotiated today in everyday practices of living. As a result, they are constantly being produced and reproduced to meet growing challenges to their legitimacy. The paper uses images of Kuwaiti urban modernity, collected from various academic and popular sources, to support this argument.

### TECHNICS QUA TRADITION: ON STIEGLER, TECHNICS AS LEGITIMATOR, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT — AN EXCURSUS

*John Stallmeyer*

This paper considers the role of technics vis-à-vis tradition in the domain of the built environment. Drawing on a reading of Bernard Stiegler's *Technics and Time*, it argues that this role is multivalent: technics first as tradition, second as transmitter of tradition, and third as legitimator of tradition.

The paper begins by positing that tradition based on experience of the built environment is a memory constructed/recalled through physical engagement, an engagement that is always constituted through technics. This view follows Stiegler's argument that "civilization" is a technical state, a relation of technical forces, rather than cultural in the limited sense of moral, religious, artistic, scientific, or even political." This argument has important implications for our understanding of the built environment, because, as an important tangible artifact and instance of this "technical state," the built environment is a key transmitter of tradition. Drawing evidence from a historical analysis of the technics of representation, the paper explores the possible implications of ever-more-accurate technical representations of the built — and hence of the technical memory of the built. This has the potential to legitimate tradition in a way far removed from what Albert Borgmann would call its diectic discourse — that is, one whose meaning is dependent on the context in which it is used/embedded.

The paper shows that technics, as constitutive of civilization, the built, and therefore of tradition, alters our understanding of tradition as inscribed/circumscribed by the built environment as technical/traditional production. Furthermore, as technics increasingly allows the production of what Stiegler called the orthothetic (that is, "exact" forms of recording), it radically alters understanding of our present as well as our future, as informed by our apprehension of the past. As memories based on experience of the orthothetic become indistinguishable from those founded in memory of

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the physical, they are legitimized as tradition through technics. The orthothetic production/memory thus legitimates a tradition based not on primary memories but on technical memories — therefore valorizing the orthothetic production over the physical.

The meaning of technics qua traditions founded on such orthothetic memory construction/transmission/legitimation will have wide-ranging consequences for present and future built environments. Not the least of these is that they imply a trans-spatial human existence.

## TRADITION AS EVENT: IMAGINED PASTS IN ABU DHABI'S URBAN FORM

*Surajit Chakravarty*

Slavoj Žižek has described an “event” as a fundamental alteration of a framework for understanding a field — a disruption, not so much in the real world, as in the coordinates by which people are able to comprehend and navigate it. The invention of traditions in Abu Dhabi, and their utilization in the city's urban form, constitutes such an event, allowing the city to locate itself within various circuits of consumption, and extract legitimacy from them. In this effort — guided by a generalized desire for acceptance on the global stage — notions of “heritage” and “tradition” are attached to urban spaces that have little to do with the past of the society.

At one level, this process of sprinkling references to an imagined past appeases a constituency that worries about the loss of local culture and values. However, the widespread use of metonyms of tradition legitimates the increasing distance between the real and what Guy Debord referred to as the “spectacle.” In other words, the notions of “heritage” and “tradition” are invoked not simply to compensate for their lack, but rather to continue the very style of development that produces that lack in the first place.

This paper analyzes prominent architectural projects in Abu Dhabi — including the Louvre, Central Market, Sheikh Zayed Mosque, Heritage Village, Al Mina Port, Emirates Palace, and Masdar City — in order to trace gaps between allusions to tradition and the actual spaces created in its name. It argues that tradition shapes the narratives of urbanization and what Lefebvre referred to as the “conceived spaces” of the city, but not the form itself in a real sense. Tradition is an event in Abu Dhabi, in the sense that, although it is scarce, it is palpable as an anxiety or specter — a presence that is perceived from the reproduction of its lack.

## FROM SITCOMS TO SNAPCHAT: THE EVOLUTION OF VISUAL HOME SPACE IN KUWAIT

*Shaikhah Almubarak*

Film serves as an important medium for the analysis of Arab domestic space because it is able to pierce into the interior space of the family and allow a view that is otherwise guarded by silent walls. This paper traces the evolution of the cinematic home space and its social formulations as represented by a number of sitcoms produced in and about Kuwait, its neighborhoods, and family life in the period from 1964 to 1990. In so doing, it expresses the degree to which these televised articulations of the home used established traditions to reinforce particular nationalistic paradigms with specific assignments for each gender.

By the mid-twentieth century television had become a popular form of entertainment in Kuwait. Aware of the social and political influence of this new medium on the population, the newly founded Ministry of Information invited a number of Arab media experts to the country to produce local content. The state also took on the role of educator, and under this rubric, produced sitcoms with the themes of *tawhiyya* — i.e., to offer social and ethical lessons on how to live in a modernizing world. These portrayed images of the ideal modern Kuwaiti home, and described the place of the model wife, husband and child — each according to established, gendered, normative and prescribed roles.

After the Gulf War in 1991, the Kuwaiti Parliament took on a new conservative orientation, which affected the agenda of the Ministry of Information. For instance, many of the Arab experts, who had been evacuated, were replaced by Kuwaitis. New censorship laws emerged, and the ministry outsourced much of its projects to private companies.

With the emergence of the Internet in the 1990s, Kuwait's mediascape started to change. This transition away from Kuwaiti television stations reached its peak in the early 2000s when social media entered the scene through popular networking services such as Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, Instagram, and most recently the video-messaging application Snapchat. Snapchat, in particular, inspired a revolution in visual content, as many Kuwaitis began posting videos of themselves, in their home spaces, which include their living rooms, bedrooms, kitchens, and at times even their bathrooms. Here, I argue that Snapchat, in its function as a source of video content, challenges the state influence that was previously achieved through sitcom production.

Based on a study published in August 2015 by the Department of Statistics and Research at Kuwait University, 94.5 percent of Kuwait's population are today users of social media. The study also states that 92 percent of users depend less on traditional sources of media, such as newspapers, radio and television, as their main source of information than on social media. These statistics alone illuminate the degree



to which Kuwaiti television has lost its capacity to attract audiences — let alone determine their views.

Today, video applications such as Snapchat pose a great challenge to mainstream state-driven visual production, which has scrambled to reframe itself within a new paradigm. Not only does Snapchat unveil the “real” house, a sacred private space, previously inaccessible, but it presents new, less monitored values of the family and its home space.

## DRUK WHITE LOTUS SCHOOL AND HISTORIES OF SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE FILM *3 IDIOTS*

*Vandana Baweja*

The Bollywood blockbuster *3 Idiots* (2009) uses two buildings in India — the Indian Institute of Management (IIM, 1977–1985) in Bangalore and the Druk White Lotus School (DWLS, 1997–2015) in Ladakh — as symbolic settings for the unfolding of its narrative. Indeed, in certain respects, this narrative hinges around the transformation of architectural paradigms in India — from the high modernism of B.V. Doshi’s IIM to the sustainable design of Arup Associates’ DWLS. It also highlights arguments first articulated in such manifestos of appropriate technology as E.F. Schumacher’s *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as If People Mattered* (1973).

Specifically, the film uses the IIM building to represent the campus of one of India’s premier engineering colleges — named the Imperial College of Engineering (ICE) in the film, but loosely modeled on the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT). This paragon of Nehruvian modernity is shown in the film to have lost its original utopian promise of modernization, and is depicted as having become a dystopian, rote-learning machine, churning out unimaginative engineers who follow an East-to-West trajectory of emigration to the United States. Against the symbolic backdrop of the IIM and the DWLS, the film thus critiques India’s modernization goals, educational paradigms, and cultural relationship to the technologies of the developed world.

The paper further examines how the film critiques current architectural discourses in trade journals, which praise the DWLS as an example of sustainable architecture, providing a seamless synthesis of a mandala plan, local materials, and low-impact technologies. However, these trade journals fail to note that the genealogy of the DWLS can be traced to a number of postwar discourses: the Tropical Architecture of the 1950s, the counterculture of the 1960s, and the appreciation for appropriate technology of the 1970s. In this regard, *3 Idiots* gently remediates DWLS as a descendent of the appropriate-technology discourse, which has its roots in Gandhian philosophy.

## A5. URBANIZATION, TOURISM AND HERITAGE

### LEGITIMIZING THE RELEVANCE OF URBAN HERITAGE: STRATEGIES FOR ACTIVE PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL QUARTERS IN ARAB CITIES

*Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem and Gehan Selim*

*University of Wolverhampton and Queen’s University Belfast, U.K.*

### TRADITIONALLY PLACEWORTHY

*Lineu Castello and Leandro Forgiarini*

*Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil*

### RECONSTRUCTING URBAN HERITAGE IN DATONG

*Duanfang Lu*

*The University of Sydney, Australia*

### HERITAGE IN CIRCULATION: DELHI’S IMPERIAL CITIES REVISITED

*Shraddha Navalli*

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

### UNEARTHING THE TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLES THAT CREATE CITY FORM: THE HERITAGE CORE OF THE CITY OF THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA

*Binumol Tom and Suja Kartha*

*Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Technology, India*

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### LEGITIMIZING THE RELEVANCE OF URBAN HERITAGE: STRATEGIES FOR ACTIVE PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL QUARTERS IN ARAB CITIES

*Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem and Gehan Selim*

Traditional quarters represent a valuable cultural and economic asset in the contemporary city, for which conservation policies are developed. Between their urban fabric, architectural character, and human assets, traditional quarters are seen to exhibit distinctiveness and authenticity. What is typically and unjustifiably ignored, however, is that traditional quarters have never been frozen in time. Rather, they are the product of multilayered additions related to cultures, styles, and social and economic forces.

In the interest of preserving this history, policies in Arab cities have largely ignored the economic, industrial and spatial logic of old quarters, while focusing on the style of buildings as a way to create tourist attractions and preserve images of the past. This paper investigates the tendency to modernity that shaped the traditional quarters of the Arab city, and how best to integrate new buildings and new activities into the historic core of such cities to facilitate new economic and

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social possibilities for sustainable urban fabric. It argues that architectural practice and regulations in traditional quarters have become counterproductive and misleading. By locking traditional quarters in the past, limiting design options, and restricting building functions, these policies will have a damaging effect on the long-term survival of these quarters.

Through comparative analysis of long-term strategies for historical sites in European, Asian and Middle-Eastern cities, the paper makes the case for corrective actions to challenge the current approach to historical quarters in Arab cities. It envisages long-term strategies for traditional quarters that are self-sufficient and that will create active and self-sufficient economies, rather than static museums for touristic consumption. The paper concludes that only by being part a part of the active, everyday life of society may traditional quarters in Arab cities sustain their continuity and self-sufficiency.

## TRADITIONALLY PLACEWORTHY

*Lineu Castello and Leandro Forgiarini*

IASTE 24 opens with an ambiguous question: “What role does tradition play in legitimating practices that produce place-based or placeless built environments?” The authors have reason to believe that tradition does indeed play a strong role in legitimating practices influenced by place-based factors. Regarding specifically the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, at the southernmost part of the country and deeply rooted in traditionalism, one can observe a number of influential factors of a place-based nature. These are closely linked to the consolidation of regional traditions in an area known as *campanha* or pampas by its residents — who refer to themselves as *gaúchos*.

In this part of South America, the landscape is formed by wide, flat fields and distant horizons, low hills, moors, swamps and creeks — important elements of the so-called pampas biome. A typical tropical summer is temporarily eclipsed here by a harsh winter. Brazilians, as a rule, are used to legitimate practices they acknowledge as *gaúcho* traditions, intrinsically connected to the daily life experiences performed in *gaúcho* places. *Gaúcho* traditions, in turn, legitimate the socio-cultural construct of the “*gaúcho*,” recognized as a cultural biotype populating southern South America. The *gaúcho* is marked by traditions that manifest their legitimacy through palpably identified environmentally place-based features — trustworthy forms which recognize the social, cultural, and political milieu that called them into being: “placeworthy,” so to speak.

The paper is immersed theoretically in the study of everyday space, drawing on the work of philosophers and architects. It highlights Michel de Certeau’s emphasis on the morphology of practice (the logic of action). This stresses that what he called the “speech act” presupposes that mean-

ing, rather than being translated into discourse, is an act — which sanctions that the world be perceived not only as text, but also as texture. In architecture, the paper recalls Colin Rowe’s ideas about the possibilities for reconciling modern urbanism with the traditional city. Rowe and his team thus proposed the idea of contextualism, a conflation of context and texture — insinuating that what is at stake here is not texts but texture, not words but deeds. Texture legitimates the *gaúcho* tradition while it is experienced. In turn, the adequate method to experience texture is to live the space of everyday activities — places.

The paper brings together the cogitations of two researchers of different ages, each displaying different foundational backgrounds matured in different environments and at different times, but who were both raised and live in Rio Grande do Sul. The senior researcher’s background is urban. Raised in the city of Porto Alegre, the state capital, his perception of place is predominantly urban, and the place-based morphological features that validate traditions are, for him, intrinsically shaped by metropolitan patterns. The younger researcher was born and raised in a border town, Santana do Livramento, on the frontier between Brazil and Uruguay, where he was culturally immersed in the strong *gaúcho* tradition.

## RECONSTRUCTING URBAN HERITAGE IN DATONG

*Duanfang Lu*

This paper examines the process, politics and impact of urban heritage reconstruction in Datong, the second-largest city in Shanxi province, China. With a history of more than 2,400 years, Datong used to be a significant political, economic and military center in ancient north China. Boasting a series of splendid historic relics, such as the Huayan Monastery and the Yungang Grottoes, inherited from the prosperous days, Datong is also listed as one of the 24 famous historical cities in China. Yet, in the modern era, this aspect of the city was largely suppressed. Indeed, due to its large reserves of coal, it has mainly served as an energy base since 1949. Known as the “City of the Coal,” Datong thus remained one of the most polluted cities in China until six years ago. In recent years, however, the city has attempted to loosen its dependence on coal and develop other types of more environmentally friendly industry.

As a tourist destination, apart from the nearby historical site of Yungang Grottoes, Datong has a number of significant temples within the city itself. To further attract tourists, Geng Yanbo, the former mayor of Datong (2007-2013), launched a series of urban-heritage reconstruction projects, including rebuilding the city’s fourteenth-century Ming dynasty defensive wall. The large scale of these projects, the relocation of residents, and the reshaping of the local social ecology have made the program of reconstruction controversial. However, this paper examines how tradition was used to

legitimate this program within the larger context of China's rapid urbanization. It argues that local respect for tradition was a key factor that contributed to Geng's success in reconstructing urban heritage in Datong.

## HERITAGE IN CIRCULATION: DELHI'S IMPERIAL CITIES REVISITED

*Shraddha Navalli*

Shifting beyond the fixed interpretations of heritage in South-Asian cities, this paper gauges the contemporary legitimization of imperial pasts as Delhi's own past tradition, claiming a dynamic lexicon of a global heritage city in the twenty-first century. The nomination of Delhi as a UNESCO "World Heritage City" contested the default condition of twentieth-century planning in historic cities in India. However, this outcome never came to be. Less than one month before UNESCO was to review the nomination, in June 2015, the central government of India withdrew its own World Heritage City nomination.

In order to draw together the perspectives of local and international historians, grassroots heritage professionals, and state-government ministries, I examine the Nomination Dossier — a detailed report prepared, documented, analyzed and presented to UNESCO for review by the government of Delhi. The dossier represents, at a single site, outstanding examples of imperial planning, reflected in Delhi's last two imperial urban constructs — the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad (1639–49), and the British capital of New Delhi (1912–31) — which were built by their respective sovereign rulers at the height of their power and accomplishment. In this paper I articulate that heritage, as a global urban practice in Delhi, is being reinvented, imagined and legitimated through multiple registers of planning and urban contestation in a local and national context.

Nicholas Dirks (2011), writing on the colonization of the archive, examined the emergence of a new epistemic regime, in which the enterprise of textual scholarship was linked to the conventions of a British colonial sociology in India. Along these lines, I query the historiographies on which the readings of Delhi's imperial pasts were grounded and circulated in the dossier. According to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), the effect of tradition is frequently hidden in modern society. Yet, according to Shils (1981), it operates as the quiet voice of "rational, moral and cognitive actions." The dossier (rational, moral) represents the initiative of nominating past imperial capital cities of Delhi by a local heritage organization for the city's future identity (traditions). This means, among other things, the celebration of British colonial forms in Delhi by Indian heritage organizations under the World Heritage tag as its own imperial past traditions.

Building upon the key issue outlined in the conference theme — the role of tradition in legitimating practices that

produce place-based built environments — the paper approaches the intertwining role of heritage and cultural development as proxies of tradition in shaping built environments. The paper ultimately builds on two entangled questions. First, it explores the possibility of an urban itinerary where a grassroots movement relies on an international heritage framework to secure the pasts of Delhi. Second, it questions how the multiple historiographies of the city are entangled with the everyday cultural and social spaces of the capital city of Delhi.

## UNEARTHING THE TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLES THAT CREATE CITY FORM: THE HERITAGE CORE OF THE CITY OF THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA

*Binumul Tom and Suja Kartha*

The Indian state of Kerala is known as "God's Own Country," an area of the subcontinent boasting a rich treasure of heritage and its own traditional and vernacular architecture, evolved over the ages in close association with the local socio-cultural milieu. Universally, the built fabric of cities — and their dwellings, in particular — contribute to the distinctive character of landscapes. More importantly, they stand as concrete expressions of a complex interaction among culture, beliefs and norms; climatic and socioeconomic conditions; and the potential of a geographic location and the availability of natural materials. The historic core of the city of Thiruvananthapuram in Kerala, however, provides an exemplary case of such heritage at risk. It is today undergoing rapid transformation as a result of a great influx of tourists coming to see the world's wealthiest temple, that of Lord Sreepadmanabha, which is located there. At the same time, the growing demands of urbanization in this administrative capital are leading to insensitive metaphorical and physical transformation of the built and unbuilt environment to meet global trends.

The capital city of the state of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram is named after the serpent king, Anantha, on whom lies the reclining avatar of Lord Vishnu. The city evolved around its historic core, composed of the Sreepadmanabhaswamy temple, the palace complexes of *kshatriyas*, Brahmin settlements of *agraharam*, and the commercial spine, the Chalai. But the myriad of heritage values present in the city are today undergoing random change due to a cataclysmic breakdown in urbanism and architecture. Among these, the *agraharam* (Brahmin settlements) — a peculiar residential typology spread as eighteen agglomerations across the city — are undergoing particularly rapid transformation, creating a declining cultural layer that is detrimental to heritage value. Not only are they not protected by law, but they are also undergoing drastic changes in built form due to the random needs of modernization, new forms of urbanization, and emulation of modern architectural trends.

The primary contributors to urban distress have been outdated planning constraints, nonabidance with heritage-protection bylaws, conflicting uses of built and open spaces, incongruent economical activities, and socioeconomic and environmental change. Rejection of the past has been detrimental to the well-being of the city environment, resulting in contradiction and inappropriate use of built and open spaces. Isn't it time to address the underlying and timeless principles of our past to reinforce the present and generate a holistic vision for future cities that will make people and culture more resilient?

The paper will explore how tradition has acted as an agent of legitimation in the construction of particular forms within the built environment — from the scale of a single building to that of an entire settlement. With specific reference to the historic core of Thiruvananthapuram, it will also address the dichotomy of the metaphorical and physical transformation and urban continuum to create a paradigm shift in planning and management of the co-evolution of the city.

## B5. LEGITIMATION THROUGH PUBLIC SPACES

### BORROWING SPACE AND CONSTRUCTING TRADITIONS: FROM REAL DOHA TO REVOLUTIONARY CAIRO

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### TRADITION AND THE SPACES OF FINANCIALIZATION IN LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

*Tiago Castela*

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### THE MODERN LIFE OF BEDOUIN TRADITION: PUBLIC SPACES IN RIYADH

*Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas*

*Prince Sultan University, Saudi Arabia*

### THE KURDISH WAY: LEGITIMIZING NEOLIBERAL URBANISM AND ARTICULATING NATIONAL IDENTITY

*Muna Güvenç*

*University of Pittsburgh, U.S.A.*

### LEGITIMATING ENCLOSED "FREEDOM": THE CASE OF MOTHERS' PARADISE IN TEHRAN

*Shahrazad Shirvani*

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

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### BORROWING SPACE AND CONSTRUCTING TRADITIONS: FROM REAL DOHA TO REVOLUTIONARY CAIRO

*Ali A. Alraouf*

This paper interrogates the process of constructing traditions in relation to spatial practices in two Middle-Eastern cities, Cairo and Doha. Both cities recently experienced unprecedented processes: a revolution in the first and the construction of a spectacle in the second. The paper will focus on the concept of "borrowing city," which means the private use of public space to construct new traditions. Borrowing city is about defining, creating and exploring boundaries between three domains: the city, the people, and individuals. The paper will examine how borrowing city can be perceived as a tool for urban revitalization.

One motivation for juxtaposing Doha and Cairo is the relative pace of change in these two cities and its effect on the dynamics of urban image. Thus, the urban scene in Cairo is largely static, while Doha is fast becoming a massive construction site.

Since Qatar won the competition to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup, numerous huge projects have been initiated,

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resulting in a radical pace of change. Qatar's unique social, economic and demographic structure further suggests different forms of relation between city dwellers and public spaces. Socially, Doha can be seen as divided among three main groups. Local Qataris, according to the recent statistics, number around 300,000. The rest of population are expatriates, who may be divided into two categories: technical and high-caliber workers, and low-paid labor. The paper will investigate the contradictions between the forms of borrowing city characteristic of these groups. On the one hand, there is relative freedom in borrowing city in privatized and gated open spaces like Souq Waqif and the Pearl development (glamorous Doha). On the other, people in other parts of the city (real Doha) have been prevented from using public space to enhance urban vitality and create experiences that make the city more vibrant and alive.

In the case of Cairo, the paper will trace the change from borrowing to invading city spaces. Before the January 25th revolution, Cairo was characterized by spatial chaos. This could be seen in different contexts, but principally in the uncontrolled spread of informal settlements. Since the January 25th revolution, however, a new movement has arisen and been documented — moving from appropriating adjacent spaces to literally invading streets. As a result, new spatial and social traditions have emerged. For instance, street vendors misinterpreted the power of the revolution, and they now literally transcend claiming space to owning the city. Occupying crucial public spaces in Cairo (primarily Midan Al Tahrir) has thus produced a new pattern of city borrowing. The significant ramifications of the revolution are numerous, but demystifying the fear from police and security service is fundamental.

The paper will conclude by crystallizing a new understanding of spatial practices within radically different contexts — yet where both allow for new traditions to flourish and fresh patterns of spatial practices to emerge.

## TRADITION AND THE SPACES OF FINANCIALIZATION IN LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

*Tiago Castela*

This paper examines how discourses on tradition contributed to the legitimation of propertied citizenship in late-twentieth-century Portuguese cities. It does so by focusing on the role of tradition in the definition and diffusion of successive housing policies and practices by the state apparatus, from the dictatorships of Salazar and Caetano to the first decade of political democratization after 1974. The paper also contributes to the growing literature on the financialization of housing provision in contemporary European cities by noting that national regimes of housing cannot be understood as mere local variants in the frame of a dominant neoliberalization, characterized by a supposedly widespread experience of housing debt.

A historically informed perspective on the contingent formation of situated housing policies and practices of states can provide tools for prospective exercises regarding less unequal regimes of housing. The paper defends the view that the current hegemony of propertied citizenship in European states like Portugal or Spain, in contrast to a more diverse regime of housing provision in states such as Germany, demands attention to the role of power-laden discourses on tradition and homeownership, as well as to the disregarded plurality of modes of attaining housing property.

The paper first addresses texts and visual representations that cast homeownership as a tradition. These were mostly created by experts working for the state during the mid-century Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, within a project for the fostering of private freedom for Portuguese citizens in an authoritarian and imperial state. The paper then explores later materials (produced largely after the beginning of political democratization and the simultaneous end of empire) which focused on presenting homeownership as a normative mode of urban subjecthood. These often explicitly delegitimated the then-dominant lived tradition of being a renter in cities such as Lisbon. Created both by liberal and socialist authors in the frame of a celebration of urban development, such materials were arguably received in relation to widely diffused state propaganda campaigns associating an increase in spatial production with the construction of a new national order. The paper concludes with a reflection on how rearticulations of such discourses of tradition persist in present-day spaces of financialization in Portugal, and on how the state may collectively rethink its housing policies and urban planning strategies.

Materials addressed include speeches by politicians, official urban planning documents, scholarly essays on housing and on architecture, and newspaper articles, as well as visual representations of housing in press advertisements and in cinema. This research is part of an interdisciplinary project entitled "Inhabiting in Financial Times: Housing and the Production of Space in Democratic Portugal," undertaken at the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra.

## THE MODERN LIFE OF BEDOUIN TRADITION: PUBLIC SPACES IN RIYADH

*Margarita Gonzalez Cardenas*

In the Islamic city of Riyadh, where 90 percent of the urban fabric has been developed since the 1950s, public spaces such as sidewalks, squares and parks have been neglected. With reduced options for ways to spend their free time, Riyadh citizens have thus often been restricted to consuming instead of creating or producing. Considering their indoor quality, shopping malls have now become the main social space in the city, with their number now rising so that there is now one shopping mall for every 120,000 Riyadh residents

(or 3 percent of the population). By contrast, open urban spaces are disappearing, creating problems of obesity. The situation critically ignores the needs of a large percentage of Riyadh's population — young adults and children. As an indication of the size of this population, according to the Arriyadh Development Authority, the average age for all Saudis is eighteen years old.

Riyadh's local population was largely born from historically Bedouin families. Yet today traditional Bedouin outdoor activities may usually only be practiced in ignored city spaces, such as vacant plots or median strips. Indeed, the city does not offer spaces that legitimize such practices. Riyadh's residents have, however, been adapting the few urban spaces they have to traditional interactions, creating alternative ways to defy social restrictions. Through an analysis of open-space traditions in Bedouin society and its adjustment to the urban motor-age, this paper will try to explain how tradition is struggling to find a place both within private urban developments and public urban space. It will focus on specific situations, such as gender segregation, which has often been associated with Islamic religion, but which was not formerly practiced as it is today within by Bedouin culture.

The paper is based on a comparative field analysis of urban spaces at the metropolitan and neighborhood scales, in order to understand the differences between global Muslim practices and local Bedouin tradition. At the neighborhood scale, the paper will study three different examples of urban spaces to identify elements that enhance traditional Bedouin participation. A comparison between private, segregated spaces, pedestrian areas, and urban neighborhood parks will show how urban spaces that are connected and controlled by the community appear to be a legitimate way to modernize traditional Bedouin practices. As a conclusion, the paper will propose some ideas for regulating the construction of urban spaces in order to enable their form to facilitate modern Bedouin traditions, and therefore enforce the idea of local urban identity. This is critical at a time when a regional plan is expected to be implemented in the near future.

### THE KURDISH WAY: LEGITIMIZING NEOLIBERAL URBANISM AND ARTICULATING NATIONAL IDENTITY

*Muna Güvenç*

Since the early 2000s, Turkey's pro-Kurdish Party (the PDP, or People's Democratic Party) has successfully built powerful blocs of Kurdish supporters in many cities. PDP municipalities have not only brought public services to the cities, but they have also elevated Kurdish identity in every possible service they have established. Hence, a crucial factor in the success of the party has been its ability to use urban resources extensively, while bringing diverse local components — youth and women's organizations, unions, grassroots groups, chambers, and trades- and business-people — to-

gether. Using its municipal power, the pro-Kurdish party has established strong ties both with the Kurdish capitalist class, through lucrative contracts and business-friendly urban projects, and with the urban poor, through community-support centers, educational associations, and political centers associated with a new Kurdish national identity. Since the early 2000s, the party appears to have successfully merged elements of both Kurdish nationalism and neoliberalism in the city.

In this paper, I focus on the PDP's municipal governance in Diyarbakir, and I discuss how nationalism and neoliberalism have come to resonate with each other in the city. I explore how the politics of urban space has come to propagate the imaginaries of Kurdish nationhood in neoliberalizing Diyarbakir. In this vein, I examine the emergence of new urban policies in Kurdish cities of Turkey through a detailed analysis of a unique coupling of neoliberalism and nationalism. Focusing on diverse urban projects, I discuss the following questions: How do pro-Kurdish municipalities appropriate urban space to transmit a narrative that challenges the state's discourse on security, violence and identity? And how do pro-Kurdish municipalities creatively turn the conditions of state oppression and capitalist urban governance into opportunities for urban justice and the development of a new internationally recognized Kurdish identity?

### LEGITIMATING ENCLOSED "FREEDOM": THE CASE OF MOTHERS' PARADISE IN TEHRAN

*Shahrazad Shirvani*

This paper explores the emerging role of gender-exclusive urban public spaces in recent years in Tehran, the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran. From a comparative and historical perspective, the 1979 Islamic Revolution shifted the country from the secular, authoritative Pahlavi monarchy (1925–1979) to the Islamic Republic. And whereas the former regime engaged in de-Islamization to create a modern, secular nation-state, the Islamic government has endeavored to institutionalize religion. This paradigm shift has tremendously affected social life, particularly for women, and it has challenged such modern conceptions as leisure, recreation, entertainment, and "freedom" in the urban public realm.

The paper contributes to understanding the social and political role of women in activating everyday urban spaces as a form of silent resistance. It hence questions the legitimacy of "freedom" as an urban inquiry. It does so by analyzing the case of "Mothers' Paradise" (Behesht-e Mādarān) located in the heart of the city. Through an ethnographic study and by observations and interviews, it challenges a constant negotiation between "tradition" and "legitimacy" from the perspective of the conservative government and the gendered users of the park. It attempts to show how particular transformations of religious codes of behavior and public control by the mu-

nicipality have acted as agents of legitimation in the construction of a “space of exception,” where women are allowed to be unveiled.

The study further uncovers how traditions that relate to the production of such spaces have been used as tools of political and social legitimation. These are aimed at the construction of a form of national subject, identified as the “Iranian-Islamic woman.” From a theoretical perspective, the study employs the ideas of “make-believe” and “exception” — somewhere between the “real” and the “imaginary.” In this regard, freedom can be defined as a “threshold space,” a place between religious realities and modern global fantasies in the context of a religious authoritarian regime.

In conclusion, the paper argues that the case of a women’s park provides possibilities for social and political change that can ultimately result in new modes of governance at the grassroots level — a young civil society in formation.

## C5. TRADITION AND MEMORY

### KUWAIT ARCHITECTURE AND THE ART OF MEMORY ERASURE

*Mohammad AlJassar, Maryam Dashti, and Sura S. AlSabah*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### THE CEMETERIES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST AS TRADITIONAL URBAN LANDSCAPES: VALUES, THREATS AND STRATEGIES

*Mar Loren-Méndez*

*Seville University, Spain*

### EXTRACTING 3D DATA FROM 2D AERIAL IMAGES OF THE VANISHED 1951 KUWAIT CITY

*Abdulmuttaleb Ballam and Saad Al-Obaid*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### LEGITIMIZING THE THIRD WORLD, DECOLONIZING THE CITY: THE MUSEUM OF THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE IN BANDUNG, INDONESIA

*Rina Priyani*

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

### RECONSTRUCTING AHMADI’S MEMORIES

*Dana Alhasan*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

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### KUWAIT ARCHITECTURE AND THE ART OF MEMORY ERASURE

*Mohammad AlJassar, Maryam Dashti, and Sura S. AlSabah*

The implementation of the first master plan for Kuwait City in 1952 eradicated almost the entire historic city, leaving only a few hints of what was once described by Saba Shiber in *The Kuwait Urbanization* as one of the last intact vernacular Islamic towns in the first part of the twentieth century. The rationale at the time was to ease traffic congestion and rebuild the city on “scientific” grounds, so that, as a new nation, Kuwait might join the modern world. However, this urban “memory erasure” did not end with the flattening of old neighborhoods and their mud houses. It continues in contemporary times with the systematic demolition or alteration of significant early modern buildings, which, ironically, were once the pride of the newly established nation.

In recent years a group of activists has started to raise public awareness of the historical importance of certain buildings as part of the palimpsest narrative of Kuwait’s

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urban fabric. This has included the organization of public demonstrations in front of buildings before they are demolished. However, all efforts to save buildings have been in vain, leaving the observer baffled at this culture of demolition, and wondering if such concepts as urban permanence and collective architectural memory exist in a landscape of perpetual change.

This paper takes a closer look at the various forces that generate fertile ground for the systematic erasure of urban artifacts in Kuwait. It does so by examining the cases of several recently demolished buildings, their historic significance, and the official narratives given for their demise. The lack of appreciation for historic urban artifacts could be embedded in various dimensions of Kuwaiti society. The paper first traces the roots of the problem to as early as the 1920s, when new ideologies emerged challenging the accepted norms of society and promoting change as a way of progress. It then discusses the 1952 Master Plan and its subsequent government land-acquisition schemes, which ignited this culture of demolition. Finally, it brings the story up to recent times by describing the race for capital gains without consideration of the long-term impact of demolitions on the identity of the nation and memories of the site. This history reveals the creation of an atmosphere where change is viewed as progress and permanency is viewed as outmoded, which neglects the importance of urban artifacts as an anchor of Kuwait's history and culture.

## THE CEMETERIES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST AS TRADITIONAL URBAN LANDSCAPES: VALUES, THREATS AND STRATEGIES

*Mar Loren-Méndez*

Cemeteries are reflections of the societies they are a part of, and as such, they reproduce the history of cities and territories. This veritable catalogue of architectures, as described by Oriol Bohigas, is also (in ethnological terms) a place that congregates the rituals by which people recognize themselves as a community. In contrast to the rural settings of British cemeteries, cemeteries along the Mediterranean coast are part of an urban tradition. Cities reproducing cities, these burial grounds are structured with streets and squares to form an essential part of a traditional urban landscape. In fact, the commemoration of death can be seen as the very origin of these cities, the historic need to seek a permanent location for our forebears.

Anglo-Saxon tradition views cemeteries as parks, and thus incorporates them naturally into everyday life. Civil society defends their architecture of memory and closes ranks to defend them. In contrast, Mediterranean culture in Latin Europe pushes aside reminders of death and its built spaces: cemeteries are only visited for burials and commemoration, once it has become unavoidable. This cultural stance of denial regarding cemeteries has been reinforced by the general

and increasingly negative connotations taken on by death in modern times. As Jean Baudrillard wrote: “. . . death today is a form of delinquency, a deviation and an unthinkable anomaly.” Modern society ignores the architectures of death, given that death has become a social taboo, as described by Vovelle and Pérez Anaya. Therefore, how can a traditional architecture that provides a setting for a delegitimized activity be legitimized?

This paper focuses on the cemeteries of the Mediterranean coast of southern Spain, reflecting on their values, current condition, and risk of disappearance. Historically, these have been located in privileged locations at the inner periphery of tourist cities, and social rejection of any reminder of death only adds to the pressure on them as sites for real estate speculation. Despite their immense value as testimonies of Mediterranean society and its best traditional architecture, the fact that very few of these cemeteries are protected, and that many of them are under threat from new urban plans, is extremely worrying. Is it legitimate to legalize the destruction of collective memory?

This research reflects on the processes of historic and contemporary legitimization and (de)legitimization. The fascination of the romantic traveler and international prominence through exhibitions and publications confirm the value cemeteries have been awarded outside Spain. Their attractive location makes town councils, which operate in the framework of the urbanizing processes of the tourist coastline, into their worst enemies. All these factors inevitably lead to programmed abandonment, transformation, and, above all, disappearance. The study also describes the limited scope of municipal and regional protections for these popular cemeteries compared to that which applies to more monumental ones. This makes it essential to carry out actions to increase awareness and participation among citizens in order to counter the defenselessness of these traditional urban landscapes against private and public economic interests.

## EXTRACTING 3D DATA FROM 2D AERIAL IMAGES OF THE VANISHED 1951 KUWAIT CITY

*Abdulmuttaleb Ballam and Saad Al-Obaid*

Aerial images can reveal valuable data about vanished architectural and urban environments. In 1951 Hunting Aerial Surveys Company (HAC) captured the most accurate and clear aerial images of the later-demolished vernacular central area of Kuwait City. At a time when most such aerial photography was done in a low-resolution manner, the al-Wasat (middle) area of old Kuwait City was recorded with a relatively high-resolution black-and-white image. Through such imaging one can recognize today the differences between voids and masses, the divisions between rooms, the lengths and angles of shadows, the items on roofs and in courtyards, and people and cars on the streets. On the other hand, no scientific historical research

has been conducted on this image, in spite of the rich data that it contains regarding the vanished vernacular environment.

The aim of this research is to extract three-dimensional data hidden within the two-dimensional HAC aerial image of Kuwait City's middle area. The goal is to determine the area's approximate massing, the heights of walls and parapets, the number of divisions within recognized masses, the location of borderlines between different properties, and the position of stairs to roof and *liwans* (colonnaded canopies) around courtyards.

The method of research involved individually investigating different aspects of the aerial image. The depths and angles of shadows were analyzed to determine the heights of building masses. Intensities of grayness in the image were observed to differentiate masses from voids. Significant, long shadows from roof parapets were noted to pinpoint potential borderlines between residential properties. And the outcome of each aspect was inserted into a unified BIM file to reconstruct a reliable primitive 3D digital model of middle Kuwait City during the 1950s.

The historical value of this research rests on the fact that it has generated the only close representation of the vanished 1951 vernacular center area of Kuwait City. Architecturally, it revealed arrangements, distributions and characteristics of masses and voids in the city's 1950s vernacular architecture, previously unknown to scholars. Significantly, similar methods of research may also now be applied to extract 3D architectural data from other 2D aerial images of vanished urban environments. In general, the research fits within the overall conference theme, because the 3D digital model exposes how tradition legitimated the construction of Kuwait City during the 1950s.

## LEGITIMIZING THE THIRD WORLD, DECOLONIZING THE CITY: THE MUSEUM OF THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE IN BANDUNG, INDONESIA

Rina Priyani

The year 2015 marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Afro-Asian (or Asian-African) Conference in Bandung, Indonesia. The aim of the conference, according to Gayatri Spivak (1999, p.375), was "to establish a third way, neither with the Eastern nor within the Western bloc in the World System." In the opening address, President Sukarno of Indonesia stated, "This is the first intercontinental conference of colored people in the history of mankind." In all, 29 states attended this first large-scale meeting of colored states, which was initiated by five newly independent nations: Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. During the sixtieth-anniversary celebrations, the city exhibited memories of the 1955 conference through images of intellectual and national leaders, their itineraries, and its reverberation. In this way, it visualized Vijay Prashad's *The Darker Nations* (2007).

This paper aims to situate ideas of the 1955 Bandung spirit with its site. How did the city of Bandung prepare for this event so soon after Indonesia had attained its independence? In what ways was the built environment made to represent the sentiment of anti-colonialism and anti-racism — even as the conference was held in former Dutch colonial buildings? Finally, how was this event, and the spirit of the "third way," been memorialized in the city in the years since?

The paper interrogates two major architectural transformations related to the siting of Bandung conference. First was its appropriation in 1954–1955 of the elite Dutch clubhouse (Sociëteit Concordia — renamed Gedung Merdeka, "the Independence Building") as the conference venue. Second was the establishment of the Museum of the Afro-Asian Conference at a similar site in 1980. The first rupture marked a transitional period from late Dutch-colonial rule to Japanese occupation, and then to early Indonesian independence. The second represented the break from Sukarno's Old Order to Suharto's New Order. Through archival research and oral history, I trace tensions between abandonment of the site and state violence at the time of each rupture. Framed by the notion of the Third World and decolonization, I argue that practices of naming and architectural preservation have worked side by side with the erasure of memory to legitimate new regimes of power.

## RECONSTRUCTING AHMADI'S MEMORIES

Dana Alhasan

As a colonial town growing in parallel to Kuwait's expanding historical capital, Al-Ahmadi owes its roots to the establishment of the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC), an influx of British and American planners and architects, and the company-town prototype. Its urban planning and architecture was an emblem of modernity. Primarily attributed to the English firm of Wilson and Mason, it included several places worthy of note, from the striking Ahmadi Cinema to the English Colonial style of the East Ahmadi Market.

Following the independence of Kuwait in 1961 and the pan-Arab movement, Al-Ahmadi underwent a noticeable shift in its political stance and socioeconomic makeup. The previously Western-dominated population left, leaving many of its urban artifacts to fall into disrepair and disuse. In 2009, however, a media-driven protest over the planned demolition of the Ahmadi Market sparked the interest of key figures within governmental circles. Armed with the ambiguous Law of Antiquities of 1960, professional individuals banded together to preserve and rehabilitate parts of the historic structure, in an effort to highlight the not-so-distant memory of the city.

While Al-Ahmadi residents and those who had been alive during the market's heyday lamented its crumbling legacy, a critical question remains to be asked. Whose

memory is being preserved? Is it that of the locals? Or is it a constructed figment rooted in socio-political interests of the nation at large?

This paper explores the effect of collective remembrance on the preservation of the East Ahmadi Market, an effort spearheaded by the National Council for Culture, Arts, and Letters (NCCAL), whose responsibilities include the safeguarding of modern heritage. By tracking the motivations of the involved stakeholders from the private and public sectors, and by sorting through the public policies, legal frameworks, and bureaucratic hurdles, the paper seeks to understand whose memory is critical for historic preservation. The findings will help uncover the intentions surrounding the future of the market in the often elusive process of heritage preservation in a modern Arab nation.

## A6. CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION OF HERITAGE

### LEGITIMATING TRADITION THROUGH EVOLVING HERITAGE PRACTICES

*Montira Horayangura Unakul*  
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### REGULATING TRADITION, FOSTERING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE: THE MASTER CRAFTSMEN PROGRAM IN BRAZIL

*Leonardo Castriota*  
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### LEGITIMIZING TRADITION IN QATAR: THE CASE OF OLD DOHA — PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

*Djamel Boussaa*  
*Qatar University, Qatar*

### GOVERNANCE OF HISTORIC QUARTERS IN ARAB STATES: CURRENT AND FUTURE TRENDS

*Remah Gharib*  
*Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar*

### REVIEWING POLICIES ON DEMOLITION OF HISTORIC COLONIAL AND INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE IN PORT-HARCOURT, NIGERIA

*Warebi Gabriel Brisibe*  
*Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Nigeria*

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### LEGITIMATING TRADITION THROUGH EVOLVING HERITAGE PRACTICES

*Montira Horayangura Unakul*

Within heritage circles, at least rhetorically, there is growing acceptance that traditional knowledge systems can contribute to improving conservation and management outcomes for heritage. However, the challenge still remains: within the top-down, formal planning approaches that are now institutionalized in many countries, how can the space be (re-)created to allow these systems to be applied?

Because heritage sites are considered to be public goods, and the state is the de facto protector of public goods in the legal context of the modern nation state, the sobering reality in most countries is that heritage-site management is now firmly the domain of the state. National and local government agencies are empowered to wield regulatory instruments to protect heritage sites, sometimes from the very inhabitants who make up the social fabric of the site. The mainstream practice of

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heritage conservation is still dominated by a small corps of educated elites who style themselves as heritage-management “experts.” Given the entrenched nature of top-down approaches to heritage conservation, it remains a challenge to create hybrid management systems where local knowledge-bearers and the traditional knowledge systems that they embody can have a meaningful role in safeguarding cultural heritage.

The role of such traditional knowledge-bearers is increasingly at risk, as formal heritage practice and regulatory frameworks expand from classical monuments into “emerging” areas such as vernacular architecture, cultural landscapes, and living-heritage sites. The widening understanding and valorization of heritage in its diverse forms is encouraging and signals a shift from the restricted scope of heritage as tangible relics of the “*ancien régime*” — palaces, temples, and so forth. Yet, as formal heritage regulations and professional heritage workers move into these new realms, it is becoming clear that most existing regulations are not designed, nor are many of the professionals trained, to deal with these more dynamic and multilayered forms of heritage. Moreover, there is a very real danger that the formalization of practice in dealing with these other forms of heritage may represent a further “crowding out” of traditional knowledge-bearers, who already see a diminished role in the areas of heritage that have already been subsumed by laws, regulations and protocols.

What then should be the response from the heritage profession? Should we be striving to find more clever and balanced ways to combine formal and informal/customary management practices? Or should we acknowledge that there are simply some forms of heritage that are best left to their customary custodians, without well-intended but clumsy external meddling? If the latter, is this *laissez-faire* strategy appropriate in contexts where heritage is threatened by forces beyond the control of traditional heritage stewards? And, if so, what kinds of external support may be necessary and appropriate? Moreover, when traditional knowledge is deployed in the exercise of heritage management, does this constitute in itself a form of legitimating tradition? And how does this “indigenous” legitimacy compare to the legitimacy conferred by state-driven recognition and management of heritage?

## REGULATING TRADITION, FOSTERING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE: THE MASTER CRAFTSMEN PROGRAM IN BRAZIL

*Leonardo Castriota*

To foster “intangible cultural heritage” (the living cultural practices, expressions, and knowledge systems that provide meaning to communities) UNESCO has requested that each state identify and define such heritage within its territory. According to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, this must be done with

the participation of communities, groups and NGOs, and by drawing up, and regularly updating, inventories of intangible cultural heritage.

To meet this requirement, IPHAN (the Brazilian federal heritage agency), in collaboration with the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), has been developing since 2010 an ambitious project called “*Mestres Artífices*” (“Master Craftsmen”). This program will document the traditional building techniques of Brazilian architecture, while identifying so-called “master craftsmen” — individuals who are holders of this traditional knowledge. Toward this end, a team has been using the “National Inventory of Cultural References,” a research methodology developed by IPHAN, which aims to “to produce knowledge about the areas of social life to which individuals assign meanings and values, and that constitute, therefore, the milestones and identity references to any particular social group.”

Using as a case study the experience of the implementation of this project in Brazil, this paper aims to go beyond the question of the registration of intangible heritage, to discuss the challenge of preserving traditional building techniques. For this purpose, it will first review various programs around the world that aim to foster traditional techniques and crafts. Among these are the ones run by the DENSAN Association, established in 1975 in Japan, whose mission is to create new assets through Japanese traditional crafts and international culture, and to transmit Japanese cultural and traditional crafting to the next generation. Another example is the Living National Treasure (人間国宝) Program, which has been led since the 1950s by the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, also in Japan. In Europe, the discussion will concentrate on the French program, based on its Japanese counterpart, and run by the Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, that gives the title of “*Maitre d’Art*” to individuals recognized by their peers for their experience, expertise and teaching skills.

In the Brazilian case, after analyzing the process of inventoring, the paper will focus on the current discussion of alternatives for preserving this important know-how — considering, among other options, the consequences of accreditation and certification by the Brazilian federal government of holders of traditional knowledge.

## LEGITIMIZING TRADITION IN QATAR: THE CASE OF OLD DOHA — PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

*Djamel Boussaa*

Qatar was founded on December 18, 1878, and the country’s independence was proclaimed on September 3, 1971. Today the country features a rich cultural heritage, including historic centers, forts, palaces and mosques. Doha, the capital city, home to about 80 percent of the population, is also well known for its shopping and tourist activities, and over

the last decade, the city has been the main destination for family tourism, especially its main heritage landmark, Souk Waqif. In recent years Doha has undergone a period of large-scale development to meet an increasing need for housing, education facilities, and shopping areas. Buildings in various international styles can now be found there, especially in its West Bay.

The catalyst for Qatar's development was the discovery of oil in 1939 and the beginning of its export in 1949. Large areas had to be prepared for this purpose, and eventually bulldozers wiped away several areas, such as old Sata, which contained significant historical buildings. Today alien high-rise towers and environments have replaced these historical areas and buildings, greatly mitigating the cultural identity of the city.

Surviving Qatari cultural heritage has many values. It symbolizes centuries of cultural tradition, and it exhibits local technology used by artisans. It also sustains the culture of its inhabitants and represents a living heritage inhabited by previous generations. Yet, despite its role in preserving identity, this cultural heritage was largely ignored for about four decades by decision-makers and the larger community. A great number of historic buildings and areas have thus disappeared.

Following a period of threat and vanishing urban heritage, the government started to legitimize parts of what remained, and a law was established in May 1980 to conserve what was left of Qatar's cultural heritage. Despite its selective and piecemeal approach, conservation has since started to gain attention in planning and urban design. Cultural heritage, with its physical, aesthetic, cultural, and socio-economic aspects, has started to be legitimized. But even when it is conserved, it is rarely integrated within short, medium or long-term frameworks of urban development. While great efforts are made to conserve single monuments, historic districts apart from Souk Waqif and Msheireb remain neglected, marginalized, and regarded as slums for low-income migrant workers.

This paper attempts to understand the different approaches taken to legitimize tradition and cultural heritage in Qatar, with a particular focus on Doha. The question asked is why some areas are considered "heritage," while others, which include many significant buildings, are not so designated. The paper concludes that the remaining cultural heritage, which is "rare" in Qatar, should be conserved and seen as a catalyst for preserving the city's cultural identity and promoting sustainable urban regeneration.

## GOVERNANCE OF HISTORIC QUARTERS IN ARAB STATES: CURRENT AND FUTURE TRENDS

*Remah Gharib*

This paper explores the current practices for preserving and governing historic quarters in integration with their social attributes. It attempts to reveal the relationship in the Arab world between governance models used in urban heritage management systems and urban design principles.

Governments follow different systems within Arab states. This paper will present several case studies of these systems to clarify various possibilities. In light of the frequently inefficient governance of historic quarters, it is important to seek a better model that can progress and evolve to secure and manage built heritage. Historic quarters emerged according to specific past governance models, yet these models have changed through time, while the old urban fabric has mostly remained static. The dilemma resides in which factor should adjust the other. Should the current governance model change to reflect current reality? Or is it the unchanged urban fabric that requires a different model? The fact is that people and places are the fundamental forces needed to generate a cohesive society, while current governance models are far from adequate to achieve this objective.

The study follows an explorative research methodology addressing the concepts of decentralizing responsibilities for preservation, transferring governance from central to local agencies. Thus it highlights the implications of neoliberal practices toward the management and governance of historic quarters in the Arab World. The paper concludes by presenting a governing framework suitable for the Arab states that promotes neoliberalism through localized partnerships and by empowering communities.

## REVIEWING POLICIES ON DEMOLITION OF HISTORIC COLONIAL AND INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURE IN PORT-HARCOURT, NIGERIA

*Warebi Gabriel Brisibe*

Many historic and traditional sites in countries across the world are being lost due to a perceived lack of value. Nigeria is no exception. This study pursues this view through a study of the city of Port-Harcourt, in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, which was founded in 1912 by British colonial authorities. The study focuses on two typologies of architecture found within the Port-Harcourt metropolis. The first consists of building types found in the former European quarters, now known as the old Government Reserved Area (GRA). These include residences, offices, churches, industrial buildings, and courthouses built between 1912 and 1960 by the colonial administrators. The second type consists of buildings in the former indigenous-workers' area south of

the European quarters, and area known as old Port-Harcourt town within the Port-Harcourt Local Government Council. This second typology is predominantly residential in nature.

These two sets of structures combine to constitute a large part of the history, traditions, and material culture of the city. However, in recent times several of the sites where these buildings are located have either been retrofitted or purchased by private developers and demolished to make way for new structures. This raises the question of value for history and tradition and the effectiveness of the building-conservation policies and the criteria for listing buildings in Nigeria.

The paper examines building-conservation policies in Nigeria and their implementation, with specific reference to historic colonial architecture and indigenous traditional architecture. It examines the criteria and terms of reference used for listing buildings and discrepancies in the implementation of these criteria, as observed through the issuance of approvals for redevelopment of such sites.

The study employed a reconnaissance survey of existing sites. Secondary data on approved redevelopments on such sites were then obtained from the issuing municipal and planning authorities. Based on the findings, the paper argues for the need to legitimize tradition and history by reviewing current conservation policies and implementation methods. It also reveals how legal measures have facilitated the destruction of such historic and traditional built forms, with negative consequences for Nigeria.

## B6. SPECIOUS LEGITIMATIONS AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

### DETOURS: A HUMANIST PERSPECTIVE ON ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

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### DECONSTRUCTING THE LINEAR: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIES AS MULTIDISCIPLINARY PROCESSES RATHER THAN SINGULAR OBJECTS

*Howayda Al-Harithy*

*American University of Beirut, Lebanon*

### IMAGINING PLACE IN ECOLOGICAL HISTORIES OF ARCHITECTURE

*Vandana Baweja*

*University of Florida, U.S.A.*

### TRANS-MISSION: THE POTENTIAL OF MEDIA STUDIES TO RECALIBRATE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

*Shundana Yusaf*

*University of Utah, U.S.A.*

### MULTICHANNEL AUTHORSHIP AS HISTORIOGRAPHIC OPPORTUNITY: THE CASE OF THE OTTOMAN RAILWAY NETWORK

*Peter Christensen*

*University of Rochester, U.S.A.*

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### DETOURS: A HUMANIST PERSPECTIVE ON ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*

In 1325 a young Moroccan left his home in Tangiers and headed to Mecca to complete the Muslim pilgrimage of *hajj*. In addition to visiting the holiest sites of Islam, Ibn Battuta would travel 750,000 miles across three continents all the way to China in a journey that lasted more than thirty years. In his travels, Ibn Battuta saw grand mosques, stayed at rest houses built for traders and pilgrims along the Silk Road to India, and marveled at the magnificent palaces of the most powerful Muslim rulers of his time. When he reached Jerusalem in 1326, he described the Dome of the Rock as “the most marvelous of buildings, of the most perfect in architecture and strangest in shape.” In his journeys, Ibn Battuta had to contend with strangeness and similarity, camaraderie and antagonism, intimacy and separation. Many of these reckonings were comprehended and mediated through the built environments that Ibn Battuta traversed. Architecture was at once language, shelter,

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artistry, infrastructure, a route to transcendence, and often the means of sheer survival for this medieval pilgrim.

My presentation will begin with a brief architectural history excerpted through the lens of medieval pilgrimage. I will then use this to launch a discussion on the concepts of ethics and hospitality as submitted by poststructuralist thinkers such as Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida. These twentieth-century philosophers have asked what our responsibilities are toward strangers, and what we owe as individuals toward our own and other communities and nations — and, by extension, our planet at large. In doing so, I press for a reimagination of architectural history as part of a larger humanist project that encourages a critical rethinking of the self and the other, difference and similarity, borders and boundaries.

### DECONSTRUCTING THE LINEAR: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIES AS MULTIDISCIPLINARY PROCESSES RATHER THAN SINGULAR OBJECTS

*Howayda Al-Harithy*

There are many questions that one confronts when operating from the so-called “margins.” How to make architectural history relevant to “design” students? How to make architectural history of the region relevant given the Eurocentric narrative? How to integrate regional history without falling into the Orientalist trap of “Islamic” architecture, the otherness of the Western and non-Western binary, or the nationalistic alternative view?

This intervention looks into ways in which regional architectural history could be presented to undergraduate students in design as an integral part of their education and as a relevant point of departure for their future practice as designers — as a process that informs their contemporary debates rather than a distant product of an irrelevant past. It positions itself outside Western, nationalist and global art history, for these discourses fall short of answering adequately to the questions of concern. The Western art-historical model operates through the notion of center and periphery, which has embedded in it a problematic hierarchical and referential relationship to the center. The national frames cultural production from a political bias and singular construct. And the horizontal approach of the global dilutes local specificity.

The answer may be in deconstructing the linear and product-oriented understanding of art history, which that was focused on understanding the “Western modern” as an outgrowth of the Renaissance in Italy, which was in turn based on a rediscovery of Greco-Roman antiquity. This timeline is presented as the predominant narrative to which all the rest is tangential. The answer lies in alternative histories that are nonlinear and that do not posit Western modernization as the focal point and reference. The departure point would be a focus on process, not product — a process that is approached from a multidisciplinary frame that liberates stu-

dents from a history of objects, and that liberates the objects from the stigma of their style and period.

### IMAGINING PLACE IN ECOLOGICAL HISTORIES OF ARCHITECTURE

*Vandana Baweja*

Histories of architecture from an ecological perspective can provide us with methods that facilitate writing architectural histories beyond the “Western” and “non-Western” divide. Canonical histories of architecture define places based on the disciplinary definitions created by the area-studies model. Thus, place as an entity of investigation is determined by competing and shifting parameters, such as cultural regions, linguistic boundaries, and political borders — empires, monarchical states, city-states, and nation-states. One way of challenging the hegemony of the area-studies model that has resulted in the creation of “Western” and “non-Western” histories of architecture is to depart from politically and linguistically defined places to think about place as defined by ecological actors. Using an ecological definition of place as a heuristic vantage point to investigate architecture and urban formations can provide methods that challenge Euro-centric histories.

### TRANS-MISSION: THE POTENTIAL OF MEDIA STUDIES TO RECALIBRATE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

*Shundana Yusaf*

Architectural history in the past half a century has made great strides to become inclusive. Marxist and feminist concerns have introduced new sets of questions; queer and racial analyses, like area studies, have expanded the historian’s field of view; and attention to vernacular settlements has required entirely new methodologies. All these shifts and expansions have refined our ability to satisfactorily explain the world through the lens of the built environment. Yet, they have done little to decolonize, quite appropriately, the structure of the discipline. All its institutions remain caught up in the tacit and explicit belief in the civilizational superiority of the industrialized world, technological optimism, and Eurocentric narratives of development, Western meritocracy, and democracy as representative. The hiring practices, categories of specializations, networks of association, publication outlets, and undergraduate and graduate course offerings that serve as the gateway into the discipline of architectural history are still largely organized around a tacit understanding of center and periphery. While the experience of modernity of the vast majority of cultures has to be qualified, located and temporalized as a unique instance, that of the industrial West stands not only as the standard against which all else is measured but as normative and universal. While a survey of Latin American architecture would be praised as expanding

the canon, even its author would not deem it appropriate as the sole text for a survey on modern architecture. Nevertheless, Alan Colquhoun's "white" *Modern Architecture* is taught precisely as that.

### MULTICHANNEL AUTHORSHIP AS HISTORIOGRAPHIC OPPORTUNITY: THE CASE OF THE OTTOMAN RAILWAY NETWORK

*Peter Christensen*

This paper will examine the opportunities that the digital humanities afford with regard to the creation of new types of evidence in the study of architecture and architectural history, which may serve to unseat monolithic ideas of authorship established by the Western canon. The paper will demonstrate this opportunity through an instructive case study: the architecture of the Ottoman railway network and the buildings designed by the railway network's German engineers. These works, funded by German capital investment, proved to be a site of immense artistic synthesis comprising a multilayered system of authorship.

Generic, prefabricated building plans, modeled on the German *Heimatstil* and designed by German architects in Frankfurt, were, in the earlier years of the network's development, deployed to remote sites within the empire and adapted *in situ* by Ottoman laborers. German engineers implementing these designs, supervising an ever-shifting multiethnic labor force, did their best to reconcile the generic blueprints with the specific work site. Meanwhile, the laborers reviewed the blueprints, performing their own form of reconciliation. By virtue of their own notions of what a building should look like, the laborers brought to these buildings their own circumscribed authorial "fingerprints." A latter period was then marked by a deliberate attempt by German architects to design in an Islamic, rather than German style. While the process of inflection by the laborers and engineers remains, the formula for what constitutes an "appropriated" architecture consequently shifted from being inductive to deductive.

In this paper I support documentary observations and archival material with a sophisticated digital analysis of 3D scans. Through a process of algorithmically comparing 3D scans of Ottoman railway stations, I posit a new way of understanding the production of serially made cultural artifacts in architectural, social and economic history. The project reasserts the authorial roles of those people like low-level laborers who may index multichannel authorships, by identifying the subtle differences they made against the Platonic models outlined in the hegemonic plans of German origin. Through this case study, I outline a new way that digital technology can help reveal multiple forms of authorship in transnational and non-Western contexts where the lack of conventional archival records not only presents epistemological challenges but also serves to reinforce Western evidentiary practices.

## C6. STRUGGLES OF TRADITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

### SPACES FOR REVIVING TRADITION

*Jawaher Al-Bader*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

### LEGITIMATING MODERNITY IN LOCAL TRADITION: THE ARCHITECTURAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTHEAST CHINA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

*Jing Zheng and Yuan Yining*

*Wuhan University, China*

### SPACE AS LEGITIMATING TRADITION: EXPLORING SPATIAL STRUCTURE IN MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY CAIRENE DWELLINGS

*Mostafa A-Y. Ibraheem*

*Cairo University, Egypt*

### A NEW APPROACH TO COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DESIGN ESTABLISHED BY THE TRADITIONS OF PAST GENERATIONS

*Abdullah Almohaisen*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

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### SPACES FOR REVIVING TRADITION

*Jawaher Al-Bader*

Social practices mold space (Lefebvre 1991), and space in turn influences the form of social practices. Given the relatively long time ahead of them and their potential openness to new ideas and practices, young people are positioned to take the lead, whether in the relegitimation of tradition or in its delegitimation. Meanwhile, the traditional dynamic of Kuwait's communities has today been lost, largely as a result of the mass demolition of Kuwait's traditional architecture and spatial forms. The organic spaces that formerly nurtured communities' traditional interactions have been replaced with preplanned asphalt highways and regimented rectangular plots. In an attempt to rediscover what remains of traditional spaces in Kuwait, this paper uses spatial ethnography to explore the pop-up market culture of the region.

With the discovery of oil in the 1940s, Kuwait was transformed within the span of a few years from a small mud city with people who depended on the sea and desert for their livelihood to an international globalized metropolis. Today the citizens of Kuwait live comfortably, supported by their government through free education, free healthcare, and monthly food subsidies. On the downside, many traditional familial roles have been eroded, along with organically de-

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veloped spatial patterns such as pathways and courtyards. These changes have weakened the bonds between the generations. Familial and social relations have become increasingly mediated through foreign domestic workers as well as by social media and technology. And social roles and duties are being practiced less out of a sense of obligation than for the sake of maintaining a good social image.

Tradition in Kuwait is mostly represented nowadays through such occasions as the National Day celebrations and the religious holidays. But these occasions have become less appealing among young people. Young Kuwaitis — those born in the 1990s — are thus seen by their elders as an estranged generation: they live in homes where they are surrounded by non-Kuwaiti domestic workers; they are educated by expatriates at their schools; and they frequently choose to study in foreign universities. Seen in this light, this generation cannot be credited with a deep understanding of Kuwait's social and cultural traditions and heritage. How, then, can they develop an active sense of community and revive traditions that have been absent for so long?

Perhaps an answer may be found in the pop-up markets and events that have become regular sites of commercial and social exchange between young Kuwaitis. Suddenly, an intersection between a major highway and a road leading into Bneider, a 45-minute car drive from the city, may be transformed into a venue for celebration, where young people engage in forms of socialization that have a certain affinity with traditional types of social interaction. These “neotraditional” exchanges represent a fresh alternative to the compulsive repetition of hackneyed social scripts by the young. In response to the absence of public spaces for self-expression, a younger generation of Kuwaitis is creating alternative spaces, platforms where they can create and practice new traditions that resonate with their current lives.

## LEGITIMATING MODERNITY IN LOCAL TRADITION: THE ARCHITECTURAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTHEAST CHINA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

*Jing Zheng and Yuan Yining*

During the twentieth century waves of architectural exploration took place not only in colonial cities but also in rural areas in southeast China. In many coastal villages, global mobilization brought active exchanges of new ideas, materials, and structural possibilities. Today the results of these architectural explorations are considered to be local tradition and cultural heritage. Less than a century ago, however, attempts to bring “modernity” into “traditional” settlements were considered a threat to local communities. Most of these explorations were led by *huaqiao*, villagers who had worked overseas and subsequently returned home with great fortunes. In subsequent years they successfully introduced such modern ideas to their villages as paved roads, drainage,

multistory structures, materials (such as concrete, glass, etc.), and facilities (such as the flush toilet).

Initially, new architectural forms and processes were fiercely contested within the conservative community. For example, in the case of Weijiang village, *huaqiao* were compelled to resort to a series of social strategies to legitimate them. Among other things, this involved transforming themselves into a new local elite and becoming actively involved in local welfare, in such areas as education and health care. After achieving this new social status within the community, they planned a “new village” next to the original settlement and applied modern planning and architectural ideas to its design and construction. The last step in legitimating the new tradition was to establish an association to introduce and advocate the new ideas. This led to the generation of construction regulations and their inscription on stone stele at the entrance to the “new village.”

This paper will look at overseas-Chinese architectural influences in rural China during the twentieth century. By examining case studies, it will try to answer the question of how and why traditions are legitimized, and in what circumstances.

## SPACE AS LEGITIMATING TRADITION: EXPLORING SPATIAL STRUCTURE IN MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY CAIRENE DWELLINGS

*Mostafa A-Y. Ibraheem*

During the early and mid-twentieth century, following Western exposure and intervention, two locations in the city of Cairo experienced tremendous urban and architectural development. Downtown Cairo became the first area of modern intervention. As a complement to the adjacent urban fabric and architecture of medieval Cairo, it came to house a newly emergent middle-income educated social group. But Heliopolis was another area of intervention. It represented an attempt to create a new institutionalized settlement away from the traditional city core, which could house different levels of the transforming society. Although the Heliopolis master plan represented a foreign intervention, it seemed to address the indigenous population more in terms of style and form. Yet, in a new Oriental guise, it intentionally tried to revive the traditional spirit of Cairo in terms of form, style, and use of space.

Newly emergent spatial structures in both locations, set alongside traditional models, provokes this intriguing question: Can space legitimate tradition? This paper attempts to rigorously explore the extent to which space imbues traditional traits. To what extent does space legitimate tradition?

The research set out to empirically investigate and compare sample mid-twentieth-century dwellings from downtown Cairo and Heliopolis against traditional seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cairene dwellings. Its goal was to assess the degree to which tradition was maintained in

the spatial structure of the Cairene dwelling unit. Utilizing spatial-analysis techniques, its result was to show that spatial patterns and priorities of socio-spatial practices were relatively maintained. The paper presents an outline of differences, however, and discusses the implications of possible foreign influence upon tradition.

### A NEW APPROACH TO COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DESIGN ESTABLISHED BY THE TRADITIONS OF PAST GENERATIONS

*Abdullah Almohaisen*

The search for order in the planning and design of built environments always places man within both a cultural and environmental context. This paper studies an approach to the planning and design of a housing community in the Arabian Gulf region that fosters a return to a value system endorsed by the tradition of past generations. It thus reveals how the relation between tradition and the built environment may be legitimated.

The paper focuses on both the cultural values of a community as well as physical and environmental factors. The illustrated approach is applied to the planning and design of a new government housing community in the Sharq Al-Saif area, which has great historical significance and is located near the seafront in Kuwait City. It will illustrate how tradition can act as a legitimating factor in the creation of a harmonious and suitable housing community that meets contemporary living requirements and standards in the Arabian Gulf region.

In this case study, the planning of the community and the design of its housing units are based on an order derived from the traditions of Kuwaiti and Islamic towns. The planning and design of this community were developed from these traditions by adopting their geometric principles and linking these with unity of purpose. The power of tradition in the construction of this community lies in this method of planning and design as well as in the creation of neighborhoods of housing units, shaded alleys, gathering places, and a central market, or “souq.” Moreover, the project took into consideration the contextual and the climatic factors of the region.

Most contemporary architects, urban designers, and city planners neglect to incorporate tradition as a factor in their planning and design. The result is a built environment with little harmony or suitability to the local culture and physical environment. The purpose of this study is to encourage professionals in the region to recognize and endorse the value of tradition as a legitimating factor in the construction of present and future built environments.

## A7. LEGITIMIZING THE VERNACULAR

### HANOK SCHOOLS IN SOUTH KOREA: LEGITIMATING TRADITIONS OF KOREAN HOUSES THROUGH EDUCATION

*Jieheerah Yun*

*Hongik University, South Korea*

### ARCHITECTURE AS MECHANISM FOR LEGITIMATING TRADITION: EXAMPLES OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE MODERN GULF

*Nadia Mounajjed*

*Abu Dhabi University, U.A.E.*

### AUTHENTICATING TRADITION IN WEST TEXAS

*Joe Aranha*

*Texas Tech University, U.S.A.*

### “A SHOWER FROM THE SKY”: LEGITIMATING VERNACULAR BUILT ENVIRONMENTS IN IRELAND

*Barry O’Reilly*

*Oxford Brookes University, U.K.*

### TRADITION’S LEGITIMACY: THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL VERNACULAR PROCESS AND ITS ROLE IN ARCHITECTURAL DIDACTICS

*Pedro Marques de Abreu*

*Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal*

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### HANOK SCHOOLS IN SOUTH KOREA: LEGITIMATING TRADITIONS OF KOREAN HOUSES THROUGH EDUCATION

*Jieheerah Yun*

This paper discusses the process of legitimating Korean traditional houses, referred to as *hanoks* — a word which can be translated as “Korean-style houses” or “houses of Koreans.” In particular, it examines the pedagogy of educational institutions known as *hanok* schools, and how they function to legitimize Korean traditional houses. There are two types of *hanok* schools. One is private, in which the instructors are primarily master carpenters who specialize in the restoration of cultural heritage such as *hanoks*. The other is associated with accredited universities, including Korean National University of Cultural Heritage, established in 2001 by the Cultural Heritage Administration. Graduates of both types of *hanok* school learn about restoration of historic *hanoks* and construction of new *hanoks*.

*Hanoks* started to gain prominence on the contemporary South Korean architectural scene as the result of the rising

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popularity of alternative lifestyles. Indeed, living in a remodeled *hanok* rather than in a high-rise apartment is now quite fashionable. Although many consider *hanok* an architectural category, however, it is also an anthropological one, since the term was invented in the late nineteenth century to distinguish Korean houses from *yang-ok*, or Western-style ones. In fact, its invention as a separate category was deeply rooted in the modern nation-building process, which began as early as the late nineteenth century. And *hanoks* have since gone through many stages of adaptation and hybridization, so that the distinction between *hanok* and *yang-ok* has become increasingly blurred.

Although such a process of change is inevitable in all forms of vernacular houses, the case of the *hanok* is unique, since many city governments in South Korea, including the one in Seoul, have embarked on ambitious efforts to provide financial assistance to the restoration or construction of officially recognized *hanoks*. And where the question of establishing boundaries around the definition of a *hanok* was once only a matter of academic interest for historians and folklorists, it is now a political and administrative problem. Currently, elite literati houses with tiled roofs are considered a legitimate form of *hanok*. Meanwhile, many other types of Korean vernacular houses are not officially acknowledged as *hanoks* by experts, since they look very different from historical *hanoks*, which employ preindustrial construction methods.

The paper analyzes the role of *hanok* schools in legitimating building practices associated with *hanoks*. Although there are many different forms of legitimization, the educational curriculum prepared by architectural scholars and carpenters provides a powerful tool, since its goal is to turn out experts who will participate in the future production of *hanoks*. Rather than relying solely on texts on *hanoks* to understand the process of legitimization, the paper uses ethnographic methods along with media analysis to understand the complexity of this legitimization process. The researcher visited and conducted interviews with instructors and students of various *hanok* schools in South Korea. Out of twenty-five private *hanok* schools, fourteen were analyzed, and all five *hanok* schools associated with accredited universities were likewise analyzed.

## ARCHITECTURE AS MECHANISM FOR LEGITIMATING TRADITION: EXAMPLES OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE MODERN GULF

*Nadia Mounajjed*

Architecture, by its very nature, is a situated process determined by a specific location and a socio-cultural context. In the modern Gulf, tradition has played a major role in legitimating, maintaining and securing existing or imagined socio-political constructs. Particularly in the last few decades, many projects, in order to be legitimate, have been conceived

on the basis of tradition, where a building needs to reinstate a dialogue with the social, historical and ideological context in which it is produced and lived.

Thus, to practice architecture in the Gulf is to elaborate such an environment that governs social interaction, modern sensibilities, and local traditions. In this context, the architectural production of the Arabian Peninsula has been focused on the integration of tradition and modernity. And, particularly in the case of public buildings, architecture has frequently acted as a mechanism for legitimating tradition — where the integration of traditional elements in modern buildings is believed to bring more value, and to be perceived as more authentic and relevant.

This fascinating question of how to modernize while sustaining the legitimacy of tradition is examined here. The paper will look at how tradition has acted as an agent of legitimization in the construction of public buildings in the Gulf region. A number of case studies were identified from the public realm of the Gulf, including the Great Mosque of Riyadh, the Qatar National Museum, the Bahrain National Museum, and the Kuwait National Museums and Public Library. The paper will explore the different processes that went into the conception and expression of these buildings. It will then examine whether a certain form of tradition may have been used as a tool to legitimize a narrative or an identity.

While tradition and modernity have often been (perhaps wrongly) positioned as polar opposites, the paper will propose a more intricate relationship, in which the analogy between the traditional and the modern forms the basis of an ideology for the built environment, and both are converted into ambitions for a more “legitimate architecture.”

## AUTHENTICATING TRADITION IN WEST TEXAS

*Joe Aranha*

This paper critically interrogates building “traditions” created and influenced by institutions, and examines these traditions in the context of local regionalism and architectural authenticity. Institutions, particularly academic ones in the United States, put a lot of time and resources into developing traditions. In the context of this larger discourse, the paper focuses on the specific development and promotion of architectural tradition. It presents a case study and a critical evaluation of the architectural traditions on the campus of Texas Tech University.

The first part of the paper briefly introduces the regional context by providing relevant examples of vernacular buildings in West Texas. The paper then describes the development of architectural traditions at Texas Tech University. When the campus was established in the early 1920s, a style which came to be known as Spanish Renaissance was adopted for its first buildings. This style involved the use of brick facades, arches, and carved stone ornamentation. Since that



time, this approach to building, along with typical, accompanying architectural details, formerly carved from stone, have been mandated for all buildings on the campus, whether they be laboratories, sports arenas, dormitories, or even a parking garage. The idea has been to create a harmonious built environment with a distinctive architectural expression.

While the university sees its continued use of the architectural elements connected with its chosen architectural style as “identity” and as “tradition,” and alumni and donors view it with nostalgia, the author will argue that this practice raises many questions about architectural authenticity in terms of institutionally driven architectural tradition. The paper describes several buildings and recent architectural interventions on the campus, and critically discusses them in terms of important architectural issues, such as their environmental response to the climatic and ecology of the region, the integration of building envelope and interior activities, the quality of their public spaces, and their approach to sustainability.

### “A SHOWER FROM THE SKY”: LEGITIMATING VERNACULAR BUILT ENVIRONMENTS IN IRELAND

*Barry O’Reilly*

In Ireland the role of the traditional built environment is not well understood, and tends to be undermined by questions concerning the legitimacy of nucleated settlement. This condition reflects a polarization between advocates of dispersed housing and those who promote living in towns and villages. In popular discourse, dispersed housing embodies an antipathy to the “alien” authority represented by the urban. A second point of contention is that dispersed housing is commonly held to be the authentic, and thus legitimate, traditional settlement form. Proponents of this view openly delegitimize the body of research, undertaken since the 1930s, that shows that nucleated vernacular settlement was, and continues to be, a significant component of Ireland’s settlement pattern. Government guidelines for the Republic, produced as recently as 2005, associate nucleated settlement with western, Irish-speaking counties, thus negating the work of cultural historians, and at the same time delegitimizing such settlements elsewhere.

Some local authorities have recognized the cultural value of particular vernacular ensembles, but no local or state authority, north or south, accommodates vernacular settlements within its definition of settlement hierarchy for planning- or settlement-policy purposes. The result is that vernacular settlements are delegitimized through being officially written out of the settlement pattern. Development plans in the Republic mention clustering, and propose infill within existing clusters as a development-control strategy, but without considering the potential cultural significance of older clusters. The challenge is how best to approach the con-

servation and transformation of such settlements, based on an understanding of their traditional nature and legitimacy.

There is also a widespread perception, even among scholars, that vernacular settlements are “formless,” in contrast with more obviously “designed” settlements. Much of the discourse assumes that “order” legitimates the built environment. Thus, it was written of Achill Island in 1839 that the villages consisted of “a congeries [pile] of hovels thrown indiscriminately together, as if they fell in a shower from the sky.” And a noted geographer wrote that “the absence of a discernible plan as compared with many English or German villages has led visiting critics to regard [the Irish settlements] as a reflection of the disordered Irish mentality.” The policy of governments and landlords from the nineteenth century onward was to break up clustered settlements, especially in western Ireland, and to reorganize the human landscape. The concern, often well-intentioned, was to produce order from the chaotic, and thus legitimacy from the illegitimate. An example of this mentality involved the Claddagh, Galway. Declared an “unhealthy area,” this large and iconic vernacular settlement was replaced in the 1930s-40s. Nominally a slum-clearance scheme, the project also served to delegitimize what had been an autonomous suburb, with a firm rejection of the many calls for preservation of at least part of the old settlement.

The concept of “formlessness,” the perceived alien-ness of nondispersed settlement, an emphasis on reordering settlement, and confused official policies have long served to delegitimize a substantial part of the vernacular built environment in Ireland and, by extension, the traditions within which they are rooted.

### TRADITION’S LEGITIMACY: THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL VERNACULAR PROCESS AND ITS ROLE IN ARCHITECTURAL DIDACTICS

*Pedro Marques de Abreu*

It is my belief that tradition is the sole mode by which to learn and make architecture. The flawed alternative is ideology. Traditional vernacular architecture results from the slow sedimentation of successful dwelling experiences. Initially, one builds a dwelling, and if such a space corresponds to expectations — facilitating “dwelling” in the Heideggerian sense — then the form of the space will be mimicked by the following generation. If, however, that place does not fulfill expectations, its form will be abandoned, and new efforts will emerge to produce alternative forms in the future. Tradition is, therefore, a highly critical process in spite of its lack of erudition, in the sense that it selects and preserves successes. This thoroughly critical process, which constitutes the core of tradition, justifies the quality of its products.

Such a process depends on two characteristics. First, traditional architecture is consistent over time. Thus, it



aims at the essence of architecture: its dwelling quality (Heidegger), its hearty welcome (Levinas), the aspiration for harmony between humans and their environment. One may further presume that the concrete forms of dwelling-correspondent experience have hardly changed over time, considering the continued appreciation for past places. Second, the design process of traditional vernacular architecture is artisanal (Jones). This means that there is no intermediate entity (usually a drawing) between dwelling intention and dwelling experience. One builds something and then immediately assesses if the intended experience really happens. Dwelling experience can thus be improved during the actual process of building. If something does not work properly — the height of a ceiling or the width of a window — it can be changed. Tradition in architecture, therefore, becomes a relentless process toward perfecting architectural correspondence.

The alternative to tradition is ideology — for instance, the modernist ideology that reigned over architecture's theory and practice during the whole twentieth century. Ideology (Arendt) also departs from corresponding experiences, but it does not go straight to the process of building. In between, occurs a process of abstraction, wherein the experience is reduced, through rationalization, to a principle, a precept, an idea. Architectural design, then, becomes something like a formula. From that idea an aggressive logic is applied, encompassing all questions that may emerge. Still, the initial idea is never put to the test by actual dwelling expectation. The justification of results is a matter of the strength of the logic. As a result, ideology always implies a reduction of human expectations to something comprehensible and manageable. Dwelling is, however, a complex matter. It has too many factors of correspondence to be able to be fully reproduced through a train of logic (that is what makes architecture something more than a technique, something poetical). The final result of that trend is dramatically illustrated by events like the destruction of the Pruitt-Igoe housing complex in St. Louis.

The purpose of this paper will be to highlight the critical process of tradition, and its advantages in architecture in comparison to more or less veiled ideological processes.

## B7. PLANNING, LEGITIMATION AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

### AGAINST TRADITION: BUILDING FOR WOMEN'S PROFESSIONAL LEGITIMACY

*Ipek Tureli*

*McGill University, Canada*

### "OFF-PLANNING": THE ILLEGITIMATE TRADITION THAT LEGITIMIZES LATIN AMERICA AS URBAN DISCOURSE

*Diana Maldonado*

*Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico*

### THE BRAZILIAN FAVELA OF TELEGRAFO AND SOME VARIANTS OF SELF-HELP HOUSING IN THE POST-NEOLIBERAL CITY

*Ana Rosa Chagas Cavalcanti*

*Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands*

### THE TRADITION OF AESTHETIC GOVERNMENTALITY IN PRESERVATION PRACTICE AND THE MID-CENTURY SUBDIVISION

*Clare Robinson*

*University of Arizona, U.S.A.*

### THE GREAT GARUDA AND SPECTACULAR VISIONS OF THE ARCHIPELAGIC NATION

*Matt Wade*

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

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### AGAINST TRADITION: BUILDING FOR WOMEN'S PROFESSIONAL LEGITIMACY

*Ipek Tureli*

This paper examines the contributions of women missionaries in commissioning significant educational buildings for women, specifically in the area of medicine. It proposes including missionaries in the history of socially engaged architecture.

At a time when it was still unwelcome for American women to train as doctors, women missionaries convinced their trustees to establish medical schools abroad, in the Ottoman Empire, India and China, to train local women as health professionals. What was their motivation and impact? The first rationale was that women professionals were necessary to save heathen women. The Boston-based American Woman's Board of Missions founded the Constantinople Woman's College in 1890. Its medical department was opened in 1920, and the Boston firm of Shepley, Ruten and Coolidge was commissioned to design the Bingham Medical

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Building. Schools for women had existed in the Ottoman Empire long before the arrival of American missionaries, and Ottoman women had access to medical education at Istanbul University by the 1890s. But it was college-level education for women, segregated by gender, that American missionaries introduced for the first time. In their minds, medical education for women was an important part of the movement for woman's suffrage.

Based on a reading of missionary literature, publications, newsletters and correspondence, and the Bingham building itself, I argue that not only did the missionary women enable a path to professionalization for their fellow American women, but they also managed to legitimize the presence of medical education for women at home. Initial evidence is that the special circumstances of their hosts may have created more receptive conditions for women's professionalization than in the U.S. Missionary schools were constituted by locally driven change, and, as such, acted as independent cultural agents. Therefore, missionary women were not simply conduits of (American) "empire" but significant actors; they instigated social change not only by teaching, but also by commissioning buildings.

## "OFF-PLANNING": THE ILLEGITIMATE TRADITION THAT LEGITIMIZES LATIN AMERICA AS URBAN DISCOURSE

*Diana Maldonado*

"Society has been completely urbanized." This statement by Henri Lefebvre defines the spatial organization of hypermodern Latin America. The consequences of planetary urbanization have been approached from many disciplines; however, conventional city theories rarely consider the "new traditions" of the Latin American urban question. As quantitative processes, these theories prioritize the number of inhabitants to determine national and global levels of urbanization and types of settlements. But they are based on empirical approaches that rank "the city" as the traditional idea of urbanization. From this perspective, the evolution of urban theory is diminished, as is its practical application in terms of facing the challenges of a dominant, unplanned urban fabric. Contemporary metropolises or agglomeration areas require flexible and complex systems of tools and ways of thinking/action based on a holistic spatial theory (on/off planning traditions).

According to the statistics, South America has 634 million inhabitants, approximately 80 percent of whom reside in urbanized areas. Yet, as a result of inequality, 190 million of these urban dwellers live in informal settlements. Although integration projects have been considered for this population (e.g., "superblocks," serial housing, habitat production by participation processes, public spaces, and architectural artifact as public space), in reality "outside settlements" exist largely in parallel to "inside planned areas," and "illegitimate" tradi-

tions act as instruments of urban legitimation. Hence, this paper argues that if we turn off the city-planning relationship, and remap the spatial traditions of urban areas, it may be possible to create a new urban theory beyond cityism, unveiling "outside" settlements as the planetary unit of urban analysis.

Outside settlements are, actually, the result of a legitimation/delegitimation system of cultural and spatial traditions. Thus, the relegitimation of the off-planned geography implies a critical analysis of urban dynamics as well as professional and political actions toward inside/outside/inside. In other words, it is necessary to create a new urban theory from "the outside urban areas," to cancel the "inside zones" (the city as a unit of analysis).

Using examples from Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, I propose the theoretical concept of "off-planning," through which four hypotheses emerge from the borders of traditional urban theory: 1) "outside" settlements as the new flexible urban form; 2) post-maps as tools to rethink the idea of "city"; 3) hyper-hybridity as the contemporary urban condition; and 4) putting the other urbanization first to reverse the history of Latin America. This assemblage represents the initial step in a long-term process of building another kind of engagement with urban reality. Only by means of "off-planning" will it be possible to legitimate Latin-American urban structure as one of the discourses needed to face up to planetary urbanization.

## THE BRAZILIAN FAVELA OF TELEGRAFO AND SOME VARIANTS OF SELF-HELP HOUSING IN THE POST-NEOLIBERAL CITY

*Ana Rosa Chagas Cavalcanti*

In the present age, the dynamics of labor reside in the city, making the city an important asset in post-neoliberal society. Today, the central portions of urban areas host both the services and the networks that create systems of labor. But the indisputable trend of population migration to cities raises economic questions that have overwhelmed current strategies urban planners use to address inequality in urban space. It is under this umbrella that some traditional "self-help housing" practices of the unprivileged couple with the economic limitations of a city.

This paper explores some economic assumptions about the limitation of the "housing system" for the unprivileged. First, those who live in rural areas earn around ten times less than those who live in urban areas. Second, inhabitants who live in a rural setting see migration to the city as their best hope for better opportunities, as the city harbors the need for labor and services. Third, cities are faced with general economic limitations when it comes to providing housing for all, leading to a condition in which informal dwelling is a permanent and legitimate right.

The paper examines housing access for unprivileged families related to both the economic and planning domains.

To close the gap between shelter and income, some favor economic proposals. These range from “affordable rent” to forms of “self-help planning,” notably “incremental housing” and “installment construction.” Self-help is likewise seen as a “universal tool,” nowadays considered in the policies of almost every developing country.

The paper presents ethnographic research conducted in the Favela do Telegrafo (Maceió, Brazil), focused on how the existent “self-help tradition” of *favelas* may be being both “learned” and “consumed” by the neoliberal “housing system.” Many questions associated with economic processes in *favelas* are related to a tendency toward commodification in Brazilian cities. Moreover, their inhabitants’ economic profiles are varied. Thus, for example, an inhabitant may be a squatter or a tenant, or squatting can be a business venture or other form of semi-squatting.

The aim of the paper is both to collect and discuss general economic questions related to self-help housing design by overlapping traditional existent practices in the *favelas* with the context of neoliberal cities. It aims to contribute to the discussion of the “housing question” by suggesting new ways for architects to think about a housing system that stems from the existent context of informal dwelling.

## THE TRADITION OF AESTHETIC GOVERNMENTALITY IN PRESERVATION PRACTICE AND THE MID-CENTURY SUBDIVISION

*Clare Robinson*

Pueblo Gardens in Tucson, Arizona, was among the first modern, postwar subdivisions in the United States. Bankrolled by the builder Del Webb in 1948, the young architect A. Quincy Jones transformed what would have been a standard FHA-approved development into a mid-century-modern neighborhood. The neighborhood is now among several hundred sites being considered by preservationists for inclusion in a citywide preservation plan. However, cursory windshield surveys and talk among preservation advocates have now rendered the neighborhood and Jones’s design work an unlikely candidate for conservation. Given the extensive material changes to Pueblo Gardens’ former distinctive character, this initial assessment may be accurate. But the assessment raises questions about the interpretation of modern architecture and the preservation of such subdivisions when they are transformed into more ethnically diverse neighborhoods.

The original homes of Pueblo Gardens had floor-to-ceiling windows, private outdoor patios, open floor plans, as well as low-sloped roofs and carports. Jones introduced the appearance of variety by rotating houses on each plot, applying a variety of paint colors to more than one cladding system, planted hedgerows that crossed property lines, and introducing novel exterior spaces for family life. To sell the com-

munity and the modest homes in it, photographers crafted images of families of white, middle-class appearance enjoying the benefits of a modern future, plate glass, and outdoor living. However, in the years since, the demographic makeup of Pueblo Gardens has changed significantly, and alterations to its houses by homeowners and landlords point to new social and ethnic realities in the neighborhood. Gone are many of the floor-to-ceiling plate-glass windows and hedgerows; in their place are casement windows, security bars, and chain-link fences.

The archival research and fieldwork presented in this paper uses the white, middle-class aesthetic of postwar modern architecture — understood through original advertising, deed restrictions, preservation practice, and recent scholarship — to challenge the efficacy of preservation practice in socially and economically diverse neighborhoods, where “whiteness” is not only a matter of separation and exclusion but also deeply connected to aesthetic interpretation. Although the majority of the structures studied here are sympathetic to Jones’s groundbreaking design, few retain enough original materials to satisfy preservationists, and many more have added features characteristic of poor, working-class, ethnic neighborhoods.

The paper thus argues that the criteria for preservation, which currently depends upon the visual and social hegemony of the mid-century, misunderstands Jones’s initial approach to modern tract-home design, which celebrated average, inexpensive materials, and which ignored the social and economic realities of the subdivision. Pueblo Gardens may be ineligible for conservation, but its very ineligibility raises important questions about the aesthetic governmentality of preservation practice, especially in historically significant yet socially and economically diverse mid-century subdivisions.

## THE GREAT GARUDA AND SPECTACULAR VISIONS OF THE ARCHIPELAGIC NATION

*Matt Wade*

In the late 2000s, faced with frequent flooding and land subsidence in northern areas of Jakarta, a plan emerged to construct a deep-water dike across the Bay of Jakarta to protect the city from rising sea levels. After it failed to launch as a public-works project, in 2012 this massive infrastructure project was reimagined as a private real estate development, an enlargement of plans for seventeen new islands along Jakarta’s north coast. The new plan embedded the massive dike in a much larger system of privately developed islands — an artificial archipelago in the shape of the Garuda, a mythological Hindu eagle that is Indonesia’s national emblem.

Once sketched (in watercolor, by a Dutch landscape architect), the Great Garuda concept spread within the development agencies in Jakarta, and new renderings, plans and studies began to circulate across the desks of bureau-

crats, almost magically becoming recognized as the path to Jakarta's future. In the new combination of dike and private-island development (as a catch-all urban intervention), the project, however, spilled far beyond its initial goal of water management. The plan came to embody visions of Indonesian national emergence, Jakarta as a global city, and the seductive dream of an elite and orderly waterfront. Most of all, the Great Garuda caught the imaginations of city-builders through utopic visions of renewal, connecting Jakarta's future to the history, peoples and traditions of Indonesia through a powerful symbology.

In the contemporary form of spectacular real estate development, the Great Garuda came to stand for Indonesia's particular vision of national identity. It redeployed the "archipelagic concept" utilized by President Suharto's New Order regime; this had imagined the precolonial origins of national identity as derived across a diversity of islands, traditions, and ethnic identities — all united, not separated, by water. It likewise evoked Suharto's Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, a theme park in South Jakarta that presents the nation as a sampling of ethnic groups through cultural artifacts and architectures. These are located in a lake, on plots shaped like the country's major islands.

Unlike the mimetic production of the archipelago as a miniaturized territory in Taman Mini, the Great Garuda would, however, confer notions of nation and tradition through metonymy. Specifically, this would entail a symbolic continuity between the "traditional" and the elite, private enclaves and global architectural designs to be built on the new islands. The Great Garuda would produce a vision of rupture and renewal, a distinct future for the nation, "a new face for Jakarta," and a "gateway to the world." And it would be possible to see it, taking flight from the coast of North Jakarta, just like the Palm Islands of Dubai. In this manner, the symbolism of the archipelago-Garuda would extend the nation from its current space and time into a more pristine future, where it would be recognizable not only in terms of a domestic archipelagic habitus, but also by the global gaze upon its spectacular architecture.

## C7. HOUSE FORM AND TRADITION

### HOUSING POWER: LOG CONSTRUCTION ON THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, 1879–1940

*Brent Sturlaugson*

*University of Kentucky, U.S.A.*

### THE LEGITIMACY OF CONTEMPORARY TRANSFORMATION: THE HENG HOUSE AS A TRADITIONAL HAKKA COURTYARD HOUSE

*Guo Xiao Wei*

*National University of Singapore, Singapore*

### ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE TYPOLOGY IN A CHANGING SOCIETY: THE LANDLORD'S MANOR IN GONGYI, CHINA

*Xiao Liu*

*The University of Hong Kong, China*

### OLD AND NEW FORMS OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE: THE AWARD-WINNING GREEK-CYPRIOT HOUSE

*Christakis Chatzichristou*

*University of Cyprus, Cyprus*

### A FUTURE VISION FOR THE MULTIUSE HOUSE IN KUWAIT: BETWEEN ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION

*Sura S. AlSabah*

*Kuwait University, Kuwait*

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### HOUSING POWER: LOG CONSTRUCTION ON THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, 1879–1940

*Brent Sturlaugson*

In the nineteenth century, unsettled lands west of the Mississippi River posed many challenges to establishing a stable state; among these were managing territory and controlling populations. As a growing industrial capitalist economy, the United States sought legitimacy from these resources in order to produce value, a process that required individualized labor. However, explanations of value-production from this period often discounted, if they did not neglect, the role of American Indians. Moreover, these accounts lacked detail as to the mechanisms through which the state sought to assert itself on American Indian reservations. This paper attempts to bridge these gaps by explaining how the federal government exercised power in reservation communities, and what mechanisms it employed to enable this power. Specifically, it explores the material history of housing on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota to illuminate how

relations of power were made and remade in the early reservation period, thereby legitimating a tradition of settlement.

Evidence depicting the construction of log houses on Pine Ridge spans decades, beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and continuing into the mid-twentieth century. Early statistical data shows that Pine Ridge residents built their own houses, and agency reports later depicted a variety of methods by which construction proceeded. In this paper, I argue that log houses created state subjects, ensured health, induced industry, and reproduced relations of production on Pine Ridge. By foregrounding housing, this strategy also emphasizes the enduring effects of space in reservation politics. Politics, in other words, is made legible through the spaces it creates; I thus argue that housing registers political activity on Pine Ridge. Methodologically, I analyze rhetoric found in government publications in relation to archival evidence from Pine Ridge during the early stages of settler colonialism. Defined as a structure, not an event, settler colonialism offers a framework for thinking about how this structure is built.

In particular, I examine the materiality of traditional environments in delivering state interests — drawing from Michel Foucault's ideas of biopower and governmentality, Pierre Bourdieu's articulation of habitus, and James C. Scott's analysis of legibility in state practices. Based on a synthetic reading of these theorists, I understand power as circulating through land and housing on Pine Ridge. To this extent, I propose housing power as a conceptual framework for understanding the imbrication of space and politics. Housing power thus refers not only to the institutional framework that governs housing development, but also to the material qualities that enable the transmission of political interests.

### THE LEGITIMACY OF CONTEMPORARY TRANSFORMATION: THE HENG HOUSE AS A TRADITIONAL HAKKA COURTYARD HOUSE

*Guo Xiao Wei*

Architectural type is a form of traditional knowledge internalized within a society. This paper will engage forensically with the legitimacy of the traditional type and the concepts of tradition and modernity, type and model. It does so through the lens of a single building. Located in Meixian, Guangdong province, in the heart of the Hakka countryside, the Heng House is a three-story, modern structure built in 2010 by a seventy-year-old owner as a transformation of the model of the traditional Hakka courtyard house. Fabricated in concrete and glass, the house at first appears to offer little resonance with ideas of tradition or the Hakka courtyard house. However, its floor plan, geometry, interior configuration, and typological ideology reveal a number of threads of connection with the traditional model. In fact, it provides a blending of the traditional Hakka courtyard typology with modern construction techniques. Designed by a nonarchi-

tect, it is replete with architectural intelligence, suggesting an underlining foundation of formal and typological understanding rooted in history and the local population, transformed through personal agency.

The paper suggests that the concept of type is more an analogy of core systems (in which typological constants include internal essence and eternal elements) than a hard classification with defined limits and boundaries. The traditional type is thus more useful as an analytical frame than an established system of descriptive rules and standards. Indeed, the paper argues that the notion of traditional type is legitimized more through its internal than external features. The legitimacy of a traditional type is thus bestowed and transmitted more by human agents than through the consistency of form.

Traditional typologies are the result of past design solutions, and must be adapted to a contemporary context. Type is thus contingent and conceptual; it is a process of transmission and transformation, rather than a result. It involves both existing knowledge of form and a modern form of knowledge. The paper concludes that the external reinterpretation of a traditional type may be erased or transformed in contemporary designs as a result of the legitimating of historic references. However, such dissolution and fragmentation does not mean that a traditional type is “dead”; rather, it has only found a new way to become “the eternal and the immutable.”

### ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE TYPOLOGY IN A CHANGING SOCIETY: THE LANDLORD'S MANOR IN GONGYI, CHINA

*Xiao Liu*

The “landlord's manor” refers to a vernacular architectural typology associated with the once economically and socially privileged “landed class” in China. For better or worse, this social class played a vital role in the development of Chinese society, especially during the period of transition in the twentieth century from a feudal society to a modern nation.

Originally legitimized as a house for the landed class, the landlord's manor was developed during the period of China's imperial dynasties (which ended in 1911), and it continued into the Chinese Republican era (1912–1949). With the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, however, landlords, as a class, were politically prosecuted, and their position in society was terminated. Interestingly, the landlord's manor has now been relegitimized as a significant piece of Chinese cultural heritage. Thanks to the relatively stable political, economic and social environment since the 1990s, Chinese society has now also been able to foster a new appreciation and reassessment of this typology, which is representative of the Confucian principles and folk traditions embedded in Chinese feudal society.

Yet the question remains why and how the landlord's manor came to experience this change of legitimacy. To an-



swer this, one has to go beyond the history and architectonics of the building typology, and explore the cultural heritage aspect of the architecture. The theoretical focus of this paper, therefore, is on the area of heritage interpretation and legitimation — specifically, issues arising from the reinvention of collective memory and social value to serve socio-political and socioeconomic ends.

This study focuses geographically on the city of Gongyi (formerly a county), where some of the most representative examples of the landlord's manor are found. Six landlord's manors will be selected for analysis to exemplify how different sites have been legitimized to serve different agendas. Among these, Kang Baiwan Manor illustrates the agenda of socio-politics. A state-funded heritage site, it provides a good case of the shift in interpretation and legitimation that was instituted to ideologically educate society during different periods in the history of the People's Republic of China. Particular emphasis will be on the politically turbulent period of the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 to 1976, and on the period of economic liberalization, from 1978 to the present.

By contrast, Zhang Hu Manor and Liu Zhenhua Manor will be used to illustrate an agenda of socioeconomics. In spite of their national-level statutory protection, these two heritage sites, outsourced to private operators, provide evidence of the issues and challenges of sustaining cultural heritage in an economically liberalized China.

In addition, the paper will examine lesser examples of the landlord's manor, which struggle to survive due to the lack of a clear agenda. These are heritage sites that are not of nationally important status, and as such, they either lack the state funding to become institutions of ideological indoctrination, or they lack the private investment needed for transformation into financially self-sustaining properties. Using these examples, the author wishes to provide a critical review of China's existing cultural-heritage-listing system, which symbolizes the legitimacy of the state's cultural heritage-protection policies and ideologies.

## OLD AND NEW FORMS OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE: THE AWARD-WINNING GREEK-CYPRIT HOUSE

*Christakis Chatzichristou*

It can be safely assumed that a house awarded the State Architecture Prize or selected to represent Cyprus for the Mies van Der Rohe European Awards would be considered an exemplary piece of domestic architecture. And since the committees making these judgments were composed of experts selected for the specific job by the state and by the Architects Association, it would seem to follow that the selected projects would reflect the values of the country's architectural culture. This paper looks at the briefs of these two award programs, as well as at the selected projects, in an attempt to

identify these values — values that are legitimizing and that promote "good architecture."

The main issue to be discussed is the nature of tradition and the kind of ideology on which the formation of these values is based. The sample is comprised of fourteen award-winning houses, six of which received the State Architecture Award, and the other eight of which were selected for the Mies van Der Rohe competition. The data used in the analysis were taken from architectural drawings, visits to the houses, and interviews with the architects and the house owners. A comparison of the characteristics of the fourteen projects (as well as the content of the briefs) with the principles and values of traditional Greek Cypriot architecture ultimately reveals, however, that the architecture produced and the culture producing it are not based on, or even informed by, the wisdom and knowledge offered by local tradition. The paper thus argues that the architectural values promoted are the product of another form of culture and another version of tradition.

If vernacular architecture is handed down to one generation from what a previous generation received and developed from the generation previous to it, then it seems that concepts such as tradition and knowledge need to be redefined in view of the changing nature of subjectivity, society, context, time, space, and the media of transmission in contemporary culture.

## A FUTURE VISION FOR THE MULTIUSE HOUSE IN KUWAIT: BETWEEN ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION

*Sura S. AlSabah*

With the influx of wealth that commenced in the region in the mid-1940s, Kuwait's economic, political and social landscapes experienced rapid change. Urban development proceeded at unprecedented speed due to the abundant funds available from oil revenues, and, in particular, housing underwent a radical transformation that affected lifestyles, activities, and neighborhood interactions. The meaning that a house carried also changed. Prior to this time, the conduct of trade from the house was socially accepted and free from regulation. Common commercial activities within the house had included *sadu*-making, basket-weaving, and tailoring. But with rapid urbanization and the introduction of zoning laws and codes, trade shifted to designated buildings, and the multiuse house model was lost. Several decades later, however, this model is now being revived, as many small businesses and commercial/nonresidential activities are springing up within houses. This is occurring despite existing codes and regulations.

This study will investigate the reasons behind the revival of multiuse houses by analyzing several cases where commercial/nonresidential activities have been incorporated into residential areas. It further aims to measure whether present-day Kuwaiti society accepts or rejects the concept of the



multiuse house. A mixed-method approach was employed in pursuit of these research aims. The case study research included face-to-face interviews with residents of multiuse houses. The results of these interviews were then analyzed to determine the reasons behind, and the perceived benefits of, this mode of house use. Questionnaires were also employed to measure the level of acceptance or rejection of the multiuse house within Kuwaiti society in general. From the case studies it emerged that the revival of the multiuse house was due to several factors, including the convenience of hosting certain activities and the lack of support and flexibility within current codes and regulations for some activity types. The questionnaire was also distributed online, and responses indicated a general acceptance of the multiuse house concept. It was found that activities within houses ranged widely, and today include sports activities, baking, tailoring, children's clubs, etc.

This study could create a foundation for future research to help identify and establish a multiuse house model. This may commence a process of bridging the gap between housing and commercial activities for the benefit of all involved in future development plans. The role of architects in helping to shape society is to propose solutions to legitimize the existing situation, and create a flexible house model that can respond to future needs.

## A8. SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION AND MORPHOLOGY

### LEGITIMIZING SPATIAL QUALITY IN HISTORICAL QUARTERS OF CAIRO

*Gehan Selim*

*Queen's University Belfast, U.K.*

### TRANSFORMATIONS OF TRADITIONS: THE CORRELATION BETWEEN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EVERYDAY COMMUTING BEHAVIORS IN DUBAI

*Sahera Bleibleh*

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### SOCIO-POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND SPATIAL NARRATIVES: LEGITIMIZING THE FORMS AND MEANINGS OF BOAT PEOPLE'S SETTLEMENTS, XIAMEN

*Yongming Chen*

*The Chinese University of Hong Kong, China*

### THE LEGITIMACY OF SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN POSTDISASTER CONTEXTS: THE STUDY OF BAUN VILLAGE IN INDIA

*Piyush Verma*

*Indian Institute of Technology Delhi, India*

### THE AERIAL EYE AND ENFRAMING TRADITION

*Adnan Morshed*

*The Catholic University of America, U.S.A.*

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### LEGITIMIZING SPATIAL QUALITY IN HISTORICAL QUARTERS OF CAIRO

*Gehan Selim*

Cairo's historical core has been relegated to a marginal position in the state's vision for the city's urban transformation. This paper investigates Cairo's path toward legitimizing a modern spatial quality in one of its oldest quarters, Bulaq Abul Ela. The ambitions of space reproduction in Cairo are revealed during the course of an attempt to engender a debate as to how spatial quality in Bulaq was anticipated and controlled, and to what extent the planners' conception of space reproduction actually responded to the people's needs while creating a new spatial reality. By investigating original government correspondence, meeting reports and planning-scheme records, the paper will uncover further meanings of control over the undesirable authentic fabric of Bulaq. Against this background, continuous dialogue for participa-

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tion, shared commitments, and flexible planning approaches have emerged as necessary tools through which the conception of a successful replanning project may be achieved.

### TRANSFORMATIONS OF TRADITIONS: THE CORRELATION BETWEEN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EVERYDAY COMMUTING BEHAVIORS IN DUBAI

*Sahera Bleibleh*

The movement to create more sustainable cities must start by understanding travel traditions. This will require profound analyses of past and present cultural dynamics within cities. And it will require building on an inclusive and holistic vision, applying integrated planning and transparent governance, and rigorously monitoring the implementation of policies. This paper studies the correlation between everyday commuting behavior and spatial development in the U.A.E, using Dubai as a pilot case study.

Daily activity patterns differ according to gender, age, nationality, marital status, household income, level of education, working status, and working years. Following an integrated methodological approach, this research first collected field data through an ethnographic and structured questionnaire. Primary socioeconomic and demographic data for the selected case study was also collected. In addition, through a structured survey, data from 1940–2015, distributed on four temporal periods, was collected to understand everyday activities, the origin-destination of everyday trips and activities, commuting time, the frequency of trips, and modes of transport. Independent variables were identified as the demographic and geographical data, while dependent variables were everyday tasks and modes of transport. SPSS software was used to analyze the quantitative part of the survey, while a generative theme approach was adopted to categorize the qualitative part. The survey was tested in Dubai as a pilot case study. Other locations will be determined later based on an assessment of the research findings in Dubai.

Based on preliminary findings, the research supported the initial assumption with respect to the existing correlation between travel behavior and the distribution of activities and spatial development in Dubai during the last fifty years. This ongoing research aims to develop a methodology capable of modeling the daily travel patterns of Dubai residents during different time periods, starting from 1950. Moreover, the correlation between spatial development of the city through the specified time periods and the everyday commuting behavior of residents was shown to be a valid way to study the city's physical evolution and transformation. The research will conclude by mapping the spatial development of the city as a way to evaluate possible scenarios for connecting historical data with anticipated patterns for future development.

### SOCIO-POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND SPATIAL NARRATIVES: LEGITIMIZING THE FORMS AND MEANINGS OF BOAT PEOPLE'S SETTLEMENTS, XIAMEN

*Yongming Chen*

Located in Xiamen harbor, the Windbreak Duck area of Shapowei is one of the main settlements of boat people along the Jiulongjiang River in Fujian province, China. From the 1920s to the 1990s patterns of living among boat people there evolved according to the following sequence: first, living aboard a boat for a number of years; second, living in informal housing along the waterfront; and third, settling permanently on the land or migrating elsewhere. Whether living aboard a boat or settled on land, the practice of home was the carrier of boat people's local knowledge, reflecting their lived intelligence. Home-oriented spatial practices not only revealed the boat people's bottom-up needs, but also related closely to the socio-political system that localizes landscapes into a series of places.

During the one-hundred-year span covered by this research, China's socio-political system has been dramatically transformed, with consequences for the boat people's settlement. From the period of the Republic of China in the 1920s to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949), including the Great Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and extending through the Reform and Opening Policy (1978–present) and the new era of the Fujian-Taiwan Metropolitan Area (2008–present), a few questions arise. How have successive socio-political systems influenced the Xiamen harbor area? How have the boat people managed to settle on land, legitimately or illegitimately? How have they managed to acquire homesteads or plots of land despite institutional constraints? How have successive socio-political systems confirmed or amended regulations to gradually involve the boat people in "legitimate" forms of control? And how have boat people adapted to or adjusted their relationship to the local community-political dynamic through their practice of home?

This study selects a local cultural group as its object to focus on the spatial practices of the Xiamen boat people. It discusses the relationship between social-political dynamics and spatial narratives involved in the practice of home. Moreover, it combines a review of individual memories and collective narratives to discuss legitimizing forms and meanings in the Windbreak Duck area during a one-hundred-year span. By examining three typical cases, local historical documents, images and maps, field surveys, and in-depth interviews, it investigates the nature of boat people's social organization, local knowledge, spatial practices, and eventual settlement on land. Additionally, it identifies the process by which boat people's housing practices have been transformed from illegitimate constructions to legitimate settlements under the influence of local fishing policies, planning controls, community administration, and the conditions of the natural environment.

The paper reveals how, under the influence of specific socio-political constraints, two main settlement models have been generated among boat people in the Windbreak Duck area of Shapowei. One involves state and local institutional controls that legitimize bottom-up practices by providing plots for the resettlement of boat people. The other involves illegitimate housing activities, through which the boat people occupy the land first and later receive permission. The key difference between these two models is whether settlers receive institutional permission before or after moving onto the land. In fact, however, these two practices are not opposites, but rather have interacted dynamically to transform the environment. The interaction between institutional controls and bottom-up practices, as well as the socio-spatial mechanism behind the dynamic political system, should thus be considered simultaneously.

### THE LEGITIMACY OF SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN POSTDISASTER CONTEXTS: THE STUDY OF BAUN VILLAGE IN INDIA

*Piyush Verma*

A number of efforts have been made as part of developing postdisaster recovery practices on the Indian subcontinent to ensure connectivity for surviving different needs of daily life, cultural continuity in development in the aftermath of disaster, and dealing with adaptability issues in reconstruction. On the one hand, efforts to develop building codes and regulatory frameworks are in progress. On the other, while community participation and local knowledge have been prioritized, and are now commonly part of postdisaster shelter practices, these efforts still have some way to go.

Postdisaster experiences have demonstrated that personalization is a natural response to previous cultural deficiencies in the reconstruction process. Individuals and communities have thus made significant modifications when reconstructing built fabric to meet their social needs and address their cultural practices. In this context, postdisaster housing is in need of evidence-based theory that contemplates the legitimacy of the transformative role of space, design, and user response in the reconstruction process (Boano and Hunter 2012). This study therefore investigates the legitimacy of the transformative role of space, design, and user response in the postdisaster reconstruction process in Baun village, located in the Garhwal region of Uttarakhand state, India.

The Garhwal region has faced many severe natural disasters in the last two decades. In lieu of advancing technology, better connectivity, easier availability of conventional construction materials, the poor structural condition of dilapidated traditional houses, and constantly changing socio-political conditions, many people there have been readapting or reconstructing their traditional built spaces. Nonspatial aspects such as caste-based hierarchy and indigenous liveli-

hood practices have also witnessed considerable variations from the traditional settings. Several of these personalization and responsive processes have indeed invoked questions of legitimacy and appropriateness.

This study was carried out in the disaster-affected Baun village. It included detailed habitat mapping exercises involving participatory-design inputs from the community, mental maps, and semi-structured interviews to understand the socio-spatial transformations that emerged as part of postdisaster responses. Various maps of the settlement showing its socioeconomic composition, vulnerabilities, caste-based systems, and their relation to built forms were analyzed. Such in-depth analysis has showed the ways communities tend to legitimize both socio-spatial and nonspatial transformations in the past, and as well in the contemporary situations. This study elaborates both on how the image of the traditional society may change in a postdisaster context and how new meanings may be produced through the legitimization process as a socio-spatial construct. In conclusion, the study will inform built-environment professionals on how legitimization can be understood in the postdisaster development process.

### THE AERIAL EYE AND ENFRAMING TRADITION

*Adnan Morshed*

In 1935, Le Corbusier thundered in his little known book *Aircraft*: “The airplane indicts the city. . . . The city is ruthless to man. Cities are old, decayed, frightening, diseased. They are finished. Premachine civilization is finished.” The provocateur articulated his newfound ability to see the world from an aerial perspective as an epistemology of explaining, co-opting, denigrating, indicting, and, ultimately, fetishizing a central modernist argument — namely, how traditionalism, organicity and historicity form a problematic trinity that impoverished the human conditions. In the book, Le Corbusier’s collection of aerial views, such as “La Garde de Guerin en Lozere, France,” “Jewish Quarter of Teruan from above,” and “Native huts on the banks of the Chatt-el-Arab,” made a larger argument that an aerial subject’s omnipotent visual regime exposed the incoherence and irrationality of “organic” settlements. Further, the desire for imposing order on a chaotic world naturally flourished in the clouds.

Le Corbusier’s espousal of a rationalist reading of the world presented a peculiar modernist angst, one that was pervasive among many twentieth-century intellectuals, who pondered the alleged conflict of modernity and tradition in the context of a new sociology of heights. A year after the publication of *Aircraft*, in “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” Walter Benjamin called the spaces of everyday life a “prison-world,” offering a lyrically ambivalent interpretation of ritualistic tradition and its transcendence by heightened ocular experiences. And about twenty years

later, Roland Barthes explained (in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*) the “marvelous mitigation of altitude” in visually transforming a laissez-faire world below into a specular project of intellection. This paper ruminates on a historiography of heights in the twentieth century and how it helps explain a particular modernist framing of “tradition” as the site of an instrumental aerial subject. Furthermore, it traces the roots of neoliberal proclivity to see the world as a frictionless, disciplined, and malleable artifact to early-twentieth-century valorizations of height as a liberating experience.

## B8. LEGITIMACY, INFORMALITY AND TRADITION

### NORMS VERSUS LAWS IN POLICY-MAKING: AN ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION OF INFORMALITY

*Abel Polese*

*Tallinn University, Estonia*

### SETTLING BETWEEN LEGITIMACY AND THE LAW, AT THE EDGE OF ULAANBAATAR’S LEGAL LANDSCAPE

*Rick Miller*

*University of California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.*

### OBSERVATIONS, OPTIMIZATIONS AND EXCHANGES: TROPICAL DESIGN MANUALS AND BRITISH EXPERTISE, 1953–1974

*Dalal Musaed Alsayer*

*University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*

### SOCIAL TRADITIONS AND THE BUILT FORM: THE TINY-HOUSE VILLAGE MODEL FOR CHRONICALLY HOMELESS AMERICANS

*Lyndsey Deaton*

*University of Oregon, U.S.A.*

### I DWELL IN [IM]POSSIBILITY: LEGITIMATING THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AROUND THE BUS TERMINAL IN KAMPUNG MELAYU, JAKARTA

*Triatno Yudo Harjoko*

*Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia*

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### NORMS VERSUS LAWS IN POLICY-MAKING: AN ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION OF INFORMALITY

*Abel Polese*

Recent estimates suggest that two-thirds of the world’s working population — more than 80 percent in South Asia — is active in the informal economy (Bacchetta et al. 2009, ILO 2012, Jütting and de Laiglesia 2009). By force of this, the relevance of informality to the current world system has been noted by economists from major research centers (Benjamin et al. 2014, La Porta and Shleifer 2014). And for more than forty years it has been consolidated on the agenda of international organizations such as the ILO, World Bank, and UNDP (Curristine et al. 2007, World Bank Institute 2012 and 2013).

This economic view has been criticized in empirical studies from a number of disciplines, however. These include the study of corruption (Gupta 1995), unorganized resistance (Scott 1984), and present normative understandings of capitalism (Gibson-Graham 1996).

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This presentation explores the competition between formal modes of control (policies, laws, formal rules) and local attitudes, as informed by locally elaborated informal norms and traditions. It suggests that informal practices (here defined as the space between two formal rules) emerge from a conflict between a local and long-term established ethos, developed over time in accordance to local traditions, and a standardized ethos imposed from the outside (Gill 1998). Starting from Gill's argument, the goal of this paper is to go beyond an understanding of informality as mere resistance and reaction, to propose it as a feedback instrument and a further tool for policy-making.

Using a theoretical framework developed in two recent books (Morris and Polese 2014 and 2015), the paper suggests that informal practices may emerge either "in spite of the state," to regulate a sphere of life that is not regulated yet; or "beyond the state," to complement formal rules that citizens do not perceive as meeting their real needs.

These patterns of behavior offer a pragmatic solution to real-life situations (either long-established traditions or simply local customs), created in contrast to rules and laws often conceived by those sitting behind a desk, which provide general instructions for a variety of cases, but which provide little or no consideration of nonstandard local situations. The contrast between formal and informal rules often generates tensions that may be deemed negative for the functioning of a state.

Using a variety of case studies from Europe and Asia, the paper examines this view by looking at which combinations and synergies between the formal and the informal can encourage or discourage reproduction of these informal practices. It also explores in what spheres of life they seem more effective, to suggest that the level of informality present in a state or community can be used as an indicator of the level of acceptance of a state a law or a reform package.

### SETTLING BETWEEN LEGITIMACY AND THE LAW, AT THE EDGE OF ULAANBAATAR'S LEGAL LANDSCAPE *Rick Miller*

In the immediate wake of state socialism's collapse in Mongolia in 1991, centralized planning in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, like much else in the command economy, lost both its fiscal base and operational legitimacy. From the same moment, the demand for urban land greatly increased, as former nomads, fleeing the disruption of the rural system of economic production, moved into Ulaanbaatar, putting growth pressures on the country's capital and primate city. In response, over the subsequent quarter century, Ulaanbaatar's urban space has expanded, primarily at the periphery through the construction of informal settlements by recent migrants.

In an ongoing effort to rebuild governance since the collapse of state socialism, the national legislature has been

attempting to regain control over the urbanization process. During the state-socialist era, urbanization was held in check through the control of people's movements. In contrast, during the post-socialist era, the government has capitulated to a more open flow of people. Of course, efforts to control the urban influx still exist — only now through a legal regime regulating land tenure. But, in an unfolding narrative that parallels the population shifts from rural to urban, these laws, intended to govern urban settlement, have themselves now been unsettled.

As migrants have been constructing a path for themselves toward participation in the urban realm — through education, cultural cosmopolitanization, and urban economies of employment and consumption — families have learned to negotiate the system of land laws in complex ways. Thus, laws are seen alternately as both a help and a hindrance, depending on the immediate circumstances being faced. Families employ differing strategies in relation to the land laws — sometimes embracing them when it is to their advantage, but more often treading lightly, using much of the legal regime selectively, while skirting or ignoring portions that are seen as limiting. Reflecting concern about the disadvantage and potential for losing urban legitimacy — on the one hand, from breaking the laws too recklessly, but on the other, from adhering to the laws too strictly — peripheral settlers have developed a discourse that tracks with the shifts in the legal landscape.

This paper explores the workings of several families who have found urban legitimacy through successful negotiation, veering out of and back into legal status at the edges of the legal regime.

### OBSERVATIONS, OPTIMIZATIONS AND EXCHANGES: TROPICAL DESIGN MANUALS AND BRITISH EXPERTISE, 1953–1974

*Dalal Musaed Alsayer*

In 1953, A.E. Alcock and Helga Richards published *How to Plan Your Village*, the first book in their *How to Build* series, a product of the pair's on-the-ground experience in the initial planning of the Volta River project in Tema, Ghana. This book serves here as one example of a larger proliferation of design manuals in the so-called Third-World countries in the years after World War II. This paper examines the emergence of these manuals as a mechanism of reaffirming and legitimizing local knowledge that is packaged under the guise of foreign expertise. The years following the war also saw the emergence of the desire to localize and contextualize modernism globally — for example, through the work of members of Team 10 such as Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, among others. This paper focuses on the intersection between this desire to contextualize modernism and the spread of British expertise in the "Third World."

The paper closely explores several manuals: Fry and Drew's *Village Housing in the Tropics* (1956) and *Tropical Architecture in the Dry and Humid Zones* (1964); Otto Königsberger's *Manual of Tropical Housing and Building* (1974) and the compiled *Overseas Building Notes* (1980); and Alcock and Richards's *How to Build* series (1953–1960). While the manuals alone do shed light on the perception of Imperial Britain on how underdeveloped cities should be planned, they become a more compelling subject of study when they are coupled with larger narratives of postwar modernism. Each of the architects who produced them were closely involved in the planning of large cities, where local knowledge and emerging technological advancements needed to be coupled to produce a localized modernism. These manuals can be seen as a means to legitimize local knowledge backed by professional expertise; but they also address the larger issue of foreign experts dealing with new conditions.

Structurally, the paper closely examines three distinct characteristics of the manuals. Organized chronologically, its first section, "Observations," focuses on the active extraction of local knowledge by architects to glean what "worked" in the contexts they are operating in, such as in the *How to Build* series. Its second section, "Optimizations," explores the coupling of modern technological expertise and local knowledge to produce ideal construction techniques — as can be seen in the modified building techniques in the aforementioned manuals. Finally, its third section, "Exchanges," studies the cross-dissemination of ideas to and from Britain. For example, climate was an important subject of study, and had strong ties to the establishment of the Department of Tropical Studies at the Architectural Association, where Fry and Königsberger both taught.

By contextualizing these manuals within the larger historical narrative of development aid, architectural education, and (to borrow Duanfang Lu's term) "Third World Modernism," a new reading of "how" development ought to be emerges. This is grounded in the notion of appropriating local knowledge to develop a modern architecture, which is needed to propel "Third-World" nations forward. But this architecture is also one in which terms such as "development," "expertise" and "local" are challenged, reevaluated and reconstructed.

## SOCIAL TRADITIONS AND THE BUILT FORM: THE TINY-HOUSE VILLAGE MODEL FOR CHRONICALLY HOMELESS AMERICANS

Lyndsey Deaton

Strong social traditions influence the "cultural landscapes" of the chronically homeless in America. These traditions are being challenged through the establishment of cooperative villages. Examining the collective components of these villages for themes of power, subjectivity and cohesion

may yield questions about the legitimacy of American social traditions.

The increase in chronic homelessness in America has been attributed to a recent decline in wages and a shortage of affordable housing. Shelters are consistently at capacity, turning away a marginalized community that quickly learns to rely on the generosity of others. The reduced momentum in the national effort to end chronic homelessness incited a call to action from the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness — challenging local communities to embrace innovative methods and make additional investments to solve this problem.

The tiny-house village model was pioneered in Eugene, Oregon, through the establishment of Opportunity Village (2013). The tiny-house village is formally recognized as a replicable socio-physical model, and has been used to initiate more than sixty other "villages" across the country.

Impermanent by nature, the built environment for the chronically homeless flickers between fleeting moments of relief followed by long stretches of instability. The moments of relief are attributed to the social pattern of charity (from religious and nonprofit organizations). However, these agents play a central role in legitimating the social constructs surrounding homelessness. A particular set of characteristics, behaviors, and assumptions govern and regulate exchanges between charitable agents and the marginalized.

The nature of the tiny-house village model challenges the legitimacy of these enduring social traditions. The village components (common facilities, porches, and community gardens) are prioritized at the expense of larger private spaces and appliances for entertainment. The built environment of the village thus reflects an evolution of the ideas in Peter Ward's *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, with flexibility as a key component. As "residential design needs to move beyond designing prototypical houses or neighborhoods for ethnic or sub-cultural groups," how will the shift in legitimacy of these traditions reflect on the cooperative form?

This paper expands upon my original research conducted in 2016 at Opportunity Village (Eugene, Oregon), Dignity Village (Portland, Oregon), and Community First (Austin, Texas). The project investigates which village characteristics are conducive to community cohesion, and, based on ethnographic and quantitative methods, to what degree (measured fiscally) residents prefer them. The oral presentation will focus on the social traditions challenged by the tiny-house model and the perceptions that legitimate them.



## I DWELL IN [IM]POSSIBILITY: LEGITIMATING THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AROUND THE BUS TERMINAL IN KAMPUNG MELAYU, JAKARTA

*Triatno Yudo Harjoko*

“I dwell” refers to and can be conceived as the individual imperative to live among plural humans (as group of individuals, a community, or a society) and to live in a material and immaterial world. The word “dwell” originates from the Old English *dwellan*: to wander, to linger, to tarry. “I dwell” thus portrays human existence, or being-in-the-world, and the act of dwelling together justifies the coexistence of human beings and their urban environment. In this paper, “I dwell” refers more particularly to those who engage in the informal economy, and “I dwell in [im]possibility” illustrates a condition of “[il]legitimacy,” determined by whether or not a group is recognized and accepted by the community or public at large.

The urban informal economy has long been a feature of cities in Indonesia; it is part of an urbanization process in which modern/capitalist and traditional/bazaar activities have developed alongside one another and constitute a social duality. The legal/illegal and legitimate/illegitimate thus exist in tacit duality, seemingly unnoticed. Increasing urban population only invites increased economic opportunity within each economic tradition. The “market mechanism” works through this dualism.

This research seeks to understand why the informal economy persists at various spots surrounding the bus terminal at Kampung Melayu, east of Jakarta, despite signposts that visibly forbid it. Such activity causes congestion in almost all areas around the terminal. The main focus is to disclose the habitus of various actors related to the informal economy. It also seeks to understand the legitimating process.

Findings have shown that the prime cause of the existence of such an informal economy is the presence and movement of trip-makers, particularly at peak hours, in the vicinity of bus terminal. A “virtual network” of actors (including the trip-makers) establishes a meta-space that is conceived by all participating in informal commerce in the area. At the lower and micro level — i.e., among a small group of ambulant traders — this is facilitated by a group of *preman* (thugs) who make the dwelling of informal activities possible. Meanwhile, at the upper level of the possibility of dwelling, the *preman*-boss has a duty to seek “legitimation” from individual government figures, such as the local police and Department of Transport officers.

## C8. SUSTAINABILITY AND TRADITION

### LEGITIMIZING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A TECHNO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

*Ahmed El-Kholei*

*Arabian Gulf University, Bahrain*

### SHADES OF GREEN: SUSTAINABILITY AS A NEW TRADITION

*Arief Setiawan*

*Kennesaw State University, U.S.A.*

### THE POLITICS OF GRASS

*Laurence Keith Loftin III and Jacqueline Victor*

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

### LEGITIMATING GREEN TRADITIONS: SYNCRETISM FROM ARABIA FELIX TO AMPENAN

*Diane Valerie Wildsmith*

*University of Indonesia, Indonesia*

### BROWNFIELD REMEDIATION AND RECOVERY: A NONMILITARISTIC TACTIC FOR TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION

*Shahab Albahar*

*Harvard University, U.S.A.*

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### LEGITIMIZING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A TECHNO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

*Ahmed El-Kholei*

Many studies and reports confirm that Arab settlements today are not sustainable. The facets of unsustainable development are numerous, including, but not limited to, dichotomies between the urban and rural and the formal and informal as well as regional disparities. The result has been an influx of rural migrants to cities, persistent poverty, un- and underemployment, housing shortages, and other ills. This paper addresses the following interrelated questions: What are the reasons for this unfortunate situation? Why is the current mode of development unsustainable? And what frame of reference can be found in line with the traditions of the region that may be conducive to future sustainable urban development?

The paper argues that the prevailing pattern of economic development within Arab countries is to blame. Even though these countries have gained political independence, they remain enmeshed in a global web of financial dependency. To institutionalize such dependent status, the urban elite (both the present rulers and their opponents) have fallen under the

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influence Eurocentrism, thus imitating Western models. By considering modernization and Westernization to be synonymous, and by aligning the interest of their social stratum with that of countries at the core against the collective interest of the nation, they have neglected traditions and lost their cultural identity. The public sphere, within which decisions are made, is thus no longer in accord with public opinion, resulting in an unregulated, chaotic public space.

The present frame of reference for sustainable urban development is contested, because the three domains of sustainability — economic, social and ecological — do not reflect reality, and there are no metrics for measuring sustainability. The paper thus proposes an alternative frame of reference, congruent with Arab culture and rooted in Arab heritage. This frame resonates with the culture and traditions of the region, and will be conducive to its future development. The paper recommends enhancing the convergence of social and natural fields of knowledge by developing and enlightening a new paradigm for sustainable Arab cities.

More than 1,400 years ago, the tribes of the Middle East and North Africa developed a traditional system for resource management known as *hima*. This involved setting aside an area for the common good — one which could not be privately owned. For centuries this system of resource management supported the conservation of natural resources and biodiversity.

The paper will articulate and elaborate a human-centered development framework that promotes environmental resilience, conservation, equitable community resource management, and good governance. It offers HIMA (*hikma* [wisdom]; *ijtihad* [innovation]; *maslaha* [the common good]; and *adl* [justice]) as a conceptual outline for sustainable cities, and it advocates the revival of local knowledge to provide insight on the paradoxes of the contemporary Arab city.

## SHADES OF GREEN: SUSTAINABILITY AS A NEW TRADITION

*Arief Setiawan*

In recent years, concerns over sustainability have risen to the top of design agendas across the world. Historically, Sybil Moholy-Nagy (1958) aimed to construct a history of architecture based on building performance in relationship to environmental context. The Olgay brothers (1963) proposed a similar approach from a more technical standpoint. And Reyner Banham (1984) argued for generative principles in design that might emerge from energy management. These concerns have led to the emergence of notions such as green building and ecological urbanism, the institutionalization of measurements of sustainability through LEED certification, and the foregrounding of sustainability in architecture pedagogy. The notion of sustainability has become the narrative that guides the design of the built environment at vari-

ous scales, from that of the building to that of the region. It seems, then, that this narrative has formed a new tradition for the legitimization of particular design approaches.

A narrative of sustainability has likewise entered the discussion of the built environment in the contemporary, vernacular U.S. This has long been characterized by suburban sprawl and building typologies based on single uses and banal, cheap, malleable construction systems. In this sense, Ellen Dunham-Jones (2007) argued that cities were the urban form of industrialism, while sprawl was the form of postindustrial society. She further pointed to dependency on the automobile as the most unsustainable feature of such a built environment. It is worth noting that the prevalence of sprawl and current reactions to it, such as urban gentrification, are related to a shift in economic production to a postindustrial mode, which has had social, political and economic impacts. However, the narrative of sustainability provides a relatively mechanical and instrumental response. How do we locate this narrative of the built environment within socioeconomic, cultural, and political contexts? How can we map out instrumental responses within its complexity?

This inquiry emerged from observation of the city of Atlanta, in which the development of a linear urban park, along with adjoining new sustainable buildings, is seen as an important step toward the future. However, this park has also become problematic in terms of its spatial, socio-cultural, and economic relationship to existing traditional neighborhoods, especially those of minorities. This has highlighted persistent racial and socioeconomic issues in the city. As background, the paper will survey the emergence of the environmental narrative in the twentieth century and its repercussions for the social and physical fabric of the American landscape. The findings of this survey will inform examination and analysis of the local case study.

## THE POLITICS OF GRASS

*Laurence Keith Loftin III and Jacqueline Victor*

Food production is the necessary underpinning of every economy. We may see banks, currency wars, and international trade agreements as necessary evils to commercializing farm products; however, farming, unlike perhaps any other commercial endeavor, works best when not done as in factory, with a one-size-fits-all approach. The individual farmer persists in out-producing his industrial counterparts not only in quality of produce but in the amount produced, proving over and over again that high-“touch,” traditional attention to detail wins out over systematic control of massive amounts of acreage. Farm production does best when all sorts of factors, including individual pride and profitability, are figured into the equation.

We have studied grass-based agricultural economies and their ensuing housing traditions in France for twenty years.

During this time period, the globalization of the world's traditional agricultural communities and the political agenda behind this movement (and supernational laws imposed by it) have begun to play an ever-increasing part in changing the agricultural landscape of France.

In this paper we will compare and contrast two grass-based, traditional family farms — one a dairy farm in the Vercors area of the French Alps, and the other a sheep ranch on the Jabron River in upper Provence that produces merinos wool. We will talk about the modernization process and investments both families have made in their effort to stay current, the effects of the “Green Movement” on land and water usage, the current system of government subsidies and its resultant side effects, as well as the social changes both families have undergone and are currently undergoing to keep their farming units operational.

We will conclude by relating the French experience to the larger international picture as an over reaching motor for social change. Clearly, the entire world is affected by this globalist agenda. Wherein lies its legitimacy?

## LEGITIMATING GREEN TRADITIONS: SYNCRETISM FROM ARABIA FELIX TO AMPENAN

*Diane Valerie Wildsmith*

In the context of a legitimation crisis, Jürgen Habermas contended, traditions retain their legitimizing force as long as they are not torn out of their interpretive systems. The cultural traditions that weave together the threads of the Islamic world from Arabia Felix to Ampenan on Lombok Island in the Indonesian archipelago are embodied in architectural morphology, iconic symbolism, and religious customs which form a tangible expression of Islamic culture. In legitimating green traditions, Islamic culture in Lombok is torn between the contested territory of commercialism related to five-star international hotels and the traditional values of living in harmony with nature.

With its Islamic roots harking back to the Hadramaut region in present-day Yemen, Lombok is known as the “land of 1,000 mosques.” The fabled Badad Lombok chronicle indicates that the Sasak people began to inhabit Lombok between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Built in the sixteenth century, the Bayan Beluq Mosque followed the Sasak-Hindu-Javanese tradition of a steeply sloped, thatched roof and basketwork walls. The tenets of Islam were mixed with Hindu-Buddhist rituals, resulting in prayers being said three times a day (*wetu telu*) instead of five (*waktu lima*). Hailing from mud-brick traditions in places like Shibam, also known as the “Manhattan of the Desert,” members of the Hadrami diaspora settled in the port of Ampenan. During the Dutch-colonial period in the nineteenth century, foreign Orientals, including Arabs, Indians and Chinese, were required under the quarter system to live in designated neighborhoods, shar-

ing commerce and culture, markets, mosques, madrasahs, temples and coffee.

In legitimating green traditions, Alfred Russel Wallace identified, in 1859, the biogeographical distinction between Asian and Australasian flora and fauna. The Wallace Line separates Kalimantan and Sulawesi as well as Bali and Lombok. The exchange of science, technology and philosophy not only prompted exoticism with intrigue and interest in the Far East, but also promoted commerce between the Occident and the Orient.

In the twenty-first century, the challenge for planners, developers, and the community is to create master plans with eco-social, eco-cultural and eco-technological sensitivity to legitimate tradition. In 2012 a seemingly commercial master plan in Ampenan was launched featuring a seventeen-story, five-star hotel, and new port facility. In contrast, as a case study for an ecologically-designed boutique hotel, Svarga Resort near Senggigi Beach in West Lombok has derived its inspiration and legitimacy from the great traditions of Islamic courtyards with fountains.

Using Habermas's critical theory, this research paper examines legitimation issues between the local 85 percent Muslim population seeking a sharia version of eco-tourism for the local and Middle-Eastern market and the sharply contrasting commercial formula demanded by five-star international hotel developments. On the cultural side, the syncretism and mixture of Islamic architectural concepts afford continuity, and broach the chasm between legitimate forces attempting to preserve a sense of Islamic culture and the delegitimizing forces which dilute local identity in favor of globalized tourism.

## BROWNFIELD REMEDIATION AND RECOVERY: A NONMILITARISTIC TACTIC FOR TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION

*Shahab Albahar*

This paper discusses twenty-first-century landscape practices that go beyond the ecological intent of remediation and/or gentrification. Indeed, it questions their political dominion as agents of land acquisition and territorial expansion of political jurisdiction. By focusing on the “healing of Hiriya,” a former waste dump converted to a national park as part of Ayalon Park, south of Tel Aviv, it traces the contentious history of this site through the unraveling of initial land settlement, urbanization, annexation, waste and remediation. While it is difficult to discuss politically contentious topics especially as they pertain to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict without the risk of bias, there is a lot to be learned from the potential of landscape design as an alternative to direct military action as a tactic for attaining political sovereignty.

The term “brownfield” originated in the early 1990s when practitioners and researchers saw how emerging

regulatory frameworks, designed to protect the environment, were, as a side effect, inhibiting the reuse, cleanup and redevelopment of former industrial and commercial sites. These brownfield visionaries reconceptualized vacant lots and abandoned properties, and they invented a new term, “brownfield,” to express both the challenges and opportunities that such sites offered. Today the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency defines brownfields as “idle real property, the development or improvement of which is impaired by real or perceived contamination.” Meanwhile, in the U.K., a brownfield site is defined as “previously developed land that has the potential for being redeveloped. It is often (but not always) land that has been used for industrial and commercial purposes and is now derelict and possibly contaminated.”

There is no one set definition for a “brownfield,” and the term has yet to formalize itself in many nations and languages — one being Israel. Therefore, the concept of remediating a brownfield remains somewhat abstract. The remediation of a contaminated site need not manifest itself literally; rather, a more poetic approach can be taken, one that includes social, cultural and visual remediation. The classification of a site as a brownfield can also be a purely political measure. As such, it automatically problematizes a site and calls for a form of intervention (remediation) overseen by an agency of power. Could it be that the Israeli government is exploiting the term brownfield as a justification for claiming jurisdiction over “sick” landscapes, under the condition of “healing” them?

National parks were first conceived in the United States as a means of protecting natural landscapes from private ownership and the threat of development. The argument of this paper is that the preservation and/or protection of land as nature reserves in Israel goes beyond pure conservationist ideologies and is driven by a political agenda that legitimizes a tradition of territorial acquisition. Landscapes have long served militaristic agendas, such as the camouflage landscapes of the Second World War, designed with the intent of confusion. In the contemporary context of Israel, national parks are potentially disguised as conservationist efforts to attain legal sovereignty over territorial expanses, so that the government can later claim ownership by virtue of alternative premises.

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# Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

## 1. GENERAL

The editors invite readers to submit manuscripts. Please send all initial submissions to *TDSR* Editor Nezar AlSayyad at [iaste@berkeley.edu](mailto:iaste@berkeley.edu) with a cc to *TDSR* Managing Editor David Moffat at [ddmoffat@aol.com](mailto:ddmoffat@aol.com). Place the title of the manuscript, the author's name and a 50-word biographical sketch on a separate cover page. The title only should appear again on the first page of text. Manuscripts are circulated for review without identifying the author. Manuscripts are evaluated by a blind peer-review process.

## 2. LENGTH AND FORMAT

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

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## 4. ABSTRACT AND INTRODUCTION

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

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*Sample Progression:* The Role of the Longhouse in Iban Culture. The Longhouse as a Building Form. Transformation of the Longhouse at the New Year. The Impact of Modern Technology. Conclusion: Endangered Form or Form in Transition?

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## 6. REFERENCES

Do not use a general bibliography format. Use a system of numbered reference notes, located at the end of sentences, as indicated below.

*A condensed section of text might read as follows:*

In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.<sup>1</sup>

An eminent architectural historian once wrote, "The roof form in general is the most indicative feature of the housing styles of North Africa."<sup>2</sup> Clearly, however, the matter of how these forms have evolved is a complex subject. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>3</sup>

In my research I discovered that local people have differing notions about the origins of the roof forms on the dwellings they inhabit.<sup>4</sup>

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

1. E. Regis, *Egyptian Dwellings* (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirs Old Debate," *Smithsonian*, Vol.11 No.2 (December 1983), pp.24-34.

2. B. Smithson, "Characteristic Roof Forms," in H. Jones, ed., *Architecture of North Africa* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p.123.

3. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see J. Idris, *Roofs and Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

4. In my interviews I found that the local people understood the full meaning of my question only when I used a more formal Egyptian word for "roof" than that in common usage.

## 7. DIAGRAMS, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Illustrations will be essential for most articles accepted for publication in the journal, however, each article can only be accompanied by a maximum of 20 illustrations.

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