



# TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

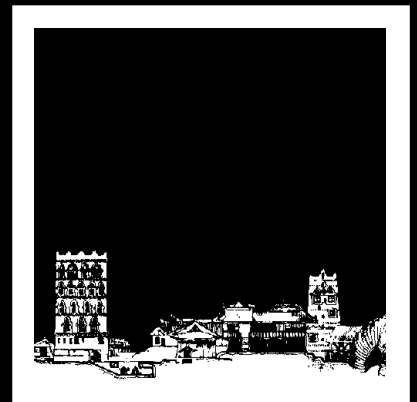


## THE UTOPIA OF TRADITION

TWELFTH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY  
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# TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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## Editor's Note

This issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is dedicated to the 2010 IASTE conference, to be held in December in Beirut, Lebanon. Its purpose, as with all special TDSR conference issues, is to provide individual and institutional members who are unable to attend with detailed information about the conference's content. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing all abstracts of papers accepted for presentation.

The theme of the twelfth IASTE meeting is "The Utopia of Tradition." Participants will explore how tradition inspires and informs changing concepts of utopia in theory and space. Utopian theories and plans emerge from a complex symbiotic relationship with traditions that are based on notions of the ideal. Indeed, utopias cannot be understood without understanding the traditions from which they develop. At its etymological root, utopia embodies both the theoretical paradox of an ideal place, *eu-topia*, and a nonplace, *ou-topia*, rendering it an impossibility. As an ideal place, utopia relies on tradition, but as a nonplace it attempts to negate it. Although most utopias have spatial manifestations, they often attempt to harness and make static the traditions used to create these spaces. The geographies of utopia physically ground tradition, but tradition simultaneously controls these very same geographies. This contemporary moment of economic crisis necessitates a reexamination of this dynamic.

The word "utopia" is not as commonly referenced in professional practice as it was a few decades ago. However, architects, planners and politicians continue to look for and disseminate notions of ideal forms. Regulated by ethnicity, religion or race, the identity enclaves of many modern nations use territory to perpetuate the vision of a perfect community based on specific traditions. The continuation and strengthening of tradition, cloaked in the language of utopia, may thus be seen to provide the focus for new gated communities in the developing world, the dreamscapes in cities around the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Rim, and the faux-colonial homes in American suburbs. On the other hand, there is an emerging discourse that reconceptualizes utopia itself, not as a product but as an open process aimed at transforming, rather than transcending, the existing condition. This conference will focus on the theme of utopia and tradition in the twenty-first century. Held in Beirut, Lebanon, and cosponsored by the American University of Beirut, it brings together more than 140 scholars and practitioners from architecture, architectural history, art history, anthropology, geography, history, planning, sociology, urban studies, and related disciplines to present papers structured around three broad themes: "Utopian Ideals versus Traditional Physical Realities"; "The Practices of Utopia and the Politics of Tradition"; and "Utopia and the Space of Difference."

We would like to thank our principal sponsors in Beirut, the American University of Beirut, and the College of Environmental Design at the University of California, Berkeley.

*Nezar AlSayyad*

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## PLENARY SESSION THE POLITICS AND TRADITIONS OF UTOPIA

### RUPTURE AND RECOVERY: UTOPIA, TRADITION, AND SPATIAL AVANT-GARDES

*David Pinder*

*Queen Mary, University of London, U.K.*

### THE AGONISM OF UTOPIA

*Ananya Roy*

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

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### RUPTURE AND RECOVERY: UTOPIA, TRADITION, AND SPATIAL AVANT-GARDES

*David Pinder*

Estranging, breaking, clearing: these are characteristic utopian modes. A desire to make a fresh start, to erase traces, to sweep away the old and traditional so as to usher in the new runs through many modernist urban utopias in particular. Rupture with present conditions is the precondition for their establishment of radical difference in space and time. *Tabula rasa* is their favored foundation. Yet, if such demands provide much of the force of utopian rhetoric, they have also been the target of critics whose consequent claims that utopias are inherently destructive and authoritarian have done much to discredit them to this day.

Claims of a radical break by both protagonists and critics, however, need to be critically explored. The paper seeks to do this through a focus on tradition and modernity within avant-garde urban projects in Europe from the early to the mid-twentieth century. It will pay attention both to the different ways their interventions evoked and constructed notions of the traditional as a site of both rupture and recovery, and to how they drew upon and constituted traditions themselves. Exploring these themes, it is argued, provides a means of reconsidering both critiques of and attempts to rethink and revive forms of utopianism in the present.

### THE AGONISM OF UTOPIA

*Ananya Roy*

The project of the good city has long been the utopian dream of urban planners, philosophers of space, and urban social movements. In this talk, I outline and discuss (re)emergent conceptualizations of the good city. In particular, I examine four utopian perspectives: the civil city, habits of habitation, cosmopolitan responsibility, and the free citizen. I am interested in how such formulations of the good city face an impasse, how they stall around a few recurring themes: justice, collective good, difference, democracy. These themes represent desires and aspirations, but they are also fictions, driven by a fantasy of harmony and order. In place of the good city, I propose a political city of agonism, one that is shaped by the conjunctures of conflict and struggle. I explore two agonistic concept-metaphors — the bridge and the replicant — arguing that they constitute a different yet viable route to hope and transformation.

## PLENARY SESSION UTOPIA AND THE SPACE OF BELONGING

### HINTERLAND AESTHETICS: THE POSSIBILITIES OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN IN SUBTOPIAN URBANISM

*Michael Dear*

*University of California, Berkeley*

### DWELLING IN UTOPIA

*Ghassan Hage*

*University of Melbourne, Australia*

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### HINTERLAND AESTHETICS: THE POSSIBILITIES OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN IN SUBTOPIAN URBANISM

*Michael Dear*

Analyses of the urban question in the mid-twentieth century began as a search for an urban science that could explain the rationalities of the modernist city. It evolved into a Marxist-inspired interrogation of the specificity of the urban — that is, the authenticity of a conceptual primitive (the city) that was best regarded as epiphenomenal to the capitalist mode of production. The reductionism implicit in this categorical shift caused a third mutation in the urban question: the reconstitution of the “city” as an analytical primitive, both constitutive of and an outcome from a general urban dynamic.

In the cultural/intellectual maelstrom of postmodernity, the meaning and diversity of the urban experience achieve a new prominence, powered by the ubiquity of a global urbanization and the rise of a network society. The consequent shift from a center-driven city form to a decentered, hinterland-dominated urbanism requires that we properly parse the empirical texts of the city in order to develop a more robust theory capable of addressing the urban question, its “hinterland aesthetic,” and its consequences for environmental design.

### DWELLING IN UTOPIA

*Ghassan Hage*

While the notion of space is etymologically inscribed in the notion of utopia, the modern experience of utopia has always been based, either implicitly or explicitly, on an interplay between time and space. More often than not, utopian thought posits an ideal mode of dwelling in the world imagined to have been lost in the past and that needs to be regained in the future. This utopian structure is found in monotheistic conceptions of the fall, where

humans lose their ideal traditional dwelling, as it were, the Garden of Eden, and from that moment on become oriented toward recapturing it in Heaven.

This structure of thinking, where loss and the hope of a better future merge, has always characterized modern utopia: modernity makes us lose something ideal but at the same time provides us with the possibility of regaining it. Nationalists, for example, always imagine that something (immigrants, globalization, etc.) has made them lose their ideal national “home”/dwelling, but at the same time they wouldn’t be nationalists without believing in the possibility of regaining it. Likewise, Marxist-inspired utopias have always implicitly or explicitly condemned capitalism for destroying traditional society and community, but have celebrated their capacity to re-create it.

But is this mode of thinking about utopia universal or specific to modernity? Psychoanalysis certainly provides a strong case for seeing in the structure of utopian thinking the universal structure of the lacking subject. The moment the subject separates from the womb, its “traditional dwelling” as it were, the subject becomes nostalgic and wants to regain the feeling of “fullness” that s/he imagines the womb to have provided. Here, all utopia becomes a reconfiguration of this impossible desire to regain the forever-lost traditional dwelling.

There are, however, differently structured, and decidedly non-modern, modes of conceiving utopia. Ethnographic work among Amazonian and Melanesian tribes reveals a utopian/mystical conception of dwelling in/with nature that is not perceived so much as something that has existed in the past or can exist in the future, but rather something that exists as an elsewhere *in the here and now*. To access such a mode of thinking we need to toy with the idea that we can dwell in a multiplicity of realities that coexist within the same location. Such a notion of “multinaturalism” has recently been theorized by Bruno Latour, and was inspired by the work of the Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro.

My interest in these arguments, however, is not driven by a “we do this” and “they do that” cultural relativism. At the core of multinaturalism is the idea that we all share the fact of dwelling in a multiplicity of realities. In an argument that has its roots in the work of Lucien Levy-Bruhl, we can say that it is not that we don’t live in a utopian/mystical reality; rather it is that modernity has not allowed us to access it in the way nonmoderns do. Are our conceptions of utopia, which project it away from us, symptomatic of such a repression? And in what way does that link with our investments in the “traditional dwelling”? Today, as modernity begins to unravel, conceiving utopia as a question of the here and now has analytical, practical and political consequences in many domains of life.

## A.1 ARTICULATIONS OF THE IDEAL

### MY SWEET TRADITIONAL URBANISM UTOPIA

*Lineu Castello*

*Universidade Federal Do Rio Grande Do Sul, Brazil*

### UTOPIAN COMPOUNDS IN A DYSTOPIC COMMUNITY: THE BUILT PURSUIT OF UTOPIA IN DENNILTON, SOUTH AFRICA

*Chris Harnish*

*Philadelphia University, U.S.A.*

### PLASTUTOPIA: "GLOBUS CASSUS" AS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONCEPTION OF UTOPIAS

*Christian Waldvogel*

*Independent Scholar, Switzerland*

### AUTOMOBILE UTOPIAS AND TRADITIONAL URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE: VISIONS OF THE COMING CONFLICT, 1925–1940

*Ted Shelton*

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

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### MY SWEET TRADITIONAL URBANISM UTOPIA

*Lineu Castello*

In a way, I miss the time of traditional utopias in modernist urbanism, when all one had to do was design an intelligent technical plan that doubled with a beautifully idealized brief to bless fortunate urban residents with a load of good things. Everything was convincingly simple: conceive, design, build — and, presto, achieve a beautiful utopian spatial object, a town, just waiting for the architect to press the power button and turn it on. Populated by healthy human beings ready to work, circulate, recreate and live in airy dwellings, as advised by urbanists, the new utopian science responded to the new traditions of living in urban environments and working in industrious production.

But traditions change, and new utopias are engendered. That town transmuted into a metropolis; the architect transubstantiated into a team of agencies of varied scopes; the residents were introduced to hell in urban quarters; industrious production mutated into consumption; and public and private spaces merged into each other in the heterotopia of today's urban environments. Modern urbanism also breached into a postmodern condition, replaced by a constellation of urban projects (and nonprojects) scattered along extended urbanizations. Is this the death of the urbanism utopia? "Le Grand Pari(s)," a recent exhibition in Paris, is one indicator that a reawakening of the utopian is actually being concocted. Briefed by the French president, a group of notable urbanists delivered answers to the "defiant bet" (*pari*) posed by "Great Paris."

As observed by Nicolai Ouroussof, the *New York Times* critic, "He understands that the physical environment can be used to change behavior. And I think the architects responded."

This paper makes two points. One concerns the modernization of the concept of places to address invented places. These are often the focus of today's meta-urbanism, and include themed environments and Disneyesque locales that incorporate traditional utopian fantasies to delight their users and attract visitors. My sweet traditional urbanism utopia, however, is no longer sufficient to accommodate the escalating complexity appended to contemporary traditions. Placemaking alone does not suffice if not encompassed by strategic place-marketing. Perhaps this time utopia will only flourish under the vogue of a (bitter)sweet urbanism — but, anyhow, a utopia directed to create (real) public places in cities, somehow modernizing the modernist directives that once claimed to create freely accessible spaces for all citizens.

The second issue involves a new tradition — living in metropolises — and the new utopias involved. One welcome result would be the materializing of a network of polycentric places of urbanity, distributed and interconnected throughout a whole region, establishing a process of partial utopias, in which urbanism yields a utopia of places.

### UTOPIAN COMPOUNDS IN A DYSTOPIC COMMUNITY: THE BUILT PURSUIT OF UTOPIA IN DENNILTON, SOUTH AFRICA

*Chris Harnish*

Dennilton, South Africa, presents a mixed narrative of cultures, histories, politics and traditions. Once a small self-sustaining agrarian community, the town's population exploded during the forced resettlements of the apartheid era despite a lack of political, economic or infrastructural support. After apartheid, governmental promises of economic and cultural stability never materialized. Today, separated from their traditional and neotraditional cultures, some community members have been forced to seek legitimate income far from its borders while others rely on meager government support for sustenance. The fear of crime keeps its residents indoors, and many estimate that 40 percent of its population is HIV-positive. Dennilton is a town unhinged from history, culture and tradition — a dystopia.

The assortment of buildings in Dennilton's landscape, their types and materials, reflect this identity-less condition. Techniques, materials and forms vary from building to building in a spatial culture too disparate to define. Yet it is in the context of this fabric-less community and indeterminate building stock that certain individuals imagine, build and improve their own unique, utopic domestic compounds.

Juxtaposed against the dystopic social condition, these compounds are rooted in a tradition of family subsistence, yet they are not bound by specific traditional techniques or forms. The compounds respond to and transform the current condition rather than cloaking themselves in historic tradition. Using readily available practical materials and ingenious techniques, their builders

have developed an idealized spatial form based in the present, rather than looking to such quaint past notions as thatched roofs and round huts. In *Aware of Utopia*, David Plath argued that utopianism can mistakenly ground itself in tradition, suggesting “‘used to be’ is after all, a common idiom for ‘ought to be.’” Contrarily, these compounds suggest that what is, is, and what may be, can be.

This paper examines two examples of these compounds, studying how each builds upon cultural traditions yet uses contemporary materials and forms to achieve a variety of timely outcomes. The first is the compound of Mr. Ramaila, an 86-year-old theologian and prophet, who lives among productive gardens and fruit trees. Organized inside a perimeter wall, his compound contains buildings whose forms and detailing have varied greatly over the thirty years it has taken him to construct them. The second example is that of Mr. Mtschwen, a builder since childhood, who began his compound 35 years ago and is still constructing new buildings in it. Open to the surrounding landscape, it includes numerous practical additions that provide for his extended family, livestock, and farming activities.

Having lived in one compound and closely observed construction of the other, the author will examine the materials, techniques and forms used, and seek to explain the cultural rationale of the varying outcomes. The paper will further study these compounds as examples of ways that individuals may respond to dystopic cultural conditions.

## PLASTUTOPIA: “GLOBUS CASSUS” AS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE CONCEPTION OF UTOPIAS

*Christian Waldvogel*

Utopias are generally developed within a framework — the world and worldview from which their authors work, and which, by formulating their utopias, they criticize, reformulate and expand. Moreover, the process of generating a utopia involves the selective alteration and inversion of founding principles and critical aspects of their author’s world. Any utopia is hence nurtured by its author’s worldview, analysis of the world he or she lives in, and solutions and strategies he or she envisions for changing that world. This method tends to elicit utopian thinking which recounts more about the author, his or her worldview, and the traditions he or she represents than any radically new and fundamentally better world.

To take the notion of utopia a step further and work toward utopias that are less attached to the world of their conception, one can imagine the existence of a “plastutopia,” a framework which serves as a notional and exclusively theoretical, yet somehow ideal, world from which the development of utopias could take place. This framework should be highly precise, yet completely open and unrestrained, and applicable to a multitude of situations, aspects and topics.

As utopias are always based on the perception of a world and use generative mechanisms like evolution, inheritance, alteration

and eversion, such mechanisms must be used for the conception of the plastutopia. And since progress and development happen on the axis between reality and the ideal or contrary, the plastutopia must embody our world’s opposite — its inversion, its antipode. These considerations have led to the development of “Globus Cassus,” a proposal to construct an immense, hollow body, on the inner surface of which humanity would live. It would be built using the Earth as construction material, and embody humanity’s absolute mastery of nature through a total design undertaking.

Such a conception gives rise to a wide array of questions. Leaving aside aspects of feasibility or desirability, and alongside overcoming the gods and proving no hell exists below us, I focus here on the philosophical implications of a complete reconstruction of the human habitat. Beyond this, however, “Globus Cassus” is neither utopia nor dystopia, but plastutopia. It encompasses no description of how one would live there — just the assertion that it would be possible to construct it. Thereby, “Globus Cassus” could act as a framework to be notionally inhabited by authors of utopias based on the contrary of any world, be it today’s or tomorrow’s. All the world’s political, social and economic aspects — to name just a few — could be projected into this hollow receptacle, and from there, many utopias might be formulated.

With “Globus Cassus” being a plastutopia, and therefore acting as the generative framework for the design of multiple utopias (which in turn would depict their author’s worldviews), it would also become an indirect, yet precise tool for understanding our world, reality.

## AUTOMOBILE UTOPIAS AND TRADITIONAL URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE: VISIONS OF THE COMING CONFLICT, 1925–1940

*Ted Shelton*

Five automobile utopias presaged a conflict of infrastructures that had profound implications for traditional urban form throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century: Plan Voisin (Corbusier, 1925 and 1929), The Metropolis of Tomorrow (Ferris, 1929), Broadacre City (Wright, 1932), La Ville Radieuse (Corbusier, 1935), and Futurama (Bel Geddes, 1939-40). Each of these proposals sought to resolve the ever-increasing speed and large-scale geometries of the automobile with the much finer grain and slower speeds of the traditional city street. The paper explores each utopia’s typology, intentionality, and attitudes toward and uses of traditional urban infrastructures.



## B.1 UTOPIA AND THE COLONIAL PROJECT

### UTOPIA EUROPE: MAKING RHODES GREEK

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### PLANNING PRACTICES AND THE UTOPIA OF LUSO-TROPICALISM IN PORTUGAL/MOZAMBIQUE, 1945–1975

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### WHOSE IDEAL VILLAGE IS IT? SPATIAL REFORM IN COLONIAL TAIWAN

*Ming-Chih Tsai*

*Fo Guang University, Taiwan*

### MODERNITY AND ITS DISCONTENTS: COLONIAL SPATIAL ORDER IN KARACHI

*Sarwat Viqar*

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### UTOPIA EUROPE: MAKING RHODES GREEK

*Mia Fuller*

In the walled city of Rhodes, there were roughly thirty mosques a century ago, dating from the five centuries of Ottoman rule that ended with Italian occupation in 1912. Today, the three largest ones still stand — in disrepair, and closed to the public — while the smaller ones are being removed to restore the Byzantine chapels on top of which they were once built. In one sense, this is hardly surprising: most of the Turkish population left long ago, and the few remaining Muslims have been marginalized throughout the decades since the island became part of Greece in 1947. A closer view, however, casts these ongoing demolitions as a new step in the long process whereby Greece has appropriated the history of the town, a UNESCO World Heritage Center, and “made it Greek.” In addition to physical destruction, this transformation operates through linguistic erasure that further obliterates vestiges of the town’s Muslim past and Turkish character. For example, whereas under Turkish rule Greeks were not even permitted to live within the walls, in every sense the town and its residents claim it was “always Greek.” On a smaller scale, the Turkish bath still operates (in an architecturally typical *hammam* structure), but all the signage strenuously calls it a “public bath.”

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the European Union has financed, and is still financing, the demolition of some of the smaller mosques. Thus, at the same time that Turkey is straining to join the E.U., the E.U. is supporting work

that creates artificial differences between a “European,” (i.e., medieval and Christian built environment) and a Turkish one. Thus the new signs that have begun to appear on the smallest Byzantine remains highlight claims to a constant historical Christianity, naming the chapel the site once held. Meanwhile, where mosques once stood there is no trace of them, not even in the didactic plaques. Overall, the old town is increasingly contrived as purely and uninterruptedly European — which, in addition to solidifying the Greek identification with Europe and the “making Greek” of Rhodes, contributes to its touristic appeal and generates revenue. For the hordes of northern Europeans who visit six months of the year, it has the appeal of the Middle East without any of the unfamiliarity.

This paper focuses on physical and linguistic ways in which a notion of Greek vernacular tradition, along with Byzantine architectural forms, has been bolstered in Rhodes. It also situates this particular case, with its various political and bureaucratic actors, in the larger frame of the utopic search for a unified, historically stable, religiously simple Europe — a utopia that has been pursued over centuries and through the two World Wars. From this angle, the stakes of destroying Ottoman traces are far greater than the long-standing power struggle between Greeks and Turks. Though on the geographic fringes of territorial Europe, Rhodes occupies a central place as an artificial realization and showcase of that utopic vision.

### PLANNING PRACTICES AND THE UTOPIA OF LUSO-TROPICALISM IN PORTUGAL/MOZAMBIQUE, 1945-1975

*Tiago Castela*

This paper addresses the ways in which concepts of tradition and indigeness were framed by “Luso-Tropicalism,” a utopian program for a specific Portuguese imperial rationality initially devised by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in the 1930s. In addition, the paper explores how “indigenous” dwelling practices were included as an element of a postwar planning regime inspired by Luso-Tropicalism in the colony of Mozambique during the third quarter of the twentieth century. As other European empires unraveled, Freyre drew from historical research to construct a normative model for a trans-Atlantic Portuguese civilization whose distinctive feature would be miscegenation. Luso-Tropicalism was adapted as a discourse and disseminated by a Portuguese state that employed planning as part of its response to independence movements in Africa.

Although a valuable body of literature has engaged with European colonial urbanism in northern Africa, European planning practices in the southern part of the continent are not well known. If past research has shown how French colonies were a territory for experimentation with new planning techniques, this paper focuses on how the formation of postwar planning categories was spatially extensive in the Portuguese empire. Indeed, a dual planning regime emerged concurrently in Portugal and its African colonies such as Mozambique, entailing new forms of peripheral housing for low-income wage-laborers. Such forms

included Lisbon's "clandestine" neighborhoods and the "indigenous" residential areas of Mozambique's capital, Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo). In the Lisbon area, housing produced under conditions of informality was fostered by municipalities, but absent in master plans. In contrast, in postwar Mozambican cities, the existence, location and size of "indigenous" neighborhood units, where formal regulations would not be applied, were planned in advance.

Drawing from archival research undertaken since 2007, the paper argues that such a regime was articulated with Luso-Tropicalism as a prospective program. Literature has characterized Luso-Tropicalism as an instrument of ideological domination founded on the eulogy of violently imposed hybridity. Nevertheless, this important critique disregards the utopian dimension of Luso-Tropicalism as a program, and the ways in which utopia induces effects on material conditions. Luso-Tropicalism would ultimately be deployed as a normative critique of previous colonial practices. The future empire was envisioned as a garden where the steady work of the colonizer enabled the slow unification of diversity. For Freyre, as for Portuguese planners in Mozambique, "indigenous" housing traditions were not to be evoked nor eliminated. Instead, "indigenous" modes of housing had to be "sanitized" but respected, since only through a slow process of acclimatization would the Mozambicans become Portuguese. Luso-Tropicalism and Portuguese colonial urbanism were in dialogue, forming part of an unsuccessful response to the problem of the administration of an imperial political organization facing proposals for the autonomy of individual subjects and subject territories. But, ultimately, the ways in which colonial planning practices produced inequity through the invocation of tradition would persist in independent Mozambique, as the distinction between the "cement" city and the "wicker" city continued to allow the management of inequality.

## WHOSE IDEAL VILLAGE IS IT? SPATIAL REFORM IN COLONIAL TAIWAN

*Ming-Chih Tsai*

Colonial powers are accustomed to interpreting a colony's space as darkness (or blackness) and have often sought to re-form colonized society and space into disciplined, well-arranged new patterns in the name of "health, enlightenment and modernity." Spatial reform has thus usually been regarded as a process of "ideal city/village building" for the colonized.

In its first colony, Taiwan, Japan integrated a colonial police system with the traditional Taiwanese *hoko* organization (composed of colonized Taiwanese as an auxiliary body to the colonial police) in order to discipline, police and reform traditional Taiwanese society and space. Unlike the situation in most other colonial contexts, however, the Japanese colonial police (the lowest-ranking colonial officials) and the *hoko* organization (led by Taiwanese gentries) jointly oversaw an informal space-building system that extended from "colonial cities" to "colonial locals." As part of this project, the construction of city streets and village roads,

and the general improvement of village environments, were largely administered by the colonial police and the *hoko* organizations. These efforts were always claimed to be part of "the benevolence given by modern civilization" and the construction of an "ideal village," "model village," or "culture village." But for whom was the ideal village built, and why?

This paper studies spatial reform in Taiwan under Japanese colonization as an example of the process and significance of "ideal village building." In the first, part I discuss the characteristic "darkness" of the colony as interpreted by the colonizer — in particular, the nature of traditional Taiwanese settlements as seen by the Japanese colonial police. In the second, part I argue that the program of ideal villages was undertaken more to facilitate colonial governance than to provide a brave new world for the colonized people. Spatial reform was based on exploiting Taiwanese money and labor, and the right to use the reformed space was also circumscribed.

Previous studies of colonial space have relied largely on official documents of colonizers, resulting in biased outcomes. To avoid such a unilateral view, this study will also examine work by Taiwanese writers during the Japanese colonial period to reveal the impressions of the colonized people concerning the processes and outcomes of spatial reform.

## MODERNITY AND ITS DISCONTENTS: COLONIAL SPATIAL ORDER IN KARACHI

*Sarwat Viqar*

This paper will investigate the relationship between colonial rule and urban space in the city of Karachi using a Foucauldian critique of the modern forms of governance that emerged in the nineteenth century. From its inception as a British colonial city, Karachi embodied certain spatial ideals that reflected the values of the colonial state. This spatial order was meant to inculcate a mode of power that would transform the workings of native politics and society. This system represented the ideals of liberal modernity, rooted in Enlightenment principles then emerging in Europe. This relation becomes particularly apparent when one considers how colonial rule was represented as a "humanizing" influence, one that would create a normative order and bring the colony into the fold of modernity and the rule of capital. This was not, however, an order that went unquestioned, and neither did it completely erase local conceptions of space. Despite attempts by the colonial power to introduce new planning principles and claim ownership of the city, the city that developed under the colonial administration exhibited contested meanings and hybrid forms that destabilized both the order of modern power and the order of tradition.

To illustrate these tensions, this paper examines the historical representation of the city through three divergent accounts written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These help draw a picture of the city as it developed during the colonial period. The paper situates these accounts within current historiography on South Asia, and it draws upon urban planning archives and documentation of the city's built environment.

## C.1 CONSUMING UTOPIAS OF LUXURY AND LEISURE

### UTOPIA IS BEHIND US: ETHNIC TOURISM AND ETHNIC PLAY AND THE SEARCH FOR A PARADISE ON EARTH

*Nelson Graburn*

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### THE SHELF LIFE OF UTOPIA: RUINING THE LAS VEGAS STRIP

*Stefan Al*

*Hong Kong University, China*

### CONSUMING "TRADITION": PIETY, MORALITY, AND LEISURE SITES IN BEIRUT

*Mona Harb and Lara Deeb*

*American University of Beirut, Lebanon, and Scripps College, U.S.A.*

### PRESERVATION OF HERITAGE CITIES IN CHINA: UTOPIA OR HETEROTOPIAS

*Shu-Yi Wang*

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### UTOPIA IS BEHIND US: ETHNIC TOURISM AND ETHNIC PLAY AND THE SEARCH FOR A PARADISE ON EARTH

*Nelson Graburn*

The search for authenticity in alterities of time, space and culture is a commonplace explanation for much of today's Western tourism (MacCannell, 1976). Indeed, the appeal of lost traditions has been with us in various forms — Luddite, arts and crafts, vernacular architecture, communal and communist societies, and so on — for more than two hundred years. Yet even as political imperialism slows, commercial and cultural imperialisms continue to penetrate most of the world, making alterities "hard to find." Conversely, cultural imperialists in the forms of tourists, anthropologists, and other scientist/explorers (or pilgrims) are fascinated by the "smell of death [extinction]" (Lanfant, 1995). Rosaldo (1989) has even pointed to "imperialist nostalgia," tourism driven by guilt for having been complicit with ethnocide and the destruction of possible cultural and/or natural utopias — which may be expiated by expressions of regret and revisits. Roy (2004) has recently examined this from another angle, stating that tradition is only authentic in the act of its consumption. Thus the consumption of tradition (in discourse, sightseeing, occupation, commoditization, and even in sublime appreciation) is coincident with its production. With respect to utopias, we can say they do not exist unless they are named and framed by those who do not inhabit them — much as Maquet (1968) argued that primitive art "does not exist except on shelves of our homes and in the cabinets of our galleries and museums."

The projects of modernity have involved striving toward utopia here on earth. This applied as much to Marxist framings in the East and the formerly colonized, as in the West. Deviations from this path or impatience in the pace of achievement turn tourists aside to look for glimpses of the better in the elsewhere. Since World War II, ethnic tourism, the search for utopian qualities (simplicity, equality, and freedom from temporal, spatial and social structures) has been directed at the formerly colonized, and at those even more remote, by the likes of their former colonizers. This paper looks at two other forms of "straying from the imagined idyllic landscapes toward a new politics of difference": the rise of ethnic/minority tourism in East Asia, especially in China (Harrell, 1995; Chio, 2009); and conversely, the escape into traditional American Indian lifeways by the middle classes of continental Europe (Kalshoven, 2010).

While the ever-more-affluent urban Chinese middle classes visit and gaze upon dressed-up minorities, their generally masculine utopia is merely a surface of sights and photographs, penetrating no deeper perhaps than a sexual encounter. These traveling audiences want to immerse themselves very little in a lifestyle which is still equated with the traditional, and hence primitive, to them seemingly inhabited by people who are struggling to achieve the evolved urban lives of today's socialist China. Meanwhile, the European serious players of an imagined lost alterity of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century North America, especially those recently released from the nonutopia of socialist Europe, submit themselves to harsh conditions and disciplined lifestyles, aiming toward a utopia of perfection in the crafting of traditional tools and clothes and re-creating the *communitas* of traditional rituals.

### THE SHELF LIFE OF UTOPIA: RUINING THE LAS VEGAS STRIP

*Stefan Al*

Architectural and urban critics have often theorized the Las Vegas Strip as a nonplace or a dystopia. Yet they have rarely considered casino designers' intentions. Casino complexes on the Strip, I claim, are intended as ideal forms, whether based on idealized visions of the past or future. The Strip can thus be considered a street lined with multiple competing utopias. As a result of this competition, utopias on the Las Vegas Strip have a relatively short shelf life. With each new entry, already-existing utopias diminish in value, until they are razed. The Strip is a space marked by demolition; it is a junkyard of utopias. Investigating the symbolic battles on the Strip between casinos tells us something about the duration of utopias and the stability of the sign, and it informs the notion of creative destruction with a symbolic dimension.

To illustrate these ideas, I will focus on four casino complexes built in different building periods on the Strip: El Rancho in 1941, Caesar's Palace in 1966, New York New York in 1997, and Project City Center in 2009. These are all cases of casinos that are idealized forms based on specific historical contexts, as well as structures of signification seeking to ruin one another with symbols.

## CONSUMING "TRADITION": PIETY, MORALITY, AND LEISURE SITES IN BEIRUT

*Mona Harb and Lara Deeb*

The southern suburbs of Beirut have been stigmatized since the civil war with the label al-Dahiya, which means "the suburb" but carries negative connotations associated with the area's predominantly Shi'a population and with a rebel identity associated with the political party Hezbollah. Previous scholarship has investigated the suburbs as a political territory managed by the network of institutions led by Hezbollah (Harb, 2010), and as a site where pious residents negotiate their everyday needs in relation to religious leaders (Deeb, 2006). Of these leaders, Sayyid Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah stands out as the most popular because of the adaptability of his rulings to contemporary needs. Much less is known about the suburbs as a part of the city with which dwellers engage on a leisurely level. This type of engagement has become progressively more visible since the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied south of Lebanon in 2000 and the Israeli war on Lebanon in 2006.

Indeed, the opening of an amusement park, Fantasy World (1999), by a private entrepreneur close to Hezbollah, and of a large-scale restaurant, al-Saha Traditional Village (2001), by Sayyid Fadlallah's philanthropic organization al-Mabarrat, initiated a peculiar entertainment phenomenon in al-Dahiya. Both sites eventually attracted a middle-class clientele who appreciated their high-quality services, especially in an environment that offered no other facilities of comparable standard. Customers felt especially comfortable because these places did not serve alcohol or non-halal meat and played soft music in keeping with their ideas about morality. The private sector quickly picked up on this profitable market niche: by 2008, approximately one hundred cafes and restaurants were operating in al-Dahiya, of which a considerable number were run by American-Lebanese entrepreneurs who had returned from emigration.

Referred to as sites where "the ambiance is controlled" (*jaww madbut*), the new leisure sites in the suburbs cater to different groups of people who share a desire to live a pious and moral lives and enjoy their free time. Families, couples, youth, the elderly, men and women meet in these places for lunch, dinner, or a break during which they smoke hookahs, or have a *saj* sandwich or fruit cocktail drink. Our research indicates that many of these "pious leisure sites" rely heavily on notions of "tradition" (*turath*) through their architecture, décor, menus, music, waiters' clothing, and musical programs. In our paper, we document the aesthetics and visual attributes privileged in these sites, and we investigate how notions of tradition are being used, conceptualized and disseminated. Our argument is two-fold. First, the consumption of tradition associates these sites with the formal and informal marketing industry of "Lebanese" tradition (and kitsch) as well as with the transnational aesthetics of "Lebaneseness" that circulate through the Lebanese diaspora. Second, the instrumentalization of tradition operates as a legitimizing mechanism, inscribing particular sets of social and cultural practices as "authentic" and

"moral" — even if these notions are contested, especially by those café owners who boast about their nontraditional aesthetics.

## PRESERVATION OF HERITAGE CITIES IN CHINA: UTOPIA OR HETEROPIAS

*Shu-Yi Wang*

This paper explores contemporary issues of continuity within historic cities in China as a result of World Heritage designation by UNESCO. Since China received its first World Heritage Site designation in 1986, official UNESCO recognition has become the preferred method to bring historic sites to the global stage and attract the attention of national and international communities. However, as heritage tourism has increasingly accompanied World Heritage designation, this newly dominant industry has had both negative and positive impacts on the physical, social and cultural environments of historic sites.

Chinese and non-Chinese scholars alike have expressed concerns and differing opinions on the repercussions of heritage tourism on World Heritage Sites in China. In this paper, I adopt the terms "utopia" and "heterotopias" to reflect the contradictory phenomena of World Heritage cities in China, to reference Foucault's concept of other spaces, and to address the sites' separation from Lefebvre's concept of everyday life. Hence, World Heritage Sites in China are considered "utopias" among dominant decision-makers and "heterotopias" among others. Here I propose three arguments.

1) World Heritage cities in China are economic constructs produced by the dominant power to attract recognition from the central government and the international community; therefore, the sites are also tools with which to redistribute and gain power.

2) Heritage tourism, accompanied by World Heritage designation, is a capitalist production that brings urban modernity to some while marginalizing the already disadvantaged in society. Thus, the reality of modernity is true for some, while objectionable and unreachable for others.

3) The World Heritage designation, while helping preservation activities, also affects the discourse on preservation in China; hence, the process of designation provokes a contradictory debate over the purpose of preservation in Asia.

In this paper, I use the ancient city of Pingyao and the historic town of Lijiang in China as case studies to examine the impact of World Heritage designation on the regeneration, restoration and re-creation of historic settlements. These include the policies of urban conservation, the process of urban transformation, and the creation of possible socio-cultural change on local contexts. Both sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List by UNESCO in 1997. These two traditional cities, which once provided services and supports for their native residents, no longer function as conventional places. Their traditional contexts have been replaced by global innovation as they have been transformed into spaces of difference.

## A.2 CONFLICT, IDENTITY, AND THE IDEAL

### IMAGINING *BIDONVILLE*: TRADITION AND THE MODERNIST UTOPIAN PROJECT IN NORTH AFRICA

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### UTOPIA FROM THE BOTTOM UP: A RECLAMATION PROJECT BY DISPLACED PEOPLE IN NORTHERN JAPAN

*Izumi Kuroishi*

*Aoyama Gakuin University, Japan*

### GEOGRAPHIES OF DIS/TOPIA IN THE NATION-STATE: ISRAEL, PALESTINE, AND THE GEOGRAPHIES OF LIBERATION

*Ron Smith*

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### THE KUWAIT OIL COMPANY TOWN OF AHMADI: A BRITISH UTOPIA IN THE ARABIAN DESERT, 1948–1961

*Reem Alissa*

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### IMAGINING *BIDONVILLE*: TRADITION AND THE MODERNIST UTOPIAN PROJECT IN NORTH AFRICA

*Anna Goodman*

French colonialism fundamentally changed the cities of the Maghreb. In Morocco, the French Protectorate, which governed from 1912 to 1956, symbolically dominated the city through such policies as the construction of urban monuments, the segregation of residential districts, and the preservation and commodification of the medina, the “traditional” Muslim city. The director of urbanism in Morocco from the 1930s until independence, Michel Ecochard, was a firm believer in the teleological utopia of modernist doctrine. Like many European planners at this time, he considered the rational planning principles of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne) to be key to planning “modern” cities.

The Protectorate’s interest in traditional forms first emerged in the 1930s when Ecochard’s Service d’Urbanisme conducted anthropological research on native dwelling habits. Architects and urbanists hoped to distill essential “Arab” characteristics for deployment in state-sponsored housing projects. Idealized traditions were the counterpoint to the “modernity” and “progress” that justified the Protectorate’s presence while giving shape to Europeans’ enlightened self-image. Research into traditional dwellings was also tied to the preservation (“mummification”) of the traditional city and the problem of the informal settlements, or *bidonvilles*, that were developing around urban centers.

In 1953 Georges Candilis and Shadrach Woods, two architects working for the African branch of Le Corbusier’s Atelier des Bâtitseurs (ATBAT-Afrique), presented the *bidonville* as a case study at CIAM’s ninth meeting in Aix-en-Provence. Previously, urbanists like Ecochard and considered the *bidonville* only as a problem to be solved and, hopefully, eliminated. But the younger generation defined the *bidonville* as a “traditional” native housing type with attributes worth admiring and promoting. Despite the obvious provisionality of *bidonvilles*, which were constructed of discarded oil drums and other refuse, and their unsanitary quality, the young Europeans idealized the settlements, claiming they shared a lineage with the much-admired medina. To justify this connection, Candilis and Woods used aerial photography and diagrams to show that the form of the *bidonville* was as visually evocative, functional, and ultimately static and backwards as the medina was perceived to be.

The connection between the *bidonville* and the medina is significant. European construction and historic preservation had prevented the medina’s growth. Meanwhile, the *bidonville* was an emerging form that tied a particular people, environment and process to shared meanings, values and symbols. Rural migrants living in *bidonvilles* shared knowledge of how to build shelters, and, as we now see, the form of the *bidonville* has passed from generation to generation and spread to other parts of the world.

In this paper I argue that while Moroccans were inventing new traditions to replace those frozen by the Protectorate, European modernists were constructing a symbolic *bidonville* to again neutralize and commodify the native collective life that threatened European domination. The study focuses on the techniques and documents used by Candilis and Woods to define *bidonvilles* as “traditional” environments. An examination of print media and other aesthetic productions demonstrates that the representation of this settlement type as “traditional” created a myth that allowed the modernist utopian project to endure, despite evidence of its impending failure.

### UTOPIA FROM THE BOTTOM UP: A RECLAMATION PROJECT BY DISPLACED PEOPLE IN NORTHERN JAPAN

*Izumi Kuroishi*

Utopia is generally explained as a place of ideal perfection, usually based on an impractical ideology and scheme, often directly representing its ideology in its spatial organization. However, in the case of cities reclaimed by displaced people in unproductive areas, the idea of utopia may have a more contradictory meaning. Here the idea of utopia may give moral support to people’s risky endeavors. Also, since those engaged in these settlement activities may often have been exiled from their traditional social networks, it may help them negotiate a hypertradition to realize their new society. Thus, in comparison to the utopian designs of powerful political, economic and spiritual leaders, these cities may express a different role for utopia in their formal organization. Reflecting a process of appropriation involving the people, the environment,

and social situations, the aspiration to utopian society may be found in the junction of different logics and tactics — an idea of utopia from the bottom up.

Based on the above assumption, this paper will address the reclamation of the Towada area in Japan's Aomori Prefecture from the early nineteenth century to the end of World War II. It examines how people here were supported by the idea of utopia in their construction of the community, and how the utopian ideals were realized in the form of the city. Especially (as we see in the case of Le Corbusier's idea of utopian cities), the paper will show how infrastructure technologies became symbolic tools for people to use in constructing a new land, overcoming the governance of the traditional nation-state.

The Towada land reclamation project accepted many people displaced from various areas as a result of political change in the central Japanese government. And it developed in a very characteristic way, fostering a strong sense of solidarity among a variety of peoples, and establishing the lofty ideal of a democratic utopian society by resisting the harsh weather. The city gradually developed with a focus on increasing agricultural production. In the project's first stage, a canal formed the central axis of the development. The next generation then invented a flexible planning system based on a grid of lots, in reference to traditional Japanese metropolises. This system fit the irregular form of the area, equitably distributed fields to every farmer, and balanced the distance between the urban center and outlying agricultural areas. It also allowed a sensitive arrangement of the different groups of people in the project and established various axes on which to locate their shrines and temples. The paper explains the role of the utopian ethos in this spatial formation by elaborating on the change of meaning of the city's axis. After democratization and economic development, as the utopian ethos in the area faded to historical legend, the grid of the city was derivatively connected to a shrine to form a symbolic axis.

## GEOGRAPHIES OF DIS/TOPIA IN THE NATION-STATE: ISRAEL, PALESTINE, AND THE GEOGRAPHIES OF LIBERATION

Ron Smith

A home for every worker, modernity, life away from the vagaries and brutalities of the ghetto and the *shtetl*: Zionism, at its inception, presented a vision of a near-perfect society, to be realized on a site referencing biblical texts, but secular in nature. This dream was predicated on making invisible the native through the credo, "a land without a people for a people without a land." In the ensuing decades, the European-inspired vision of Zionism has achieved great triumphs in its quest for a Jewish state. At the same time, the Zionist project has dashed Palestinian hopes for their own liberation, and left them stateless, with little to no control over their lives or future. This paper will interrogate the colonial imaginary of utopia in the form of a promised land in a zero-sum game — in effect, creating dystopia for the colonized other.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, numerous calls have been made to break with the tradition of nationalism. Many have suggested that the state is a notion doomed by progress, its importance fading with the economic, political and social norms of the past century. However, this notion is belied by the important role of the state for peoples seeking liberation, and the ever-increasing importance of the state in the rhetoric of security. Denied a representative form of government, safety or autonomy, the colonized may embrace a vision of liberation in the form of a free state, thereby reproducing the system of governance established through colonialism. This reactive utopianism takes the form of particular geographies in which people living under occupation, who have no state, create a utopian vision of a future state as a goal of struggle and liberation.

How did the nation-state become a utopian universal? How can a structure, born from colonial governance, come to represent liberation from that very colonial system? How did radical visions, rooted in the internationalist tradition, come to rely on the state as a vehicle for attaining political power? The paper will interrogate the dualistic visions of the nation-state as utopian liberatory entity and vehicle of dystopic violence and repression. In particular, it will examine the pernicious nature of the nation-state vision for peoples on both sides of the Palestinian/Israeli divide. As conflict rages in Israel and Palestine, peace is generally equated with the state — either two states side by side, or an all-encompassing state. This paper will finally address the question: can any form of state continue to represent peace, liberation, and an end to conflict?

## THE KUWAIT OIL COMPANY TOWN OF AHMADI: A BRITISH UTOPIA IN THE ARABIAN DESERT, 1948–1961

Reem Alissa

Oil wealth has largely been seen as the source for the unprecedented urban development and modernization of Arab Gulf cities. This perspective, however, fails to acknowledge two important facts: that modernization first appeared in the region in oil company towns; and that imperial powers played an influential role in the architectural and urban development of these towns. Although Western influence manifested itself differently in the various company towns in the region, my focus is on the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) town of Ahmadi. Located at the intersection of modernization and colonial urban theory, the KOC plan for Ahmadi and the architecture used to realize it relied on a doubly hierarchal system that promoted a utopian lifestyle rooted in British building traditions. As I argue here, these were deployed to shield expatriate senior employees from the "harsh" and "foreign" Arab desert and its people.

The paper will focus on the period between 1946, marking Kuwait's first export of oil, and 1961, the point at which Kuwait gained national independence and ceased being a British protectorate. After a brief history of the discovery and politics of oil in Kuwait, the presentation will explore the piecemeal building of Ahmadi between 1946 and 1961. The KOC town was built initial-

ly as an Anglo-American enclave for company employees and included such features and rituals as “Western-style” houses, cricket fields, afternoon tea, churches, an innovative central air-chilling system, central gas distribution, distilled water, and an “Arab Village” for the laborers — all situated in the barren Kuwaiti desert. Typical of an oil company town, the plan was based on a hierarchical system: the north section was for senior employees, with more spacious residential units and upscale amenities; the middle section was for junior employees and staff, with smaller units and fewer amenities; and the south section was for the “artisans” or unskilled labor, with even smaller units and no amenities. Thus, the first rung of the aforementioned double hierarchy was one of professional grade, while the second corresponded to ethnicity. The north section was for British and American employees, the middle section for Indians and Pakistanis, and the south for Arabs. By analyzing the architecture and town plan of Ahmadi, the paper will trace how spatial organization was choreographed to promote a utopian lifestyle for its expatriate senior employees alongside its constitutive others, Indian and Pakistani junior staff employees and Arab artisans.

The study relies on a variety of sources, including the KOC archives in Kuwait and the British Petroleum archives in Coventry. These consist of master plans, planning reports, a company publication called *The Kuwaiti* (in print since 1948), prolific photo archives, annual reports, and old video documentaries. It will also make use of the archives of *Alqabas* (a local Kuwaiti newspaper) as well as interviews with ex-residents, past Ahmadi governors, and various company employees.

## B.2 THE UTOPIAN POLITICS OF SPATIAL IDENTITY

### VISIONS OF CAIRO: THE FUTURE THAT NEVER WAS

*Mohamed Elshahed*

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### UTOPIAN VOYAGES IN THE POSTPOLITICAL ERA: ANALYZING THE VISIONS OF THE RUSSIAN PAPER ARCHITECTS

*Michael Ostwald and Michael Chapman*

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### MANSIONS IN THE GARDEN: THE POLITICS OF PROPERTY AND THE QUEST FOR IDEAL COMMUNITIES IN INTERWAR HONG KONG

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### PRODUCTION OF A COUNTER-HEGEMONY: CONSTRUCTING UTOPIAN NARRATIVES OF “KURDISHNESS” IN DIYARBAKIR, TURKEY

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### VISIONS OF CAIRO: THE FUTURE THAT NEVER WAS

*Mohamed Elshahed*

During the mid-twentieth century Muhammad dhul-Faqqar Bek put forth a plan to redesign the Qasr el-Nil area of central Cairo, site of former British colonial army barracks. A 1947 article in *al-Musawwar* journal that described it showed a remodeled Ismail Square (now Tahrir Square) including a museum of antiquities centered on public gardens. In addition, the grand plan called for the creation of a cultural and political center for the city, to include administrative offices for various ministries and government bureaucracies and a plethora of museums and commemorative statues. Vast public gardens would surround the new cultural, administrative and political institutions. Furthermore, the plan included a proposed new Parliament building modeled after the United States Capitol. As the article proclaimed, “the capital’s official, political and cultural life will be united” in the new center, “to give tourists and visitors a clear view of Egypt with its artifacts, and its modern city.” The plan was utopian in its conception and its visual representation. However, the city beyond it ceased to exist, and the Nile River was the only recognizable reference to its location.

As history indicates, the plan was never realized. However, the site was later occupied by the infamous Mugamma’ Building, the Nile Hilton, and the headquarters of the Arab League, struc-

tures that came to represent the nationalist reframing of post-1952 Cairo. Thus, the plan described above reflects a particular unfulfilled moment in modern Egyptian history. It was a moment of transition, as evident by the images in *al-Musawwar* journal of Egyptian soldiers entering Qasr el-Nil for the first time. The proposed plan for Ismailiyya Square surely also had nationalist undertones, albeit loyal to the khedival dynasty. However, it is only with Gamal Abdel Nasser's building program that a truly national architectural culture emerged.

This paper analyzes of the transformation in architectural discourse from anti-colonial nationalism to postcolonial developmentalism in Egypt. It considers this transformation within the context of emerging Third World politics in the wake of mid-century decolonization movements. Architecture was a framework that allowed the imagining of "colonial" and "postcolonial" national Egypt. After the 1952 coup d'état, the new regime led by Nasser undertook a massive building program to reshape Cairo, its culture, and society.

This paper studies architectural culture in Cairo before and after the 1952 revolution to reveal the conflation of nationalism, architectural modernity, and urbanism. It seeks to situate Cairo's architectural development during the transitional period of the 1940s-1960s in relation to contemporary local and global debates on revolution, national identity, and modern architecture. By studying recently uncovered primary materials, along with press reports, the paper will shed light on the role of space in negotiating national identity in colonial and postcolonial Cairo. It argues that, regardless of the events of 1952, modernizing elites and the authoritarian revolutionary government manipulated architecture and urbanism as a form of "visible politics." The primary focus of the research was a close reading of three texts by Egyptian authors from the years before and after the benchmark year of 1952. In addition to these nationalist-utopian texts, it will consider a series of unrealized projects for mid-twentieth-century Cairo.

## UTOPIAN VOYAGES IN THE POSTPOLITICAL ERA: ANALYZING THE VISIONS OF THE RUSSIAN PAPER ARCHITECTS

*Michael Ostwald and Michael Chapman*

The works of the Russian Paper Architects — etchings of unbuilt designs produced illegally during the Brezhnev era — remain the subject of conflicting interpretation as either utopian constructs or architectural fantasies. The delineation between these categories has traditionally been supported by political arguments that classify the former as ideologically motivated and the latter as diversionary or whimsical. In order to analyze this disagreement, the paper considers a selection of works produced by two of the most prominent members of the Paper Architecture movement: Brodsky and Utkin. Finally, the paper proposes an alternative reading of their work inspired by the postpolitical philosophy of Rancière.

## MANSIONS IN THE GARDEN: THE POLITICS OF PROPERTY AND THE QUEST FOR IDEAL COMMUNITIES IN INTERWAR HONG KONG

*Cecilia Chu*

Since its inception as an attempt to ameliorate the urban problems of Victorian cities, Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept has reverberated through much of the world, with varied appropriations by planners on both the political right and left. In this paper, I examine how the utopian vision of the Garden City was deployed in planning practices in Hong Kong from the late 1910s to early 1930s — a period in which the British colony experienced a series of speculative land booms amidst simmering social unrest and the rapid rise of Chinese nationalism.

Although a novel formulation, many elements of the Garden City — such as the provision of greenbelts that insulated middle-class residents from a "degenerated" central city, ridden with crime and disease — resonated with racial-segregation policies implemented in Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century. While discriminatory zoning resulted in a dual-city pattern not unlike that of colonial cities elsewhere, the highly mixed pattern of property ownership and the government's heavy reliance on land taxes greatly facilitated an alignment of interests between Chinese and European property owners, who were both able to amass significant fortunes through speculative practices. Meanwhile, escalating property values prompted some "poor whites," most notably of Portuguese origin, to fight for the right to establish their own "garden city communities" along ethnic lines.

The opening up of Kowloon Peninsula after the completion of the Kowloon-Canton Railway in 1910 afforded new hope that Hong Kong's longstanding housing crisis and other urban problems would be eradicated. While planners and urban reformers conceived Kowloon as an ideal city of the future, in contrast to the colony's earlier haphazard and opportunistic development, developers and business entrepreneurs put forward ambitious housing schemes appealing mostly to the well-to-do. These included many Chinese merchants and overseas returnees who desired to live in modern environments that were equal to those of European elites. Increasingly, the use of the term "garden city" became a critical means for envisioning competing urban futures that were nonetheless predicated on a shared set of physical attributes and utopian imageries.

By tracing three garden city projects intended to create ideal communities of specific ethnic groups in Hong Kong's interwar years, the paper will illustrate the ambivalent linkage between housing forms and social norms in a racialized colonial landscape increasingly divided by class. It also seeks to connect development during this period to shifting imperialist ideologies and the ongoing impact of colonial capitalism, and thus elucidate the ways contingent forms of social consensus were enabled in a city characterized by prosperity and inequalities.



## PRODUCTION OF A COUNTER-HEGEMONY: CONSTRUCTING UTOPIAN NARRATIVES OF “KURDISHNESS” IN DIYARBAKIR, TURKEY

*Muna Guvenc*

This paper examines the making of Kurdish national attachments in the context of the contentious relationship between the state of Turkey and Kurdish society. It focuses on parks and monuments in the city of Diyarbakir, installed by elected pro-Kurdish mayors, as sites of contestation and meaning production for Kurdish identity.

Since the early 1980s, a rising Kurdish national movement along with armed conflict between the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and the state of Turkey has brought the “Kurdish Question” to the center of Turkish politics. Particularly after the internal displacements of the 1990s, Diyarbakir, a principal center of Kurdish politics in Turkey, has been transformed into a contested space, where Kurdish society is both marginalized and institutionalized. At the urban scale, the reciprocal and aggregated practices of diverse actors — pro-Kurdish mayors, NGOs, civil society, state-appointed governors, and the military — have enacted a conflicting set of hegemonies in the urban space of Diyarbakir.

Today the city’s public parks, with their iconic monuments, have become a central site of everyday politics where pro-Kurdish mayors have tried to politicize and construct a “new” Kurdish identity. The parks are associated with such uses as gathering for marches, protesting the state, commemorating past Kurdish rebellions and activists, and organizing public sermons and “Newroz” festivals. With the aim of popularizing Kurdishness, public parks have become a key resource in the manufacture of a new Kurdish tradition and the production of counter-hegemonic agendas against the state. Further, through building monuments which symbolize imagined Kurdish culture and naming parks after important Kurdish figures, local municipalities have identified these places as symbols of Kurdish resistance. At the same time, these same public spaces remain under state surveillance and are subject to being demolished.

When Kurdish nationalist aspirations rely on such imagined territorial utopias, what, in the end, makes a Kurd a Kurd? This paper contextualizes the invention of “tradition” as a continuing process embodying different relations of power, by highlighting the way that the state of Turkey and Kurdish society struggle through their own hegemonic agendas. Further, it seeks to understand how claims of national belonging are articulated through the invention of a “new” Kurdish tradition where Kurds are inscribed into an “imagined community” of Turkey (Anderson, 1991).

## C.2 THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF UTOPIA

### EMBODIED UTOPIAS OR MOMENTS OF HETEROTOPIA? TRACING RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN ARCHITECTURAL THEORY

*Hilde Heynen*

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### UTOPIA HAPPENS: MAKING UTOPIAS FOR THE EVERYDAY

*Peter Lang*

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### “CITIES LIKE DREAMS, MADE OF FEARS AND DESIRES”: THE PRACTICE OF URBAN CONSERVATION BETWEEN (E)UTOPIAS AND INVISIBLE CITIES

*May al-Ibrashy*

*The British University in Egypt*

### INTERRUPTED MAPPING: TWO ROMES

*Anne Munly*

*Syracuse University, U.S.A.*

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### EMBODIED UTOPIAS OR MOMENTS OF HETEROTOPIA? TRACING RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN ARCHITECTURAL THEORY

*Hilde Heynen*

The modernist idea of utopia as a brave new world underwent significant changes in the late twentieth century. Whereas modernist architects such as Le Corbusier or Frank Lloyd Wright had no qualms depicting idealized versions of the future (Fishman, 1977), the utopian impulse wore itself out in the 1960s, giving way to dystopian scenarios that saw the future in terms of loss and catastrophe (Van Schaik, 2005). In the 1980s and 1990s it even seemed as if the very idea of utopia had become compromised beyond redemption. Here and there, nevertheless, utopia began to be bound up with the notion of difference: something different had to be possible, something that was more than just a repetition of what already existed, something that harbored a promise that might be sensed though not completely articulated. “Embodied utopias” was the expression that some authors came up with: utopias that think the future — or reconfigure the past — not in an abstract, spiritual way, but rather as social and corporeal practices, recognizing the import of bodies that are ethnically, sexually, culturally and socially inscribed (Bingaman et al., 2002). In these embodied utopias the future was no longer seen as a brave new world to be invented from scratch, but an improved version of the present, where current limitations and oppressions would give way to liberating and emancipating practices — without, however, cutting connections with existing traditions, meaningful places, or vernacular cultures.

Some authors concerned with these issues relied upon the notion of “heterotopia” to describe the alternate architectural thinking and practices they were seeking. Michel Foucault described heterotopias, somewhat enigmatically, as “real places — places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society — which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.” His suggestion was that they should be considered places that offer accommodation for practices that, one way or another, fall outside the dominant culture. In the growing literature on heterotopia (e.g., Dehaene and De Caeter, 2007) this notion has been taken up in very different ways, sometimes stressing its subversive and emancipatory potentials, sometimes underlining its oppressive and disciplining aspects. Craig Wilkins (2007) proposed thinking in terms of “celebratory heterotopias,” places created by spatial practices that challenge conventional categorizations and that appropriate and palimpsestically alter dominant spatial understandings. This was for him the architectural/urban equivalent of bell hooks’s “choosing the space of the margin” (1989). Celebratory heterotopias are spaces where agency is a prerequisite, and where people act collectively, challenging cultural alienation, in the process producing euphoric, empowered subjects.

This paper will trace the theoretical conceptualization of the notions of embodied utopia and heterotopia in recent discourses that engage with architecture and the vernacular.

## UTOPIA HAPPENS: MAKING UTOPIAS FOR THE EVERYDAY

*Peter Lang*

This paper examines a number of influential postwar art, architecture and design movements that directly or indirectly advanced utopian visions for the contemporary urban environment. Cities can become sites of utopian experiment when they are engaged through diverse mediatic practices, when they become sources of cultural inquiry and intervention. To define utopian practice today is to recognize the power of self-organizing collectives (artists collectives, citizen action groups, informal home networks, work cooperatives, etc.) in triggering new and alternative approaches to social and territorial constructs. This paper will focus primarily on the interaction between a number of historic and contemporary artist collectives and their work within the urban environment.

The paper develops two basic concepts about the making of contemporary utopian environments. The first concerns the postwar shift among some members of the art and architecture avant-garde from embracing universal revolutionary ideologies to engaging in interventions at the scale of the everyday — thus involving limited numbers of people in smaller actions. The second concerns the increasing mobility of the subjects themselves, the attraction of becoming displaced, of seeking freedom through movement, through exchange and through the act of nomadic

wandering. When the everyday experience becomes a path toward liberation, the product is in many ways a series of minor utopian moments, divisible among smaller but more receptive communities. The mechanism for these transformations takes many forms, such as site installations, programmed happenings, unscripted theater, community rituals, electronic interactive environments — all under the scrutiny of the new media and enshrined in the makeshift designs of temporary structures, inflatables, tents, camps and campers.

Given the limited space here, my goal is to introduce a few of the episodes and personalities that contribute to this critical understanding of a utopian art and architectural practice. One of the principal theoretical figures cited on daily life and the production of space will be Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre’s creative relationship to two of the founding figures of International Situationism, Guy Debord and Constant Nieuwenhuys, is also of critical significance. Peter Sloterdijk’s work on defining the environment as the dominant preoccupation of twentieth-century technology also helped introduce a mediatic dimension that established the principles behind the kinds of interactive platforms for ongoing utopian experiments popularized by this conceptual postwar generation.

Continuing from the 1960s on, the narrative follows a series of experimental art groups working in environmental spaces and using experimental media. These groups pioneered innovative conceptual approaches to developing alternative utopian programs to transform their social and material culture. The paper will conclude with a short survey of a number of groups who examined the landscapes of the everyday. The collectives and individuals cited include Archigram, Coop Himmelb(l)au, USCO, Ant Farm, Gruppo T, Superstudio, Strum, Archizoom, UFO, 9999, Stalker/ON Rome, ID-Lab, Multiplicity, Metahaven, Raumlabor, Marjetica Potrc, Urban Flashes, Eyal Weizman, Stateless-Nation, Estudio Teddy Cruz, Urban Ecology, Stealth Unlimited, Normal Architecture Office, Rotor, Domenec, and Rally Conubano.

## “CITIES LIKE DREAMS, MADE OF FEARS AND DESIRES”: THE PRACTICE OF URBAN CONSERVATION BETWEEN (E)UTOPIAS AND INVISIBLE CITIES

*May al-Ibrashy*

The epistemological shift from Moore’s utopia, or no-place, to the (e)utopias, or happy places, of consequent utopian writing is wrought with difficulties related to a forced jump from fantastic musing to normative ideology. To conceptualize a utopian city that claims to be implementable requires a degree of naïve optimism mixed with single-minded righteousness. This potentially dangerous mix is also necessary, albeit in small doses, when embarking on any project of urban upgrade where the goal is to improve a historic city. As Rossi pointed out, urban conservation deals with the “political problem of the city”; through it the city “realizes its own idea of the city.” In other words, even in the most sensitive, problem-specific, micro-approaches, the idea of a city, the ideal city, looms in the background. The question is what

this ideal city is. Does it have to be a (e)utopia, or can there be other models that inform and inspire it?

In some cases, often inadvertently, the “city’s idea of the city” tends to be utopian. For instance, overzealous urban-conservation policies that draw Cartesian lines of planned order over accumulative, intuitive historic urban fabric seem to echo the three-step program described by Hutchinson in his discussion of the literary shift from utopias to (e)utopias: one finds a world, alienates it, and recontextualizes it. In the urban-upgrade project currently being implemented in Luxor, for example, the world is defined as ancient “Pharaonic” Egypt (nothing later); it is alienated by buffer zones of unbuilt land; and it is recontextualized as an “open-air museum.”

But is there another ideal city that one can take as a model, one that makes room for the city of the imaginary, of the unexpected, of the liminal, of the Lefebvrian moment? Can one, in planning and implementing urban conservation, produce (or preserve) cities “like dreams . . . made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else”? Can the discourse be inspired by postmodern descriptions of cities that are to be found in the likes of Calvino’s *Invisible Cities*, from which the above quote is taken? It may be time for the practice of conservation to look onto nonutopian models for inspiration. Postmodern literature that rejects form and structure and embraces the unwieldy, the uncategorizable, may be a better candidate for capturing the intangible.

A detailed look at Calvino’s *Invisible Cities* reveals a surprising relevance to issues of urban conservation. Cities like Zaira that consist of “relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past,” revisit conservation issues in a manner that is better suited to the reconciliation of opposites — a manner that preserves the intangible essence of the city, the essence that allows it to preserve its history without undermining its future.

This paper will discuss Calvino’s *Invisible Cities* as an alternative model for urban conservation, focusing on points of contact with principles of urban upgrading in historic cities.

## INTERRUPTED MAPPING: TWO ROMES

Anne Munly

This paper explores utopia as an open process by presenting “interruption” as a technique, and by applying it to produce alternative urban visions of Rome, Italy, and Rome, New York, that “stray from imagined idyllic landscapes towards a new politics of difference.”

The shipwrecked sailor is a frequent literary device used to gain the ulterior stance fundamental to the utopian mode. To see the whole of an existing condition from without enables the unmasking of binding ideologies; furthermore, it is this unmasking that often leads to change. The outsider’s objective stance is a traditional utopian conceit, one that contemporary notions of the utopian mode radically flip. However skewed and particularized,

local knowledge, rather than the lack of it, is seen as a way to gain an “outside” view, even if it is only a partial one. The technique of “interruption” intensifies the local, cutting into holistic schemas and inserting alternatives. Many insertions, when taken together, then produce an oscillating outline of possible futures.

“Piranesi Interrupted” is a speculative mapping that foregrounds the interstitial domesticity of the city over its monumental construction. G.B. Piranesi’s 1762 “Campus Martius” map of Rome, an influential emblem of monumental, anti-domestic tendencies, is the site of this work. Piranesi’s authoritative narrative acts as a preface to and explanation of his commanding visionary etchings. In this doubling of text and image, Piranesi set up the canonical reading of his plates. “Piranesi Interrupted” enters into its seams and interrupts this reading.

Piranesi evacuated his Campus Martius of the places of everyday life. In their place, a series of counter-posed monumental sequences vie for prominence. His was a forward-looking proposition, and in this sense the Campus Martius map proposes the form of an ideal city. Like all utopian schemes, it need not imagine any future change; thus history and time are no longer at play. I challenge his vision by infusing it with time, the quotidian and event. The residential interstices of a city reflect patterns of life, growth and decay. In inserting a trail of domesticity into his map, an interplay of new texts emerges.

“Interrupted City: Rome, New York” explores cultural dimensions of physical form mapped as a changing landscape through the analysis of 42 cognitive maps drawn by Rome’s citizens. The maps contain purposeful erasures and deep registrations in portraying life in this city, which is presently challenged by population decline, military base closure, urban renewal, and industrial downsizing. The official map of Rome is “interrupted” 42 times, inserting fragments of the city scene — parade routes, protests, housing genealogy — and constructing a thick description of place.

The research team interpreted qualitatively the range of emotion, memories, and future visions for Rome that are embedded in the maps. The maps were also analyzed quantitatively, and this data was layered onto digital GIS (geographic information systems) maps. A goal of this mixed-method approach was to spark dialogue about cities as multifaceted, multifutured places full of measurable and impressionable diversities and differences.

## A.3 ECOTOPIAS AND SUSTAINABLE IDEALS

### TECHNOLOGICAL FANTASIES FOR AN ECOLOGICAL FUTURE

*Rania Shafik and James Steele*

*University of Southern California, U.S.A., and National Research Center, Egypt*

### THE “ECOLOGICAL INDIAN” REVISITED: EVIDENCE FROM THE ARCTIC

*Steven Dinero*

*Philadelphia University, U.S.A.*

### BURONS AND JASSERIES: SITUATED UTOPIAS

*Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Loftin III*

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

### ECOTOPIA BETWEEN TRADITIONS AND TECHNOLOGY

*Gihan Hanallah and Riham Faragallah*

*Arab Academy for Science, Technology, and Maritime Transport, Egypt*

### IDEAL MODELS IN THE FORMATION OF KASHAN, IRAN

*Giulia Annalinda Neglia*

*Politecnico di Bari, Italy*

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### TECHNOLOGICAL FANTASIES FOR AN ECOLOGICAL FUTURE

*Rania Shafik and James Steele*

The idea of technological utopia evolved during the first machine age in the 1960s to include the megastructure. Buckminster Fuller proposed several, but his most famous was arguably the Harlem Project, whose climate-control systems were intended to be independent of external and environmental conditions. Paolo Soleri also proposed his “archologies,” such as Babel, at the same time.

The myth of a technological utopia has now been advanced further by high-tech architects who have pursued the paradoxical notion that high technology and sustainability can be compatible. One of the central ideas of this conference is that utopias use tradition in their formulation and perpetuation of the ideal. We will focus on the transformation of the attitude that science can provide an alternative to natural systems and be adapted to architectural strategies to free us of ecological imperatives. The United Arab Emirates presents a singular example of a nation attempting to pursue this vision to redefine urbanism for the future. Several projects there, conceived prior to the present economic disaster, were approached as models for an such ecotopian ideal.

One of the best examples of this vision is Masdar City, proposed by the Abu Dhabi Future Energy Company and master-planned by Foster and Partners. It is located 17 kilometers

southeast of Abu Dhabi and covers 6 square kilometers. It will have 50,000 inhabitants and be a mixed-use urban development with an emphasis on environmentally related products. Masdar City will depend entirely upon solar and renewable energy sources with a zero-carbon, zero-waste footprint.

Another initiative called Food City, spearheaded by the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and designed by the Emirates-based firm GCLA (Green Concepts Landscape Architects), is equally audacious, but instead focuses on addressing the issue of food equity by proposing a city which is entirely self-sufficient in agricultural production. This is intended to be achieved by the implementation of an extensive array of sustainable strategies including vertically stacked landscape surfaces, aquatic farms, and thermal conditioning provided by huge, tent-like transparent canopies.

In addition to these futuristic proposals, there have also been other more traditional concepts have also been proposed in Dubai. Among them are the Dubai Creek proposal of Rasem Badran and Xeritown by the local Dubai firm X-Architects. The future of projects in Dubai is in doubt due to the financial collapse of late 2009; however, the value system and vision that they represent is still relevant to our argument. The paper will compare and contrast the extreme solutions now being put forward in the environmental debate, objectively evaluating those which preference a technological approach against those which advocate a more traditional direction involving passive systems.

### THE “ECOLOGICAL INDIAN” REVISITED: EVIDENCE FROM THE ARCTIC

*Steven Dinero*

The environmental movement has long embraced the concerns of indigenous peoples in its panoply of causes. Situated within other nature-based issues, they often are portrayed by those who seek justice for the environment as part of the natural landscape, living in a harmonious, balanced — indeed, utopian — relationship with the surrounding flora and fauna. Since the 1970s, in particular, images of such spaces of idealized perfection have been utilized by this movement in an attempt to conflate the protection of indigenous cultures with policies which will lead to the protection of the environment, including increased levels of regulation and conservation of a variety of natural resources.

While, historically, indigenous peoples lived off the land in a subsistence manner, which continues to varying levels around the globe today, the romanticization of such lifestyles is disingenuous and potentially damaging to indigenous interests in the long term. As Shepard Krech (1999, 2007) has argued cogently in the North American case, such ideas only serve to Disneyfy Native cultures, relying upon imagery of the noble savage, Hollywood narratives, and repeated (albeit highly debated) statements made by the likes of Chief Seattle to perpetuate mythic Native Americans as the “first environmentalists” who sought to fend off white European colonists as they despoiled what was once a vast, wild and virgin utopia — a veritable Garden of Eden.

This paper will use a theoretical framework originally developed by Krech, and which builds upon responses from both his sympathizers as well as his detractors. Drawing upon primary data gathered in one case study community over the past decade (1999–2009), the Nets'aiti Gwich'in of Arctic Village, Alaska, I will analyze how these Natives perceive the present threats to the land where they have resided for millennia, a region some outsiders view as an “untouched, pristine wilderness.” I will also address their relationship with the environmental movement — specifically, how these Alaska Natives and their opposition to oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) for cultural/religious reasons has been co-opted into (and by) environmentalist ideology.

I will conclude by affirming that present-day environmental threats to indigenous peoples are in truth very real, and that damage brought on by climate change in particular must be addressed in a serious and studied manner. This concern illustrates all the more why the environmental movement's manipulation of indigenous iconography as part of its conservationist agenda may be viewed as Orientalist, paternalistic, Eurocentric, and at times self-defeating. In the process of seeking to protect indigenous interests within an environmental context, such views and imagery have instead perpetuated policies of disempowerment and loss. And, as such, they only further contribute to the ecocide that they seek to mitigate.

## BURONS AND JASSERIES: SITUATED UTOPIAS

*Jacqueline Victor and Laurence Loftin III*

*Webster's Dictionary* indicates that the word utopia comes from Greek and Latin meaning “no place.” Utopia has come to signify a place without significant intrusive or particular characteristics where a social or political organization is brought to an ideal state. The notion of an “ideal” stems from Plato's transcendent Forms in their eternal realm, separate from this circumstantial and imperfect world. So, of course, social or political organizations, as ideas, should be considered separate from issues of topography, climate or culture. This paper will argue that social and political organizations must be grounded in the realities of circumstance, history, place, topography, climate and culture. Indeed, social and political organizations cannot be understood at all separate from these considerations. The paper will argue that the idea of utopia must be reworked from the point of view of circumstance and environment. We will examine traditional *alpage*, cheese-making cultures in two adjacent regions of France, the Burons in Cantal and Ubrac and the Jasseries in Forez-Livradois, both in Auvergne in central France, in order to tease out their remarkable differences. These differences are embedded in the circumstances of their respective worlds and have led to very different cultures, and to very different engagements with the landscape.

The paper will use these two historical models to argue that the only true utopia is one where humans are intimately and consciously connected to their physical environment. In conclusion, it will be argued that the only successful utopia would be a sus-

tainable utopia. This would mean a utopia where the intimate and conscious physical connection to the environment is one that fosters the health and continuance of that environment.

## ECOTOPIA BETWEEN TRADITIONS AND TECHNOLOGY

*Gihan Hanallah and Riham Faragallah*

Utopia is an ideal, imaginary state of social and political perfection that implies balance between the natural and built environments. Recently, utopian theory has begun to consider the content of ecological future visions. But, at the same time, there has been little attention given to the reflexive and critical strategies of recent utopian narratives, which might contribute to radical ecology's social critiques and to imagining more environmentally cautious forms of society.

Utopia is a subjective and complex concept, which has been thoroughly utilized, but which has rarely been defined clearly. Generally, it is an expression of a place where people would most like to live. Both desirable and impossible, it has long remained an imaginary ideal place. However, this dream can be achieved in reality by designing zero-carbon societies embodying desired levels of environmental quality. Such a green utopia describes new ways in which society might relate to nature. It emerges from a perceived widening of the gap between modern, Western ways of living that destroy nature, and traditional ways that are thought to be more in harmony with nature.

The concept of green utopia and the idea of perfection from an ecological perspective is considered as an architectural challenge. Green utopia is built around two recurring themes — tradition and technology — each of which is a vital consideration in shaping the new concept of green utopia. Tradition and technology are loaded words, especially in relation to ecological architecture. There are traditions of technology in dealing with the environment, and tradition itself is the essence of technology.

On the one hand, tradition fundamentally represents the accumulated awareness and understanding of past generations in relation to effective ways of dealing with the environment and place-specific techniques that historically have been used to control microclimates by the people that live in. On the other, technology has been a functional adaptation, the making and using of tools both to survive in and transform the surroundings. Sociologists have long been aware that technology can be used to build as well as to destroy. Technology profoundly affects the cultural and political conditions of a society.

The paper will address the idea of perfection and the concept of ecotopia, presenting the main points of an ecologically responsible society as presented by ecotopians. It will trace different perspectives of ecological utopia by analyzing traditional aesthetics and influences of vernacular elements found in hot, arid regions and how these elements have been adapted in modern technological societies in the attempt to reach an ideal. Finally, the paper focuses on these utopian attempts to find the routes out of the ecological crisis, and it maps the possibilities of better, greener

future. Its aim is to transform and improve the natural and built environment through adapting traditional and modern technological techniques to reach the green utopian image. In another way, it tries to come to terms with the integration of appropriate traditional techniques and sophisticated new technologies for the ecological benefit.

### IDEAL MODELS IN THE FORMATION OF KASHAN, IRAN

*Giulia Annalinda Neglia*

Myths about the shaping of cities often refer to ideal forms derived from cosmogonic reasoning. A city thus may be said to be based on a biaxial plan oriented toward the cardinal points, or it may have a circular plan and a central temple. The actual shape of most cities, however, reflects little more than the idea of such utopian forms. Most cities rather respect general principles derived from the territories in which they are located.

The relationship of urban structure to ideal form can better be sought in settlement principles that shape various stages of its formation. These relate to urban models brought to bear in different eras, which are implemented according to need. This is the case of Kashan in Iran, which has been reshaped according to different ideal models implemented through real forms derived from the need for water and sunlight.

The first urban model according to which the city was shaped was Sasanid. It consisted of a plan composed of regular blocks, with a fire temple (or palace) on the site of the present-day Friday mosque. The urban fabric at this time was oriented along *qanats* (its water system). Kashan's second urban model, according to which it was enlarged, was related to the ideal circular model of Baghdad. The Abbasid city had circular walls, with the urban fabric set in rectangular blocks, instead of radial as in Baghdad, again oriented according to the direction of the *qanats*. The third urban model, according to which the city was later enlarged again, was related to the presence of an elliptical neighborhood, whose structure is still readable in the southeastern area of the city (close to the *qale Jalali*), whose fabric converging toward a central *abanbar* (well). These different urban models were the basis of the medieval city which itself was enlarged according to spontaneous logic and the direction of the water system.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the traditional physical structure of the city of Kashan was derived from a summation of several ideal settlement models, each interpreted in forms related to the need to sustain the city in a desert region. Here the urban fabric may be seen to be related to almost all the different phases of expansions, despite the adoption of different ideal settlement models — present a regular structure, due to the relationship between building and underground sewerage system. It is not a coincidence that in Kashan the *abanbars* represent real polarities of the urban fabric — the actual source of life in the city and the center of civic life at the urban and neighborhood scale.

## B.3 TRADITIONAL INFLUENCES AND UTOPIAN PRACTICES

### THE HAPPIEST PLACE/NONPLACE ON EARTH: UTOPIA, THEME PARKS, AND ITALIANATE SIMULACRA

*Stephanie Malia Hom*

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

### CONSTANTINOS DOXIADIS, ISLAMABAD, AND THE DREAM OF BUILDING ENTOPIA

*Robert Mohr*

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### UTOPIAN/DYSTOPIAN STRATEGIES FOR POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION: THE CASE OF BEIRUT

*Robert Saliba*

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### REDEVELOPING EUROPEANNESS OUT OF PLACE: STRUGGLES OVER THE LOCATION OF TRADITION IN THE UTOPIAN LANDSCAPES OF BUENOS AIRES AND ISTANBUL

*Ryan Centner*

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### UTOPIA'S OTHERS: ARCHITECTURE, APARTHEID AND MODERNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1960–2010

*Noëleen Murray*

*University of the Western Cape, South Africa*

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### THE HAPPIEST PLACE/NONPLACE ON EARTH: UTOPIA, THEME PARKS, AND ITALIANATE SIMULACRA

*Stephanie Malia Hom*

In an oft-cited article, Louis Marin described Disneyland as a “degenerate utopia,” that is, a place that “realizes a fragment of ideological discourse in the form of a myth or collective fantasy.” Disneyland is centered on a utopian geography — Main Street USA — which emerges as a space that reconciles (and arguably sublimates) oppositions: tradition and modernity, past and present, reality and fantasy. Based more on established ideas of community within American popular culture than Walt Disney's nostalgic memories of his Missouri hometown, Main Street USA is a place that never existed. In this sense, it is both *ou-topia* (nowhere) and *eu-topia* (the place of happiness) — or better yet, “the happiest place on earth.” Disneyland thus functions as a simulacrum that transforms reality into fantasy, and likewise, ideology into simulation, short-circuiting reality and reproducing images of varying cultures and histories.

Like Marin, I am concerned with the relationship between simulacrum and utopia, of which Disneyland is the consummate

example. But this paper seeks to complicate this relationship by exploring how a particular referent — “Italy” — has come to embody “tradition” at Disney’s most popular park (Tokyo Disney Resort). It also examines the return “home” of Disneyfied, Italianate simulacra at a theme park within Italy’s national borders, and it contemplates how the narration and representation of this utopian space differs and parallels its Disney progenitor.

In the first section of the paper, I discuss the theoretical discourse of utopia and simulacra — specifically, the scholarship on Disneyland and Disneyfication. Second, I explore “Italy” as a referent for tradition at Disney’s Tokyo Disney Resort. Here I examine two different scales of Italianate simulacra: a miniaturized simulacrum (the “It’s a Small World” ride at Tokyo Disneyland) and a maximized version (Mediterranean Harbor at Tokyo DisneySea). It is at the latter site that “Italy” stands in for “tradition.” Third, I look at a theme park in Italy modeled after Disney’s “It’s a Small World” ride: Italia in Miniatura (“Italy in Miniature”). Like the ride, Italia in Miniatura selectively reconstructs the major cities of Italy at a 1:5 scale. The paper concludes with comments on the relationship between Disneyfication, ideology and simulation, as well as on the globalization of utopia.

## CONSTANTINOS DOXIADIS, ISLAMABAD, AND THE DREAM OF BUILDING ENTOTIA

*Robert Mohr*

Islamabad is a city built from scratch. It was born from the dreams of Ayub Khan, Pakistan’s gregarious and globe-trotting army general-cum-president, and of its chief master planner, Constantinos Doxiadis, a gregarious, globe-trotting architect-cum-global development expert. Endowed with a desire for large-scale planning, both men possessed hubristic confidence in the human ability to develop rational solutions to urban and national dilemmas — technocratic strategies employed to realize grand visions. For Ayub, Islamabad was the symbol of a freshly formed nation-state, a nationalist project draped in dreams of progress, development and unity. Doxiadis’s Islamabad was conceived within his pan-disciplinary rubric of Ekistics, a component in his immense conception of Ecumenopolis, a planetary-scale vision for the far-distant future.

This investigation uses Islamabad as the territory for exploring Doxiadis’s oeuvre and his conception of Entopia, the socially and environmentally harmonious end-condition he envisioned from the application of Ekistics and the realization of Ecumenopolis. Entopia was built squarely upon a cosmopolitan worldview, and could most certainly be described as utopian. Yet, Doxiadis, the quintessential practitioner, defined Entopia precisely as a non-utopian project — an effort to avoid the seduction of what he referred to as grand utopian “dreams”: to focus on the practical while seeking to avoid the blind application of rational standards in underinformed international development schemes. Doxiadis aimed instead for a middle ground, and he deliberately framed Entopia as “between Utopia and Dystopia.” This description was

emblematic of Doxiadis’s hybrid career, one that fell somewhere between practice and theory — his proposals falling somewhere between rationality and dreaming. It was Doxiadis’s emphasis on implementation and his insistence on framing Entopia as an “attainable ideal” that made his approach unique, and his understudied master work of Islamabad an intriguing subject.

The twin themes of rationality and dreaming structure this investigation, which explores how Doxiadis’s urge to implement a cosmopolitan vision (informed by his own affection for the built form of the Athens of his youth), intersected with the realities of the freshly postcolonial Pakistan, where Islamabad would play a key role in supporting the government’s dream of constructing national identity. The paper further explores the subject of implementation by observing how Doxiadis’s interest in the realization of projects was fraught with an inherent tension between global ideals of connectivity and unity, and local values and traditions — between the universal and the localized. In its earnest attempt to move beyond the universal and realize the global village, in its attempt to cast it into concrete, Doxiadis’s “attainable” project for Entopia revealed its faults to become its own sort of utopian dream.

## UTOPIAN/DYSTOPIAN STRATEGIES FOR POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION: THE CASE OF BEIRUT

*Robert Saliba*

This paper investigates how postwar reconstruction can trigger aspirations for ideal communities and cities to obliterate the remains of a regressive past, and how such utopian visions may be politically charged to promote a progressive universal outlook still rooted in nationalist ideologies. This dual orientation toward the past and the future, the global and the local, as expressed in the slogan “Beirut, an ancient city for the future,” will be explored in two case studies of reconstruction following the 2006 summer war: Beirut’s central district (BCD), and its southern suburbs (al-Dahiyah).

In the first case, articulated around the theme of “reconstruction as utopia,” the paper will connect the urban design strategy of the BCD to the imported ideals of globalization in the 1980s and 1990s. It will discuss how these ideals intersected with the local imaginary to produce gated communities such as Saifi village in the heart of downtown, and how they generated a longing for towering structures replicating the silhouette of world cities. Here the emphasis is on utopia as a tool of professional practice at the service of speculation, aimed at transforming, rather than transcending, the existing conditions.

In the second case, articulated around the theme of “reconstruction as dystopia,” the paper will explore and reflect on the outcome of an urban design studio, conducted at the American University of Beirut on the theme of “utopian/dystopian strategies for Dahiyah reconstruction.” Students were asked to affirm a political stance for or against the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war and to express their position in terms of an ideal design gesture. This extreme approach was aimed at liberating the paradoxical and the poetic while reinforcing the politically radical. Students were able either to cel-

eborate the war as a national victory, or to condemn Hezbollah for totalitarianism and the production of radicalized “clones.”

The paper will expose and comment on the ideal visions of the students, arguing for a studio culture that acts as a catalyst for political confrontation, and therefore awareness. Here utopia is used as a tool to transcend rather than transform existing conditions. It will conclude by exploring the dual vision of Lebanon as “Riviera” and as “Citadel,” and how this dualism is shaping reconstruction depending on a diverse spatial and political context. While the Riviera vision is tied to ideals of modernization, Westernization and cosmopolitanism, the Citadel vision is profoundly embedded in a regional tradition of opposition and resistance.

### REDEVELOPING EUROPEANNESS OUT OF PLACE: STRUGGLES OVER THE LOCATION OF TRADITION IN THE UTOPIAN LANDSCAPES OF BUENOS AIRES AND ISTANBUL

*Ryan Centner*

What is Europeanness? How is it spatialized in the urban landscape? How does Europeanness become politically useful or productive in such a setting? Can it be redeveloped? How does Europeanness matter in the redevelopment of cities beyond the core of Europe?

This paper investigates these broad questions by focusing on cases outside of Europe that are nonetheless home to major urban projects asserting some kind of rekindled belonging to the traditions of Europe. Claims of “Europeanness” represent important terrains of struggle, both physically and symbolically, in a wide variety of cities, but two with recent commemorations (and remakings) of European connections serve as especially illustrative: Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Istanbul, Turkey.

These cities, and in particular the 2010 events of the Argentine Bicentennial celebrations (Buenos Aires) and the European Capital of Culture festivities (Istanbul), enable us to witness key struggles over landscape interventions that mark tradition through redevelopment, and thus attempt to redevelop tradition — an inevitably power-laden process that accentuates certain aspects of a place’s broad historical experience while diminishing others. In these and many other cases, there is a negotiation of particular and sometimes quite conflicting notions of Europeanness in dialogue with a range of “others”: Islam, Middle Easternness, Indigeneity, Mestizaje, Latin Americanness. These politicized redevelopments render caricatures of utopian landscapes that attempt to mask the politics of claiming and highlighting traditions.

In each city I focus on two sites of redevelopment that expose the politics of remaking traditions and traditional senses of place. These very distant metropolises exhibit divergent histories, yet nonetheless they evince common struggles over engagement with and redevelopment of Europeanness. These kinds of tensions have been the subject of postcolonialist analyses elsewhere. But it is also important to analyze such struggles in cities where the presence of European colonial powers was either not nearly as

clear-cut, or was much more distant and did not constitute the main bond with Europe.

In Istanbul, I examine Sulukule and Fener-Balat as key historic neighborhoods that the European Capital of Culture events have used to invoke a purified Ottoman heritage while casting particularized connections to Europe that both erase the Roma presence yet highlight long-diminished Jewish/Greek traces. In Buenos Aires, I compare the port districts of Puerto Madero and La Boca — so drastically different today, but with similar maritime origins. Both represented points of connection to Europe and the forging of hybrid *criollo* Argentine identities. But they have now been remade to embody, respectively, the cutting edge of First-World lifestyles and quaint old-world facades that efface their high concentration of indigenous-descended populations.

My conclusions center on the different yet related ways that Europeanness is mobilized in these two cities, but also on the variable utility of redeveloping these traditions in distinctly pitched neighborhood redevelopment contexts. These findings are relevant for many other sites undergoing transnationally pitched redevelopment, and specifically the cultivation of cultural landscapes that claim geopolitically differentiated (and geographically distant) forms of heritage.

### UTOPIA'S OTHERS: ARCHITECTURE, APARTHEID AND MODERNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1960-2010

*Noëleen Murray*

Apartheid South Africa was a white-supremacist utopia. Its notorious legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, and the Population Registration Act literally “set South Africans apart” along categorized, racial lines. This *apartheid* — the Afrikaans word for “separateness” — was mapped out across the national landscape, where white privilege was celebrated by high-modernist cities and buildings, supported by black laborers housed in migrant compounds and township ghettos. Under the Homeland System, black South Africans were relegated to ethnically traditional areas, where crude notions of tribalism were often used by their oppressors to define their “community” identities.

This paper explores some of the work of Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt, who died in 1998 but was, and remains, an important and influential figure in the disciplines of architecture and urban design in South Africa. As a prolific practitioner and academic at the liberal University of Cape Town, his influence has been far-reaching. Simultaneously a committed modernist and romantic traditionalist (as architect and critic Melinda Silverman has argued), his work provides a fascinating nexus through which to view apartheid’s utopic project. Making use of previously unexamined archival material, this paper examines in detail the extent of this influence. Importantly, it seeks to situate Uytenbogaardt’s work in relation to the rise of apartheid and speculates about the persistence of both modernist ideas and traditionalist ethnicized notions of Africaness in contemporary spatial practice. Through examining both the conception and reception of Uytenbogaardt’s



buildings and urban plans, the work locates modernist approaches to design prevalent in architecture and urban design as products of apartheid modernity.

The controversial and contested nature of Uytendogaardt's works provides space for critical analysis, as is evident in the uneven reception of his projects. Architects and urban designers revere him as a "master," while public sentiment has very often been strongly negative. This is most strikingly evident in the case of the recent proposed destruction of one of Uytendogaardt's most controversial works, the Werdmuller Centre. The Centre was built as a shopping area for the white apartheid public in the 1970s after forced removals in Cape Town's suburb of Claremont. Some have argued that Uytendogaardt's design, based on the concept of a traditional Middle Eastern "souk," is an example of "democratic architecture," and since 2007 architects and urban designers have argued passionately for its retention as an example of "timeless" modernist heritage.

Through this and other examples, the paper explores the complexities presented by professional practice in architecture and urban design for racially designated publics under apartheid. It argues that the work of practitioners and academics such as Uytendogaardt was intimately linked to the social crisis of urban apartheid. The resultant relationship is one of the complex and interrelated crises of modernist design, which, in abstract ways, deployed ethnicized notions of tradition. The paper further shows how this relation persists in post-apartheid South Africa. More generally, it seeks to identify the spatial disciplines (architecture, planning, urban design) as forms of social practice embedded in wider political and economic contexts.

## C.3 VISUALIZING UTOPIAS

### THE PROPHECY OF *CODE 46: AFUERA* IN DUBAI, OR OUR URBAN FUTURE

*Yasser Elsheshtawy*

*United Arab Emirates University*

### YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN: THE PLACE OF TRADITION IN *FIREFLY'S* DYSTOPIAN-UTOPIA AND UTOPIAN-DYSTOPIA

*Robert Brown*

*University of Plymouth, U.K.*

### DISSECTING *THE RED COCOON* TO EXPOSE THE CREATIVE REALLOCATION OF SPACE

*Catherine Hamel*

*University of Calgary, Canada*

### "IN THE PENAL COLONY": THE FATE OF TWO UTOPIAS

*Ayad Rahmani*

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

### FLIGHT LINES IN PIRANESI'S PLAN OF ROME: A NEW CONCEPT OF UTOPIA

*Gijs Wallis De Vries*

*Technische Universiteit Eindhoven, Netherlands*

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### THE PROPHECY OF *CODE 46: AFUERA* IN DUBAI, OR OUR URBAN FUTURE

*Yasser Elsheshtawy*

Using the premise of *Code 46*, a movie that adopts a strategy of found spaces, blending existing cities and locales to envision a global metropolis, this paper argues that the city of the future can be found in Dubai. Following an investigation of the notion of dystopia, it looks at the extent to which cities have been represented in science-fiction movies. After focusing on the choice of locale and the depiction of the dystopian, the discussion shifts to Dubai to examine the marginalized district of Satwa as an embodiment of an existing/future dystopia and a site of liberation and freedom.

### YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN: THE PLACE OF TRADITION IN *FIREFLY'S* DYSTOPIAN-UTOPIA AND UTOPIAN-DYSTOPIA

*Robert Brown*

The genre of science fiction has long been a site in which utopian and dystopian visions have been articulated — from Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land* and Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*, through Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* and Scott's *Bladerunner*. A common (mis)perception of the genre assumes that its narratives

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and settings draw upon the imaginings of its authors. A more careful reading recognizes that theirs is a universe whose representations both expand upon prevailing political and social discourses of their day and reexamine archetypal traditions.

The short-lived (though fanatically followed) television show *Firefly* is an exemplar of this convention. Set in Earth's future, it seems outwardly to be yet another fantasy about human life expanding out into the cosmos. Yet lying under this surface, amidst narratives which pose questions about gender roles, politics, and human nature, is a familiar yet challenging polemic: the desire for a return to origins, and the inherently flawed attempt to do so.

This binary is revealed through a contrast between the projection of a dystopian-utopia and a utopian-dystopia. The first lies at the center of the *Firefly* universe; echoing modernist tradition, it promises a future built on enlightenment and technological progress attained through human ingenuity. This new life is situated in an idealized scene of futuristic buildings in a greened landscape. The roots of this setting stretch back to humanity's primordial beginnings in the African savannah, an archetype since echoed in landscape and (sub)urban design.

The counterpart in *Firefly's* projected binary is an ostensibly dystopian archetype — the homeless. Displaced from the center, the wandering crew of the spaceship *Serenity* eke out an existence at the margins of inhabited space. Their ship literally falling apart around them, they are seemingly dislocated from any received traditions of home.

We are reminded through *Firefly's* narrative that the desire for a return to origins — which lies behind the center's utopian vision, however well-intended — is flawed; its implementation is only possible through reductive, homogenizing and hegemonic tendencies which disregard alternative views, and instead impose one absolute truth. Reflecting discussions of architecture's primitive hut and interrogating this archetype further, we find that such inherited ideas of origin are instead constructed, and that full realization of the paradigm is ultimately impossible. Projected in its place is an alternative: not of a singular utopia, but of a space which not only recognizes but embraces the fragmentation and diversity of everyday life. Echoing discourse on modernity and the erosion of home, in the context of this dystopia, *Serenity's* crew remake home on a daily basis.

This paper will utilize *Firefly* as a prompt for excursions to explore themes surrounding the desire for origins, and of palimpsest as an alternative aspiration. It will consider both the potency of tradition and its recurrent resurrections in envisioned utopias — and the failings inherent in such grand visions. It will also contend that, despite its impossibility, the dream of utopia remains present through its continual re-creation in the everyday.

## DISSECTING *THE RED COCOON* TO EXPOSE THE CREATIVE REALLOCATION OF SPACE

*Catherine Hamel*

Tomas Saraceno once succinctly commented that “utopia exists until it is created.” Until then, it survives in the realm of the imagination, where questions are asked in words, and potential answers are often sought through drawings, images, and virtual worlds. To address this issue, this paper presents two areas of exploration: it examines the tools of architectural representation; and it studies embodied politics through the experience of marginalized groups and their creative appropriation of space.

The starting point for both investigations is *The Red Cocoon* by the Japanese novelist Kôbô Abe. The story centers on an individual who questions the system of ownership of space and deals with his isolation and adaptation. His inability to belong forces him to exist on the boundaries formed by exclusion and confrontation with society. In *The Red Cocoon*, this line is a filament that the protagonist's body forms as he unravels in the face of rejection and homelessness. His body transforms, ultimately reducing itself to a cocoon. A policeman, the face of authority, takes his cocooned body home to his son's toy box. This carapace prison finally gives him the power to invade other people's space and the ability to belong.

The context of a toy box is a place where potential, rather than convention, exists. A box for play, not merely a game, means that rules are always open for interpretation rather than subject to conformity. Limits are only set by the restrictions of the players' imaginations. The larger theme of social justice, as a possible utopia, is explored at the points of intersection the story frames: points of intersection between the home, microscopic ideals individuals create, and the points of rupture within their larger context. As sites of collision between numerous forces, they are sites of both surrender and defiance. Blurring and reworking the boundaries of one's world, the metamorphosis in the story never allows for the total dissolution or complete unyielding of an identity. Riddled with exemptions, this identity does not seek to stay within rigid boundaries, but forges malleable links that shift and blend the many allegiances that form a just society.

Architecture is inherently political. The graphical procedures involved in conceiving buildings do not escape the betrayal of exclusion. Exploring the creative reallocation of space by the marginalized exposes subtle intrusions that are often dismissed. This intentional tracing of elusive shadows is the voicing of a subject to help it stand, not as a temporary emotive story, an accidental smudge, but as a narrative that confronts imposed ubiquity. We draw lines of distinction in the construction of our world — lines that are rigid, aggressive, imposing. But lines can also be subtle, delicate, wondering, and such vulnerable lines may turn drawing into a questioning process, one that challenges one's assuredness and assumptions. The body as a site of migration of knowledge dispels boundaries imposed. It is a collision between modes of expression and experience that can never be perfectly matched. The reverberation of a collision is always more interesting than the obvious explosion.

## “IN THE PENAL COLONY”: THE FATE OF TWO UTOPIAS

*Ayad Rahmani*

Unlike Franz Kafka's other stories, “In The Penal Colony” is particularly devoid of perspective. Where elsewhere Kafka envisioned his characters in difficult and at times suffocating spaces, here he pushes them forward and leaves them hanging, overexposed and rather stunted. In this story there are no streets or alleys other than those referenced by its central figure. There is really no need for them, as they seem to bring out the worst in people. Rather, Kafka wants to provide a clean slate on which to evaluate the merit of two opposing ideologies — two utopias, as it were — one old and precolonial, the other new and colonial.

As a setting, rather than an urban center, readers are presented with a desolate island of scabby and barren outlook, presumably somewhere off the coast of North Africa, as French seems to be the *lingua franca*. The only manmade object in the foreground is an instrument of great mechanical beauty, a penal machine whose chains and cranks will soon drive a bed of needles through the skin of an unfortunate prisoner. As the story opens, we learn the prisoner has just been sentenced to be strapped to this terrifying machine, by which, in the course of twelve hours, his verdict will be printed on his body. The officer in charge of the procedure is a man from the precolonial days, who is beside himself trying to convince others of the integrity and soundness of the old system. And yet what the old system represents vis-à-vis the penal machine is brutally cruel, inhuman and irrational — if, indeed, very beautiful. The officer's main object of address is an explorer, a typical European, well-meaning, but still equipped with the power to keep or erase the past. The explorer is connected with the new system and could sway its authority to either keep the old officer and his archaic, if well-crafted, methods, or totally abolish them in favor of new operations altogether.

Who wins? What happens? The penal machine ultimately crashes and kills not the prisoner but, interestingly, the officer, and the explorer runs away horrified, presumably back to his native land. Neither the colonialist's utopia nor that of the colonized wins; both come crashing down in one fell swoop. Could each have preserved its own and retained the values on which it stood and flourished? This paper will tackle this issue, paying particular tribute to such key points as the power of the gaze, the touch, the object, the masquerade, and the theatrical. It will also look at the notion of the antispacial and how when two conflicting utopias meet and fight, space inevitably has to melt away. This condition is not unlike that in which the Athenians and the men of Troy battled in no-man's land, on the plain, outside the gates of their respective cities.

## FLIGHT LINES IN PIRANESI'S PLAN OF ROME: A NEW CONCEPT OF UTOPIA

*Gijs Wallis De Vries*

The question addressed by utopia is for a way out. This need has returned with the crisis of neoliberal town planning. Recently, Castells and Burkhalter argued for an “idea-based economy” in a “post-consumer society,” and their analysis of the urban crisis led them to a proposal for the reconquest of infrastructure as a new basis of urban culture, one that reads like a utopian manifesto. Since ideas matter, the question is, What is the impact of a utopian idea? I will argue that it depends on how it folds itself into a given city to alter it from within.

In cities around the world communities are reclaiming public spaces as spaces of difference. My paper conceives difference as outside: outside the planned city, the marketed city, and its obsessions with safety, control and identity. These are spaces of escape, framed as a positive concept. In this regard, the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan distinguished three aspects: imagination (thinking of a different place), movement (going there), and design (making it).

Some architects are today involved, commissioned or unsolicited, in designing spaces of escape. Among these, Rem Koolhaas, a protagonist of this new design culture, has taken inspiration from the eighteenth-century artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi. He, in fact, called the labyrinthine lobby in his design for the new station “Euralille,” a “Piranesian space,” one stimulating the latent escapism of the traveler. Piranesi was best known for his views of Rome, ancient and modern, etchings of its ruins, including a speculative reconstruction called the Campo Marzio, which he dedicated to the city's renovation. I will clarify its amazing composition through the concept of flight lines taken from Deleuze and Guattari.

A close spatial reading of Piranesi's plan shows that it is not the “negative utopia” that it was described to be in the epochal analysis of Tafuri. The destruction of form that he pointed to is more than the deconstruction of the columnar order in the face of the emerging metropolis. Piranesi's questioning of the classical ideal consciously reused its fragments to compose a “chaosmos” combining huge infrastructural elements and Arcadian parks. He called it a hanging city, referring to built-up bridges and underground architecture, as well as to evoke the notion of hanging gardens. If it is “unhomely,” this sublime vision is far from the totalitarian “megastructures” that were the utopia of the 1960s. *Terrains vagues* between monumental structures invite the wanderer. In juxtaposing tectonic and atmospheric qualities, Piranesi combined the event and the everlasting, history and the everyday.

To contribute to a new urban paradigm, I conclude with the idea of “scape,” in which escape and landscape resonate. Since Gordon Cullen proposed the word “townscape,” hybridizations of landscape have abounded. “Scape” is meant in the utopian sense of both *ou-topia* (nonplace) and *eu-topia* (good place). It can be imagined and represented as the outside of the city inside the city. It can be part of everyday life. Urban anthropologists have made it clear that everyday life is inventive. It finds a way out. As Piranesi declared, to refute the critique that his designs were chaotic: “in the midst of fear springs forth delight.”

## A.4 URBAN UTOPIAS: REGENERATION, RENEWAL AND PLANNING

### EMERGING AFRICAN UTOPIA?: TINAPA FREE ZONE AND RESORT, CALABAR, NIGERIA

*Joseph Godlewski*

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

### IS THIS THE LATEST MODERN CITY OR THE FIRST OF A FUTURE BREED? SEJONG, SOUTH KOREA

*Sofia Shwayri*

*Seoul National University, Republic of Korea*

### PLANNING METROPOLITAN MIAMI: MASTER-PLANNING THE UTOPIA OF DIFFERENCE

*Hector Burga*

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

### ENGINEERING THE UTOPIA: POLICY-MAKERS AND THE UTOPIAN FUTURE VISION OF EGYPT

*Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah*

*Cairo University, Egypt*

### ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION: PRESERVATION, REPLICATION, OR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION?

*Azza Eleishe*

*Dar El Hekma College, Saudi Arabia*

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### EMERGING AFRICAN UTOPIA?: TINAPA FREE ZONE AND RESORT, CALABAR, NIGERIA

*Joseph Godlewski*

The anthropologist James Ferguson has noted the invocation by contemporary globalization theorists of shadowy metaphors to describe Africa's place in the world. The continent is often used to reveal the "dark side" or "satanic geographies" of globalization, constituting a "black hole in the information economy." With so much existing Afro-pessimism, imagining utopian ideals in the Nigerian context might seem like an exercise in counterintuition. The case of the Tinapa Free Zone and Resort in Calabar, Nigeria, however, attempts to challenge this discursive construction while engaging and reconceptualizing "traditional" Nigerian society in novel and complex ways.

Strategically situated in the southeast corner of Nigeria, near the Cameroon border, the historic seaport city and former slave-trading post has become a focus of West African development speculation. Considered the future lodestar of West African tourism, attempts have been made to implement a tax and zoning

strategy there similar to the special economic zones currently proliferating globally. The city was known to European sailors as long ago as the nineteenth century and has been recognized as an international seaport since the sixteenth century. But it has risen to prominence recently based on its aspirations to become a resort destination similar to Hong Kong or Dubai, with elaborate plans for a diverse program of amenities such as a shopping mall, hotels, a Nollywood film studio, an amusement park, a wave pool, a casino, a slave-trade museum, and a drill-monkey sanctuary.

This presentation will interrogate this emerging socio-spatial organization as a form of African development and study the specific ways traditional and modern architecture are being deployed in the creation of such laissez-faire resort environments. Though it's too early to evaluate the efficacy of Tinapa's planning, it provides a site for discussing the transformation of utopian ideals over the past few decades and for mapping historical congruencies. How do these arrangements differ from their colonial predecessors? In what ways do they engage the utopia of tradition? Can these dreamscapes be considered powerful counter examples to the "dead aid" outlined by economist Dambisa Moyo, or are they simply the "evil paradises" observed by geographer Mike Davis?

Using ethnographic and archival evidence, this presentation attempts to fill a relative void in the literature on Calabar's built environment and to connect it to larger debates on tradition and African urbanism and development.

### IS THIS THE LATEST MODERN CITY OR THE FIRST OF A FUTURE BREED? SEJONG, SOUTH KOREA

*Sofia Shwayri*

Currently under construction, Sejong is a new city located 160 kilometers south of Seoul, the capital of South Korea. Named for the inventor of the Korean language, this project was proposed as a flagship in a series of balanced developments across the nation. Conceived as an administrative utopia housing thirteen Korean government ministries and agencies relocated from Seoul, its initial plan envisioned housing ten thousand public servants and their families plus those required to run the new city, which would eventually grow to a population of half a million. The project broke ground in 2007, and the relocation of ministries was expected to happen between early 2012 and 2014. However, utopia means different things to different people, especially when influenced by economic and political cycles. And the function of this new city has been the topic of heated debate for several months, and a bill is now being considered by Parliament that would revise the original plan, changing Sejong from an administrative city to a business hub, a key element in the future economic growth of Korea. Passage of this bill would be highly contentious, and could split the ruling party in the National Assembly.

Sejong City has also been envisioned by some as the capital of a unified Korea, and by others as a multifunctional administrative city. It has even been thought of as one of Seoul's many satellite cities, one that will eventually turn Seoul into a mega-metropolis.

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Surprisingly missing from all these visions is concern for the nature of its urban environment and the form it will take. This could be because South Korean planners are future oriented, perceiving their cities to be desirable and successful only if they embrace prototypical global forms. In achieving these forms, traditional physical methods are overlooked, or existing structures are destroyed, paralleling methods used to erase a shameful colonial past. Such breaks from the past are achieved in some cases by abandoning traditional city centers, creating new hubs in the suburbs, and in others by reclaiming land for completely new development. It is these global forms that when coupled with high-tech infrastructure can create other utopian environments like that of Songdo City, where urban living is both contemporary and sustainable, bringing technology and nature together in harmony, “setting new standards for future Korean cities.”

This paper will examine the process of developing Sejong City and the competing visions of the various stakeholders, showing how the modified utopia of Sejong is setting not only a new standard for South Korean cities but for cities worldwide.

## PLANNING METROPOLITAN MIAMI: MASTER-PLANNING THE UTOPIA OF DIFFERENCE

*Hector Burga*

Metropolitan Miami has among the highest percentages of foreign-born residents of any city in the world. To address this condition, contemporary planners have built upon the city’s ethnic diversity and international character to reframe social difference as a civic value in urban space. In this paper, I will mark the development of Miami’s urban utopia of difference. I will not only investigate its planning discourses and representations, but also trace its development through several master-planning efforts buried in Miami’s urban history. I argue that the master-planning of Miami’s utopia of difference is based on the inclusion and exclusion of a diverse set of publics with competing claims to the city’s metropolitan space.

From its incorporation in 1896, Miami’s pioneers emphasized the city’s geographic position as a bridge between the Americas. The vastness of the Florida Everglades provided a tabula rasa before the ambitions of speculative developers, who sensed financial opportunity and the possibility to forge a new modern society at the southern tip of Florida. Located on the edge of a burgeoning American empire and a stone’s throw from the island republics of the Caribbean, Miami stood as an emerging tropical metropolis. During the first half of the twentieth century, urban development borrowed from a myriad of imagined aesthetic traditions — Mediterranean Revival, Art Deco, Moorish, Pueblo, Bahamian Conch, and Mission among others — to form a patchwork of planned and unplanned communities divided by economic status and social make-up. At mid-century, urban planners continued to embrace the ideals of difference by adopting pan-Americanism in order to promote the city’s role as a hemispheric metropolis within a geopolitical conflict of ideologies.

Following the Cuban revolution in 1959, Miami’s social composition was transformed as refugee populations started to arrive in large numbers. This process culminated in the decade of the 1980s when subsequent immigration waves from Cuba, Haiti and Nicaragua caused social turmoil in the minds of local, disenfranchised residents. Today, following two decades of immigrant influx and consolidated political, economic and cultural influence by mostly Latin American immigrants, two planning initiatives — Miami 21 and the Open Space and Parks System Master Plan — recapture the notion of difference from its more recent dystopic past to promote the notion of a global multicultural metropolis. These initiatives have two prominent characteristics: the shift from a functionalist-quantitative to a design-qualitative approach in planning; and the use of urban design to articulate notions of the “public realm,” “public good,” and “public interest.” Together, they incorporate diverse populations into a common “public” by deploying placemaking practices — charrettes, open space access, and walking distances — as measures of social equity and collective interest.

## ENGINEERING THE UTOPIA: POLICY-MAKERS AND THE UTOPIAN FUTURE VISION OF EGYPT

*Hesham Khairy Abdelfattah*

*Is the future different in the U.K. to the future in Egypt? If you believe the future hasn't happened yet, then, in theory, the future is a constant. It is the same for everyone. We have an equal potential to influence the future. The future is ours to create. We call this the normative future. But it isn't that simple. In practice, we all have different ideas about what we want the future to be. One person's preferred future is another's anathema. Who says what the best preferred future is? The simple answer is the people in power who have the control — governments, tribal chiefs, religious leaders, and, at the metaphorical classroom level, the teacher. What our politicians in London may consider the way forward, the so-called roadmap to a preferred future, may not be yours in Cairo.*

— Frank D. Shaw

Forecasting Egypt’s future is a major goal of many institutions and bodies within Egypt’s governance structures. Many key projects to formulate this perspective have been initiated — for example, Egypt 2030 and Cairo 2050 — which involve participation from elite experts and civil-society organizations. “The best use for Egypt’s geographic location” and the establishment of a new utopian valley for Egypt are among the issues that these bodies and organizations examine as part of futuristic visions of Egypt. One of these government bodies is the Council of Engineering Sciences, a part of the Academy of Scientific Research and Technology. The council’s main goal is to organize a strategic and motivational structure to explain how engineering can help shape Egypt’s future.

At the same time that these futuristic visions are being promoted, international bodies and NGOs have presented many stud-

ies that help assesses the magnitude of poverty in Egypt and its distribution across geographic and socioeconomic groups, provide information on the characteristics of the poor, illustrate the heterogeneity of the poor, and identify empirical correlates of poverty. One of the more striking set of findings relates to the differences between the poor and the nonpoor in terms of their finances, access to health services and life supports, and educational attainment. In response, the overall mission of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Egypt has been to help the government reduce poverty and promote sustainable development policies. Over the past twenty years the nature of UNDP's support to Egypt has changed and become more focused.

Between governmental futuristic utopian visions and real NGO plans to address present and near-future problems, this paper investigates the thin line that divides the elite, technocratic, utopian plans of government decision-makers in Egypt and the real assessments by NGOs of the country's demanding social problems, such as poverty and a lack of adequate health services, safe roads, clean water, and safe food. This paper will present the recent Council of Engineering Sciences strategy for the so-appealing utopian future for Egypt 2050.

#### ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION: PRESERVATION, REPLICATION, OR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION?

*Azza Eleishe*

The port city of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia is the site of one of the most intricate examples of traditional urban fabric, Islamic city planning practices, and the Gulf region's long-established architectural styles. However, modernization and changing lifestyles have caused the original inhabitants of the city's old quarters to move to newer and more stylistic neighborhoods in the rapidly expanding city. As a result, the old quarters, known as al-Balad, have suffered from neglect and deterioration, unable to withstand socioeconomic transformations and commercial development pressures both within their close-knit structure and their immediate surroundings. Despite different conservation efforts led by the municipality in collaboration with preservation experts, the area is far from being saved. Today it is indeed suffering from further deterioration.

Governmental interest in recognizing the value of the Old Jeddah district, and ultimately saving and preserving it, led the Saudi Supreme Commission for Tourism to apply in 2006 for the inclusion of the district on the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List. And recently, as part of a massive redevelopment plan for the entire city, a company was established to draw plans for the restoration and revitalization of the Old Jeddah Balad area. On the other hand, some local academicians and philanthropists have attempted their own individual efforts to design and build "utopian" residential as well as public buildings following the areas' traditional design principles and including some of its older architectural features. These individual experiments have ranged from exact replication of the old district's planning and architectural details, as in the case of the al-Tayeibat International City pro-

ject, to more integrated design principles and elements, as in the Makkiyah Private Residence. Both approaches are very limited in their impacts and are recognized solely by an educated local elite and by Western expatriates or visitors.

Despite such official and individual attention to the significance of Jeddah's architectural heritage, general public awareness of the subject is almost nonexistent. In a recent informal survey conducted to assess the knowledge of freshman-year college students, a majority could not recognize either the old traditional buildings or the new replica projects when presented with photos of them as part of a research questionnaire.

The majority of the buildings in Jeddah's old Balad quarter are owned by prominent local families who have moved to new modern enclaves, where younger generations have been raised entirely apart from, at least physically, their city's history and its traditional environment. The paper argues that any official or individual attempts to save the valuable older district of Jeddah, whether through the planned colossal redevelopment and preservation project or through individual practices will not succeed unless it is supported by a heightened public awareness and by the direct involvement and participation of local residents in these efforts. People need to realize the meaning of saving their past in order to establish a utopian future.

## B.4 UTOPIA AS A SITE OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE

### IMPOSING UTOPIA: CONTENDING NARRATIVES OF SINGAPORE'S PUBLIC HOUSING

*Imran bin Tajudeen*

*National University of Singapore*

### RURALIST UTOPIA AND MODERNITY IN FRANCO'S SPAIN: THE *PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN*, 1939–69

*Jean-François Lejeune*

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

### UTOPIA AND TRADITION: IMMIGRANTS PURSUING A BETTER LIFE IN THE NEW WORLD

*Eeva Aarrevaara*

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### THE REMAKING OF AN INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE IN SOUTH KOREA: DYSTOPIA TURNED UTOPIA?

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### UTOPIAN URBANISM: MAPPING AMBITION IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

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### IMPOSING UTOPIA: CONTENDING NARRATIVES OF SINGAPORE'S PUBLIC HOUSING

*Imran bin Tajudeen*

Singapore's Housing and Development Board (HDB), established in 1960, is a public housing authority that enjoys wide-ranging powers over a huge amount of land and property in the island city-state. By the 1980s, public housing accommodated more than 80 percent of Singapore's population of 2.5 million, setting the stage for its use as an instrument of social control and political leverage.

In the 1990s HDB embarked on a market-driven design reform to beautify buildings and diversify estate features, pursuing various traditional motifs and postmodernist designs, both in response to complaints about the blandness and similarity of its new towns and to appease an ascendant middle class desirous of private housing but frustrated by limited alternatives. In fact, however, the "upgrade" of public housing estates has been used to harness votes for the ruling political party. Having won the World Habitat Award in 1991 for Tampines New Town's design, and the United Nations Public Service Award in 2008 for the Home

Ownership Program, HDB today touts an ever more triumphant tale, epitomized by its proclamation in January 2010 that "the miracle that is the HDB story" is "a never-ending journey to house a nation and create a piece of heaven on earth." HDB further claims to have ensured social cohesion and interethnic harmony and created financial assets for "life-cycle needs."

Yet HDB's strategies on its path to dominance are not beyond reproach. The case of HDB illustrates the paradoxes of totalizing utopian schemes and narratives. The sterility of open spaces in its early new towns, constructed with the goal of achieving higher densities and optimizing land use, have been compared unfavorably with the rich diversity achieved by traditional neighborhood patterns. The top-down approach to community and public-space creation has been the subject of numerous critiques. The prices of desirable resale units in older estates have spiraled upward, while waiting lists and a balloting process await buyers of units in new estates. Yet, suppressed anguish over the use of the Land Acquisition Act to remove residents from legitimate property has been vindicated by the recuperation of social histories and architectural documentation through publications on vernacular settlements called *kampung*. By contrast, accounts by HDB of its role as national savior have hitherto indiscriminately denigrated *kampung* as slums filled with squatters.

Social memories and practices are, moreover, not so easily effaced. The vitality of transplanted traditions in the public housing milieu, particularly everyday practices, has made HDB new towns the new "heartland" over several generations of use. Yet, while early estate design included fresh produce markets and "food centers" which adapted traditional social institutions to modernist planning, the latest new towns neglect these provisions to pursue HDB's current quest "to turn heartland living into a world-class experience." And in an ironic twist, the last few remaining *kampung* in Singapore serve as popular tropes for blissful lifestyles in leafy landscapes, and for community cohesion and neighborliness. Meanwhile, the state has, astonishingly, admonished residents of HDB new towns for their lack of "*kampung* spirit," and it has sought to revive these qualities through state-sponsored programs and institutions.

### RURALIST UTOPIA AND MODERNITY IN FRANCO'S SPAIN: THE *PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN*, 1939–69

*Jean-François Lejeune*

This essay analyzes the ideological, political and urbanistic principles of Franco's grand "hydro-social dream" of modernizing the Spanish countryside. Inspired by the works of the Tennessee Valley Authority and Mussolini's reclaiming of the Pontine Marshes, Falangist planners developed a national strategy of "interior colonization" that, along with the reclamation and irrigation of extensive and unproductive regions, entailed the construction of 302 new towns, or *pueblos*, between 1944 and 1967.

From 1939, despite the fact that Spain's most urgent need was to rebuild its industrial cities and peripheries, Franco's regime gave

high priority to the reconstruction of the “rural front.” The objective was to stabilize and improve living standards for the impoverished population, limit rural-to-urban migration, and allow time for reorganizing private capital to rebuild the industrial sector. Propaganda was instrumental in this policy, as the simplistic prewar partition of the country between the “Republican” cities and the “Falangist” countryside remained in the discourse deployed by the victors. Franco’s New Spain not only paid tribute to the “agrarian man,” but also presented him as the model of the New Spaniard, anchored in a tradition of individual courage in the face of adversity and exacting daily labor. Literary ideologues of the regime, such as Eugenio d’Ors, further saw in the countryside “the eternal values of being Spanish,” and developed a utopian socio-cultural agenda founded on the very same vernacular culture that had given rise to Spanish modernism in arts and architecture since the 1920s.

The Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC) was created in October 1939 to strengthen that strategy of “ideological ruralization of the proletariat” and implement the program of Franco’s ruralist utopia by means of a new national network of hydraulic infrastructure and rural foundation. Each new town (from 100 to 500 houses on average) was assigned to one architect, and was designed as a small urban center focused on a *plaza mayor*, which embodied the political ideal of civil life under the national-Catholic regime, and whose form evolved from a Camilo Sitte-influenced traditional design in the 1940s to a more organic Aalto-inspired vision after 1954. Likewise, tradition and modernity shaped the morphology of the mixed-use, patio-based residential blocks, whose early regionalist vocabulary quickly evolved toward a more abstract interpretation of the vernacular that echoed, at the opposite end of the political spectrum, José Luis Sert’s and GATPAC’s vision of Mediterranean modernism in the late 1920s-early 1930s. In contrast to the Fascist examples, whose public buildings and spaces were politically conceived as objects of propaganda to be extensively photographed and visited, the Spanish new towns were built along little-traveled roads, anonymously, far from the urban gaze.

The “colonial landscapes” built by the dictatorship are now regarded as *Kulturlandschaften* (cultural landscapes) of generally outstanding quality and potential interest for contemporary regional planning. Given their role as incubators in the search for a modern vernacular and abstracted urban form, the value of these rural-utopian settlements for the history of postwar Spanish architecture must be reassessed.

## UTOPIA AND TRADITION: IMMIGRANTS PURSUING A BETTER LIFE IN THE NEW WORLD

*Eva Aarrevaara*

Immigration from many European countries to the U.S. grew in the late nineteenth century, including from the Nordic countries of Norway, Sweden and Finland. Of the 20,000 Finnish immigrants during 1870–1914, half came from Ostrobothnia on the country’s western coast (Kero, 1996). They left their native lands and sailed overseas searching for better living conditions.

In recent decades research has introduced new facts and offered new viewpoints with regard to this phenomenon and its influence (Institute of Migration, 2010). Many of these immigrants settled in the area of the Great Lakes, especially in northern Michigan and southern Canada, where employment was offered by local forestry and mining industries (Hirvonen, 1920). There, new settlements were constructed according to traditions learned by heart in the homeland. Many Finnish horizontal log houses were built, and whole villages even started to appear in the area, whose climate and landscape of forests and lakes greatly resembled that of Finland (Kaups, 1986). This paper examines the processes underlying the immigration to North America and the creation of a new society. What kind of expectations, or even utopias, did the immigrants have, and what did they experience in reality? How did they maintain their cultural heritage, in terms of built environment and other forms? I refer both to general research concerning this phenomenon and to literature describing individual experiences.

Political attitudes and ideals affected some migrant groups strongly, and some aimed to found ideal socialist communities in the new land. These settlements were built on the image of the traditional Finnish village, which provided safe surroundings for people in search of an ideal new life. According to old photographs, the tradition was reproduced and represented in the first dwellings; but afterwards buildings began to more closely resemble American houses of the period. Examples like the new socialistic community of Sointula in Canada were founded during the first decades of twentieth century. Finnish novelist Antti Tuuri describes in *New Jerusalem* (the name translated) a vision of a religious society where a Finnish preacher agitates immigrants to the northern United States to found a new ideal community (Tuuri, 1988).

Eventually, real life proved too demanding for many migrants to North America. Living conditions were poor, and little extra wealth was to be found in the promised land. The village of Sointula managed to exist for less than five years. Eventually many immigrants returned to their homeland. Still, the traditional settlements and the culture of the immigrants had a considerable influence on several regions — among them northern Michigan, which has at present the greatest number of Finnish migrants in the U.S.

## THE REMAKING OF AN INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE IN SOUTH KOREA: DYSTOPIA TURNED UTOPIA?

*Jieheerah Yun*

This study discusses the development of Borderless Village, a multiethnic town in the planned industrial city of Ansan, South Korea. The current physical layout of the community was determined in the 1970s as a result of modernist planning, which relocated production sites to satellite cities to curb the rapid urbanization of Seoul. However, the town became an example of dystopia when the forced relocation of residents, mostly farmers living in the area planned for new factories, caused various socio-cultural



problems. Structural difficulties arising from the rapid execution of the plan also resulted in a polluted landscape and substandard urban infrastructure. In short, the village and its environs came to be seen as the symbol of the failed unilateral application of modernist principles by an authoritarian state.

Despite this early history, the village began to experience meaningful change in the 1990s when its deserted neighborhoods were occupied by foreign migrants who replaced South Korean industrial workers. Unlike the previous residents, who shared little sense of commonality, the migrants formed a tight-knit community that provided socioeconomic resources and networking opportunities for newcomers. While the temporary-sojourning status of many migrant workers limits their involvement to a certain extent, collaboration between NGOs and migrant workers has now generated a possible new model of utopia based on the concepts of global citizenship and labor activism. As a result, the village now poses significant questions about the established relationship between citizenship and the nation-state, as well as the traditional status of South Korea as an ethnically homogenous society. The spatial practices of the migrant workers, which proudly celebrate the multicultural roots of their community, have transformed its monotonous residential quarters into a lively cosmopolitan town.

Addressing the theme of utopia and spaces of difference, this paper contributes to the existing theoretical debate in several ways. First, by revealing how architectural expressions of top-down planning can be converted to different uses, it challenges the notion of modernist architecture as the main culprit behind the failure to build utopian communities. Second, while not negating the importance of class structure, it shows the dialectical relationship between cultural practices and politico-economic change by illustrating the specificity of the South Korean urban condition. Here, a strong culture of resistance shared by the middle class and laborers, formed during the military dictatorship, persists despite the triumph of neoliberalism. The paper concludes that Borderless Village represents a new space of hope that simultaneously promotes cultural understanding and economic justice.

## UTOPIAN URBANISM: MAPPING AMBITION IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

*Mary Padua*

This research explores the built fabric of “new urban China” as a multidimensional utopian product that was generated as a result of Deng Xiaoping’s economic reforms. Since the 1980s China has undergone an unprecedented process of hyperurbanization. In 1978 the Middle Kingdom had thirteen cities; the number grew to 324 in 1985; and by 200, China had 661 cities. Despite these huge numbers, China’s central government recently proposed adding 400 more cities by 2020, for a total of more than one thousand. More than thirty years ago, the Middle Kingdom was primarily a rural society. Indeed, Mao and his cadres believed anything urban represented the bourgeoisie, whose interests contradicted those of the proletariat and Mao’s powerbase, the rural

peasantry. In this light, the contrast between the Mao period and the hyperurbanization of contemporary China can be viewed as a form of utopia.

In a recent essay, “Leaving Utopian China,” Rong Zhou described post-Mao utopian urbanization as a present phenomenon rather than a future ideal. He described this urban utopian reality as simultaneously a miracle and a mirage. My work proposes to “map” the multidimensionality of Zhou’s many utopias: “learning from utopia; earning from utopia; consuming from utopia; suffering from utopia; and leaving utopia.” It comprises an experiment in visual research that is both descriptive and creative. My goal is to promote critical, scholarly and creative discourse on the potential of visual culture in an interdisciplinary mode.

My methodology for mapping Zhou’s many utopias will employ both visual imagery and text. The visual imagery will involve photography, archival research using traditional and digital resources. Combined with this imagery, I will use text to interpret Zhou’s many utopias. The text will be based on government policies, facts, and secondary research on the many utopias and their multiple interpretations. Part of this experiment in visual research will also be to map the temporal dimension related to Zhou’s many utopias. As an experiment in visual research to provoke interdisciplinary discourse, the final outcome or the product is yet to be determined.

## C.4 PLANNING FOR THE CITY YET TO COME

### TRADITIONAL ANCHORS IN THE UTOPIAN SUBURBIA: CAIRO'S SATELLITE CITIES

*Tammy Gaber*

*British University in Egypt*

### DEATH OF THE TRANSHISTORICAL CITY: REEXAMINING LOU KAHN'S UTOPIAN VISION

*Donald Dunham*

*Philadelphia University, U.S.A.*

### EXPLORING QUITO'S TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY PLAN: UTOPIC METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN THE POSTCOLONIAL ANDEAN CITY

*Julie Gamble*

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

### THE POLITICAL RECYCLING OF "UTOPIA" IN CAIRO: THE TRADITION OF PRODUCING "SPACES OF DIFFERENCE"

*Momem El-Husseiny*

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

### A FOUND UTOPIA

*Carole Lévesque*

*American University of Beirut, Lebanon*

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### TRADITIONAL ANCHORS IN THE UTOPIAN SUBURBIA: CAIRO'S SATELLITE CITIES

*Tammy Gaber*

A distinct Western influence is evident in the design of residential neighborhoods in Cairo's newly manufactured middle- and upper-class suburbs. However, in a sharp contrast, these areas also include historically influenced mosques, which serve as anchors in a number of ways: they act as familiar sites within the new context, connect the inhabitants to the greater locality of the historical capital, create a sense of community, and provide space for religious contemplation. The degree of success of these traditional anchors depends on a number of design factors, which are discussed here in case studies from the Sherouk suburb.

### DEATH OF THE TRANSHISTORICAL CITY: REEXAMINING LOU KAHN'S UTOPIAN VISION

*Donald Dunham*

*If you eliminate the fairy tale from reality, I'm against you. It's the most sparkling reality there is. Utopia somehow is a reality, it's in reality. That's the point: utopia is real.*

— Louis I. Kahn

When the PSFS building was completed in Philadelphia in 1932, it became the first International Style skyscraper in the United States. This structure, designed by George Howe and William Lescaze, suggested that Philadelphia could become North America's modernist architecture capital. This, of course, did not come to pass; New York City — despite a lack of true modernist buildings — quickly acknowledged doctrinal modernism and modernist principals in architecture and urban planning, largely due to the agenda of Alfred H. Barr, Director of the Museum of Modern Art. Though key International Style projects were being rapidly realized in California and elsewhere, New York would become the intellectual center for modernism.

Barr, who maintained a formal, analytical approach to art and architecture, was less interested in meaning, symbolism, or social content. Nevertheless, after the success of its "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" in 1932, MOMA created a separate department for architecture with a vigorous exhibition schedule, and soon established itself as the primary venue for promoting architecture as a tool to solve social problems. This human-centered agenda fit well with the socialist-generated International Style architecture that was finding its way from European discourse and production to North America.

In the postwar 1950s modernist visionary planning proposals for the central core of Philadelphia were put forward by Lou Kahn. Kahn fully understood what Kenneth Frampton referred to as the "transhistorical city." This acknowledgement of historic architecture and circulation patterns, traditional social networks, and, ultimately, the demands put upon the city by the automobile, informed Kahn's 1953 "Toward a Plan for Midtown Philadelphia." However, undermined by city planner Edmund Bacon, who helped spearhead the inner-city highway projects that cleaved the city, Kahn's schemes were to go untested. Kahn's city planning would be further subjugated by the postmodern theories and projects of another Philadelphian, Robert Venturi. Venturi's bland acceptance of the city, and somewhat condescending postmodern treatment of it, has become the status quo ad nauseam for planning and architecture in Philadelphia.

In 1950 the U.S. Census reported the population of Philadelphia to be 2,071,605. As of 2008, the estimated population was 1.4 million. This decline in one of the great American cities has been the subject of much debate. Crime, poverty, unemployment, political corruption, inflexible unions, aging row houses, and city taxes have all contributed to flight from the city. Today, while some inner-city areas are seeing renewal through gentrification, the bulk of the population has yet to experience the promise and potential of

Philadelphia. This paper will recast Lou Kahn's visions for the city, within a mutational or "latent" utopian context, as a twenty-first-century blueprint. Although some admirable piecemeal plans and projects are in progress or development, only Kahn's monumental plan for Philadelphia has truly kept pace with and complemented the utopian vision of city founder William Penn.

## EXPLORING QUITO'S TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY PLAN: UTOPIIC METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN THE POSTCOLONIAL ANDEAN CITY

*Julie Gamble*

The *teleférico* in Quito takes tourists up to 4,050 feet above sea level for a panoramic view of the landscape of the Andean city. Upon arriving, the space below exists as a heritage site, representing a contemporary confluence of monumental and indigenous architecture. An example of Quito's Twenty-First-Century Plan, the *teleférico* is symbolic of modern ideals anchored in a provincial past.

Quito's history dates to pre-Columbian times. Originally part of the great Inca Empire, the city, then called Tahuantinsuyu, was transformed into San Francisco de Quito after the Spanish Conquest in 1532. As in many cities in Spanish colonial South America, Quito's urban plan aimed to create a utopian topography according to the "Laws of the Indies." This ideal plan was expanded according to colonial relations and the extraction of resources from the former Inca Empire. Eventually, the layout of the city developed well beyond its colonial roots, resulting in a retreat from the utopic form imagined by the Spanish.

Following Ecuador's independence in 1809, planning processes in Quito were dominated by a technical rationality that embraced local economic or political interests. However, in 1993 the municipality created the Law of the Metropolitan District of Quito to provide precedent for the management of urban and rural land. Within this neoliberal framework, the Metropolitan Area Plan and Land Use Plan of 1995 became instrumental in the legitimization of land and space. The physical city has since come to incorporate various spaces previously marked by a lurking colonial presence. Thus, Quito now openly includes spaces identified by poverty, gender, and indigenous identities that question past traditions. Moreover, with the recent adoption of the plurinational citizen into the Ecuadorian constitution — a national movement to legitimize various indigenous identities under Ecuadorian law — Quito has now morphed into a modern landscape accentuated by contradictions born out of its provincial past and the present politics of difference. Framed by this decentralizing legislation, the reconfiguration of city space is interwoven with connections between complex identity politics and postcolonial relations embedded in an extractive power dynamic.

This paper explains this reincarnation of the city by analyzing Quito's Twenty-First Century Plan. This plan embraces difference and departs from the utopic ideal once conceived by the Spanish. While the transformation of the postcolonial city is well docu-

mented, the paper makes the case that Quito's Twenty-First Century Plan has created the opportunity for plurinational citizens and neoliberal urban governance alike to develop a new metropolitan ideal. This new spatial form embraces a utopic vision where difference is not a cause of crisis or marginality. Rather, the paper explains that the production of new frontiers creates a plurinational space (Sawyer, 2006) where citizens may struggle equally with elites. This type of urbanization allows these groups to engage transparently with each other to reconfigure an urban space of difference. Such a process ultimately imagines a transformed landscape that questions past traditions.

## THE POLITICAL RECYCLING OF "UTOPIA" IN CAIRO: THE TRADITION OF PRODUCING "SPACES OF DIFFERENCE"

*Momem El-Husseiny*

Contemporary gated communities in Cairo are "spaces of utopia" produced outside the existing urban core to embody a lavish spatial reality. While this growing phenomenon appears new, this paper argues that such enclave-construction is a model recycled from history, produced at moments of political-economic transformation. I analyze four moments of real estate capitalism that have led to the production of such utopias in Cairo since the late nineteenth century. My central argument is that such spaces of utopia are a tradition constructed to gain the consent of the elite during times of transition. Every ruling regime produces such utopias to gain the support of the elite at key moment, to help secure the domination and control of the masses. To put it differently, these utopias represent a mode of control and spatial governance.

I begin with the regime of Khedive Ismail during the 1860s and 1870s, an era that witnessed a political-economic transformation from agrarian capitalism to real estate development. As part of this process, to impress the colonial West, Ismail built an enclave mimicking the boulevards of Paris at the edge of the existing city. Next, I explore early-twentieth-century real estate development under the British colonial government, which led to the production of enclaves like Heliopolis. This era witnessed a political-economic transformation based on privatization and transnational capital engagement with foreign business enterprises. Third, I examine utopian production in the 1970s after the Israeli war, under the Sadat government's policy of *Infitah*, or the open-door economy. Fourth, I research 1990s utopian production and its close connection with the neoliberal economic policies of the Mubarak regime.

As a rule, it is better to understand the construction of such spaces of utopia as a process of manufacture, rather than as an end-product. This process engages socioeconomic and political conditions, and requires human agency in its formation. Janet Abu Lughod (1992) has drawn attention to such processes from a "traditioning" viewpoint. For her, traditioning is a "creative recycling of existing forms, rather than either its rigid adherence to old ones or its invention of totally new ones." Taking this as a point of departure, the paper argues that Cairo's present elite enclaves, "gated communities" or "spaces of utopia," are recycled

forms that are neither totally new nor replicas of previous forms. It is important to recognize that other such spaces of utopia have existed historically in the city as a result of moments of political transformation and a desire to create spaces of difference for the dominating elite.

## A FOUND UTOPIA

*Carole Lévesque*

Following the political upheavals that transfigured contemporary Beirut first through civil war then through occupation, assassination and bombardment, a new period of change is underway as a result of massive capital investment and real estate speculation. Yet, despite this renewed, hopeful transfiguration, large pockets of the city have been left stagnant, in a state of in-between, neither at war nor participating in reconstruction. While awaiting a private investor to transform them, some of these areas have taken on a life of their own, secluded from the general enthusiasm, yet also appearing as the only remaining spaces where alternatives are still possible. It is through these forgotten neighborhoods, places and buildings that opportunities for other proposals may emerge, where the city, as a found object, can project its own and differentiated future.

In a counter-vision to international modernisms, in the late 1960s Peter and Alison Smithson proposed looking at everyday city scenes as places to envision a new present and give value to the found city. Meanwhile, Aldo van Eyck saw in the empty lots throughout Amsterdam opportunities for the in-between to emerge, as heterotopias that might energize dormant urban sites. In both cases, the present city was perceived as a place for change and transformation, where the informal could be the key link between the past, present and future tenses. Instead of engulfing the weakened city with grand utopian idealism, these approaches proposed an urban vision empowered by a recognition and transformation of tradition — a utopia of the now.

While looking at Beirut as the scene of a very real confrontation between utopia and tradition, this paper builds on the sense of found utopia, a utopia of the present, to demonstrate how a second, parallel Beirut can be envisioned. Building on the intricacies of interstitial places and neighborhoods — on found, improvised, temporary, illegal uses of the city — this essay explores how the uninhabitable remnants of abandoned buildings, overgrown lots, and improvised playgrounds act as imaginative devices and can be seen as places of differentiation, places of informal reinvention. By recontextualizing derelict architectural devices — devices awaiting appropriation — imaginative architectural constructs can be envisioned as new proposals for possible beginnings.

While drawing and affirming the lived reality of the Lebanese city, these imaginative constructs investigate and question both tradition and utopia. While decidedly grounded in the social condition, these punctual and informal places may emerge as seeds of inflection, as alternatives to the current capitalist development where the will to create unveils marginalized potentials.

## A.5 IMAGINARY UTOPIAS

### SUITCASE UTOPIAS: PROBLEMS OF MINIATURIZATION AND REGULATION IN THE PROSTHETICS OF TRANSIT

*Michael Chapman*

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### AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS INTERIORITY AND COSMOLOGY

*Jacqueline Power*

*University of New South Wales, Australia*

### THE VANISHING MEGALITH AND ANCESTOR HOUSE: IDEALS AND REALITY OF THE SUMBANESE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

*Gunawan Tjahjono*

*University of Indonesia*

### UTOPIAS AND DYSTOPIAS IN OTTOMAN LITERATURE AS A PRODUCT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

*Seda Uyanik*

*Bilkent University, Turkey*

### SISTER CITIES: CORPORATE UTOPIA AND DYSTOPIA IN THE TWIN METROPOLISES OF KING CAMP GILLETTE AND FRITZ LANG

*Nathaniel Walker*

*Brown University, U.S.A.*

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### SUITCASE UTOPIAS: PROBLEMS OF MINIATURIZATION AND REGULATION IN THE PROSTHETICS OF TRANSIT

*Michael Chapman*

In the period that separated the two World Wars in Europe, the values attached to the traditional suitcase were dramatically reshaped by a radicalized avant-garde culture of transit that emerged in the creative European centers of Zurich, Paris and Berlin. This collective migration was driven by political upheavals that forced a number of intellectuals to flee their homes, and, in the process, pack their creative practices, identities and ideologies into suitcases that accompanied their global wanderings. Reflected paradigmatically in the creative practices of Marcel Duchamp in art and Walter Benjamin in critical theory, these practices channeled “homelessness” into a creative practice where the suitcase became not only a storehouse for domestic and bodily necessities, but for creative practice in general. In this context, the suitcase became a kind of utopia — a critique of the contemporary political landscape at the same time it was inevitably entwined within it. In the work of Benjamin and Duchamp, the suitcase (like the utopia) defined the limits of possession, identity, and most importantly, the autonomy of creative work.

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In the twenty-first century the suitcase has taken on a different persona. Highly scrutinized and interrogated through a network of invasive security mechanisms, the suitcase has become politicized and marginalized as a site of creative and political freedom. Like utopia itself, the suitcase is being increasingly regulated, governed by abstract rules, labeled, weighed, and categorized as it passes continually through systems of visual surveillance. The traditionally intimate interior of the suitcase is constantly externalized as it moves from one secure environment to another. The traditions of travel, embodied in the creative utopias that flourished in suitcases in the 1930s, have been replaced with a network of voyeuristic security that dismantles the utopian island of the shell and displaces its contents into the real world. Separated from the body and the intimate traditions of prosthetics, the suitcase has been transformed from the creative and utopian refuge of Duchamp and Benjamin into a depersonalized and mechanical system of transit and recognition.

Drawing from the radical spatialization of the suitcase in the first half of the century, and primarily focusing on the importance of the suitcase in the work of Benjamin and Duchamp, this paper will look at the problematic transformation of the “suitcase utopia” in the contemporary culture of transit and tourism. As the suitcase is mobilized, x-rayed, labeled and regulated, the residual and creative dimensions of this interior space are implicated in a much broader culture of security and separation. In this sense, the idealized and introverted suitcases of Duchamp and Benjamin are exploded by a cultural and social inquisition of its interior and contents. Repositioning the work of Paul Virilio and Diller + Scofidio within this broader context, this enquiry will question the creative traditions appended to travel and the broader contemporary network of surveillance that threatens them.

## AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS INTERIORITY AND COSMOLOGY

*Jacqueline Power*

Utopia (no-place) was a term popular in the period known as “the age of discovery,” or the fifteenth century in Europe. Utopia signaled the dominance of the idea that the world was there to be discovered through rational investigation rather than revealed through spiritual grace. The world has thereby figured as discoverable and yet unknown, mysterious and yet somehow also value free, especially in its “natural” state. The Australian continent was one such new world “discovered” by Europeans some several hundred years after the age of great exploration. Like the Latin concept of *tabula rasa*, the undefined land on maps could easily be designated *terra nullius*. In a similar vein to the literary utopian convention, a strange and unknown place presented itself to European colonizers — filled with unusual flora and fauna. The question of human inhabitation was undecided, which opened the possibility of designating Australia as *terra nullius*.

Yet across Australia there numbered more than 250 tribes with great cultural diversity; and, despite this diversity, the utopian cosmology of Indigenous Australians was regarded to be similar

right across the vast continent. The essence of this cosmology was described by anthropologist Aldo Massola in *Bunjil's Cave* (1968):

*Briefly, the earth was a flat circular body, covered with a solid vaulted concave sky which reached down to the horizon. It can be, perhaps, described as a plate covered with a dish cover. Beyond this solid covering there was a beautiful country full of all good things to eat and which was never short of water. To that place eventually went the spirits of all [the] dead. . . .*

This paper, written from within the discipline of interior architecture, will suggest that such a cosmology entailing a utopian sky world provides a new theoretical basis for approaching notions of interiority previously ignored within architectural thinking. It will be suggested that a cosmological tradition provides a theoretical underpinning for understanding interiority on a cosmic level. Interiority does not exist within a vacuum; it is demarcated by form, structure, or by a utopian-like ideal — a place one would like to inhabit. The paper is radical in its departure from an approach of considering tangible built forms — instead, looking to cosmological models that are suggestive of interiority on an enlarged scale.

The paper will first outline Australian Indigenous utopian cosmology. It will then consider the utopian sky world and a number of the methods for gaining access to and from it. Third, it will outline visual representations of the cosmology. Finally, it will discuss what this cosmology implies for interiority. The paper proposes a shifting of the lens in relation to interiority, a zooming out from the domestic vernacular tradition, to consider other means of engagement.

## THE VANISHING MEGALITH AND ANCESTOR HOUSE: IDEALS AND REALITY OF THE SUMBANES ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

*Gunawan Tjahjono*

Selecting the best tombstone, regardless of how distant its origin, and erecting it in front of a family sacred house have long been ideals for Sumbanese of Anakalang with the means to do so. The ideal place for these monuments is the graveyard, which defines the location those who could claim to have achieved the ability to erect them. Under such belief, the megalith embodies the status of a family through its size, quality, and richness of decoration. Yet after 1998, when the last, biggest, stone was successfully transported to its chosen place (an effort that took almost two years), the tradition of moving big stones has been discontinued, because that event so exhausted the community.

Constructing a sacred family house is a lifetime ideal of the Sumbanese, representing one's status, and signifying one's capacity to transform the status of an ancestor from mortal and human to immortal and divine. Thus, constructing a sacred house requires special skill, and can only be undertaken by a super-car-

penter. The super-carpenter plans the house for a period of as long as five years. During this time, he will prepare a chosen tree, cut it with ceremony, and transport it with songs and rituals to a designated location. The actual construction then takes less time than the planning and preparation. However, during construction, no mistake may be made, or the super-carpenter is obliged to pay with his life as compensation.

The convergence of these ideals creates a unique spatial pattern in Sumbanese settlement, marked by megaliths and soaring, trapezoidal roofs. Yet, as the majority of Sumbanese have now been converted to Christianity, the construction of a sacred house is seldom practiced. Hence, a discontinuity of tradition is now becoming evident. Meanwhile, younger Sumbanese now tend to move to urban areas to pursue new ideals measured by wealth and financial success. Consequently, the ideal knowledge of the super-carpenter is seldom practiced. Yet these ideals appear to be kept, as the island of Sumba is relatively isolated from, and less touched by the process of development than other areas.

The paper investigates the dynamic of the changing ideals affecting Sumbanese architectural tradition, examining the changing landscape caused by the competing ideals of government development models. Mass communication, which transfers global values, is also challenging and interrogating local architectural traditions. From fieldwork conducted in several visits from 1997 to the present, the paper attempts to describe the struggle of local community members to keep their knowledge alive in the face of the aggressive invasion of capitalistic alternatives.

## UTOPIAS AND DYSTOPIAS IN OTTOMAN LITERATURE AS A PRODUCT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

*Seda Uyanik*

The following books, written between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, constitute the object of this study, whose conceptual scope is delimited by the notions of utopia and dystopia: *Hayat-ı Muhayyel* (1898), by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın; *Darürrahat Müslümanları* (1908), by İsmail Gaspiralı; *Tarih-i İstikbâl* (1912), by Celal Nuri İleri; *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Ru'yet* (1913), by Molla Davudzade Mustafa Nâzım; and *Arzîler* (1925), by Abdülhak Hâmid. It is highly significant that all these texts were written during a period when post-Tanzimat reformation movements were gaining momentum, and when, correspondingly, the effects of Westernization were being debated by Ottoman intellectuals. The period was also marked by a questioning of the West by these intellectuals, and by various efforts by them to reconcile Ottoman traditions with Western values. In accordance with this spirit of the age, the authors of these books questioned the scientific achievements of the West, and above all, whether science and technology were compatible with the Ottoman tradition.

It was not by mere coincidence that all these intellectuals opted for the genre of utopia as a medium for expressing their views and doubts regarding the adoption of Western science.

Taking this into consideration, it is our objective to shed light on how modernization relates to utopia, and how this connection found expression in literary works of the period.

The analysis of the texts selected makes it clear that the predominant tendency of the nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectual was to encourage a moderate kind of Westernization. This tendency derived from a view that they could bring a measure of civilization to the empire by appropriating only the science and technology of the West, and hence without letting Ottoman culture be exposed to a radical rupture from tradition. The authors of the above utopias thus dwelled not only on a shortening of working hours, the development of natural and industrial resources, and the advancement of technology in the service of society, but also upon topics such as religion, politics, morality and national identity.

Yet the main question discussed in these utopias remained whether the Ottoman tradition should or should not appropriate the Weston paradigm of enlightenment, industrialization and technology. This vital question received a variety of answers, depending on the ideologies of the authors, who, with their utopian tales, participated actively in and contributed to intellectual debate in their era. These utopias, which are of experimental character, and which treat the future survival of the Ottoman-Turkish culture, Islam, and humanity, have long been ignored by researchers.

## SISTER CITIES: CORPORATE UTOPIA AND DYSTOPIA IN THE TWIN METROPOLISES OF KING CAMP GILLETTE AND FRITZ LANG

*Nathaniel Walker*

In 1894 an obscure American socialist named King Camp Gillette published a book entitled *The Human Drift*. In it, he charted a course for humanity that would drag it from the chaos and contradictions of late-nineteenth-century industrial capitalism to a perfect world of health, safety, prosperity, and material equality. The fulfillment of this destiny would not, however, require a revolution; rather, Gillette argued that the traditional values of capitalism, including boundless competition, unfettered growth, and centralized control, would, given the seemingly limitless powers of expanding industrial process, result in the domination of a single World Corporation with authority greater than that of the government or any other institution. It was up to humanity, argued Gillette, to decide whether this company would be a benevolent force answerable to the people as stockholders during and after its journey to supremacy, or a tyrannical force that would put the people through decades of agonizing transition until balance was eventually achieved in its perfectly tuned, total victory.

Gillette proposed, for starters, that human living arrangements should be rearranged on an industrial model. All American cities (and eventually, all cities) would be abandoned, and a single new monumental city would be founded on the banks of a turbine-spinning Niagara Falls. Everyone would be housed in steel-and-glass towers, identical in size, and regularly dispersed in grid formation across a perfectly graded park-like landscape. Underground, multi-

ple levels of subterranean infrastructure would provide space for transportation and utility circulation. Gillette named his city “Metropolis” — and while it was, of course, never created, he would go on to prove his industrial and capitalist mettle by founding the enormously successful Gillette Safety Razor Company, a corporate giant to this day.

A few decades after the publishing of *The Human Drift*, an alternative vision of a world dominated by a single corporation was offered by filmmaker Fritz Lang. And while the influence in Europe of Gillette’s strange book has not yet been established, it seems appropriate that the enormously successful German movie *Metropolis* should have adopted this moniker to describe a distinctly dystopian future of urban industry run amok. Unlike Gillette’s model town, Lang’s *Metropolis* was physically chaotic and frenetic. Like Gillette’s vision, however, it was designed by extrapolating contemporary technological trends to their furthest hypothetical ends, resulting in towering skyscrapers, raucous displays of neon, nonstop motorized vehicular traffic, and deep subterranean chambers. And where the underground world of *The Human Drift* was populated by happy commuters and whizzing transport tubes, Lang filled his netherworld with an enslaved industrial proletariat and demonic furnaces.

Comparing these two visions offers a tantalizing view into the wide range of utopian and dystopian possibilities imagined by visionaries during a crucial period in modern industrial capitalism. It also suggests that different concepts of human nature, among other things, could lead to wildly different extrapolations of some of the same technological and cultural trends, imagined in the light of many longstanding economic and ethical principles, for better and/or for worse, of industrial capitalist culture.

## B.5 REGENERATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEOLIBERAL ERA

### FROM PARIS ON THE NILE TO DUBAI ON THE NILE: IMPACT OF THE GULF STATES ON CAIRO’S VISION PLAN 2050

*Khaled Adham*

*United Arab Emirates University*

### CONSTRUCTING FUTURE UTOPIAS: A NEW PARADIGM OF KNOWLEDGE-BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN DOHA

*Ali Alraouf*

*Qatar University*

### FAVELA WALLS: NEOLIBERALISM, REVANCHIST URBANISM, AND THE UTOPIA OF SOCIAL EQUALITY IN RIO DE JANEIRO

*Anne-Marie Broudehoux*

*Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada*

### VANCOUVERISM IN ABU DHABI: RE-CREATING THE URBAN UTOPIA

*Alamira Reem Bani Hashim*

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

### THE POLITICS OF REINVENTION IN AMMAN’S DOWNTOWN UTOPIA

*Eliana Abu-Hamdi*

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

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### FROM PARIS ON THE NILE TO DUBAI ON THE NILE: IMPACT OF THE GULF STATES ON CAIRO’S VISION PLAN 2050

*Khaled Adham*

Visionary and strategic master plans are often considered the legacies that ruling elites develop as markers of their ambitions, dreams, and utopian visions for the future. The debates about them show the interests of those in power and those who want to be empowered, the interests of the state in social and political orders, and the interests of private corporate in stimulating consumption. Recently, the leaking of images and proposed projects from the Cairo Vision 2050 plan has caused considerable debate in Egyptian cultural and intellectual circles. While most of this focuses on the social and political ramifications of the vision on Cairenes, some concerns the impact of recent Gulf urban and real estate developments, particularly the Dubai model, on the plan. Does it aim to transform certain parts of Cairo into mini-Dubais? Does it propose that Cairo mimic Gulf cities by branding itself with high-end real estate projects to attract tourists and global companies?

These questions are not addressed in isolation from a web of concerns in Egyptian society about the rising tide of Gulf influence — a Gulfanization of the political, religious, cultural, media and urban spheres. No doubt, real estate developments taking place in the Gulf, as well as those exported to Egypt, will bear directly and indirectly on Cairo's future urbanity. But by adding millions of square meters of space to Cairo, Gulf developers have strongly contributed to the promotion of a new luxury lifestyle for upper-class Egyptians. And Egyptian developers have begun to emulate not only the designs of similar projects in the Gulf, but also Gulf marketing and financing techniques. Even individual Egyptian expatriates returning from the Gulf often bring with them plans and images of houses they are familiar with, which they want to copy as their retirement homes.

In my contribution to these debates over Cairo Vision 2050, I will address the following four questions. What is the magnitude of the recent Gulf-related real estate developments in Cairo? In what way is the future vision of Cairo influenced by Gulf recent visions and realizations? Is there a Gulf visionary model of development that is being emulated in or exported to Cairo? And if there is a significant Gulf influence on Cairo in recent times, what are the historical roots of this impact on the city, particularly since the opening of Egyptian real estate market to Arab nationals in 1971?

Because visionary plans involve the production of the future, they are never autonomous from the politics of social change. The ultimate goal of this essay, therefore, is to disentangle the web of influences and interactions between the Gulf and Egyptian architectural and urban spheres. In turn, this inquiry will shed light on the current socio-urban, and, indeed, economic, transformation of Cairo.

### CONSTRUCTING FUTURE UTOPIAS: A NEW PARADIGM OF KNOWLEDGE-BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN DOHA

*Ali Alraouf*

This paper analyzes shifts in urban development values in Gulf cities over the past decade. Because cities now have similar access to knowledge, the playing ground has been leveled, and technology alone is no longer enough to separate “good” from “great” cities. Creativity and innovation are instead seen as the most important aspects of development; indeed, many cities view creativity as essential to surviving in the globalized world. In this context, it is crucial to consider definitions of creativity and its impact on new forms of economy. Creativity is typically defined the ability to step beyond boundaries to find ideas, states or products that stand out from what currently exists, a process that requires imagination and going “out of the box.” For many centuries creativity was thought to be limited to the arts; but it is now also being seen as applicable to business.

Following this trend, a shift has occurred from a “knowledge economy” to a “creativity economy.” For cities, this means looking for ways to be creative not only in terms of physical components,

but management and development procedures. Managing for creativity requires motivation and skill, and cities in the creativity economy constantly strive to be one step ahead of their counterparts.

Gulf cities now find themselves in this so-called creativity economy. It may seem ironic that cities in the region are now striving for development models that will allow them to embrace the consequences of the new paradigm. But the paper will shed some light on the paradigm shift from a knowledge to a creativity economy, and it will illustrate the major principles of creative and knowledge cities and their relative patterns of urban development. The focus of analysis will be the case of Doha, Qatar. Qatar is developing Doha as a future utopia rather than using inherited traditions to reconstruct an old one. The case will help articulate the future of creative and knowledge cities in the Arab world and crystallize a new paradigm for development in a postoil economy.

### FAVELA WALLS: NEOLIBERALISM, REVANCHIST URBANISM, AND THE UTOPIA OF SOCIAL EQUALITY IN RIO DE JANEIRO

*Anne-Marie Broudehoux*

In 2009 the state government of Rio de Janeiro announced its decision to enclose eleven *favelas*, located within the city's elite “south zone,” with three-meter-high walls. The policy was justified as a measure to control criminality, allow for the orderly growth of the city, and protect coastal forests by limiting the expansion of informal settlements.

The paper begins by examining the symbolic meaning of the wall in the context of global neoliberal hegemony. While the world celebrates the twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, recent years have been marked by the unprecedented proliferation of walls and enclaves. Whether they respond to a logic of exclusion or reclusion, these walls testify to a reterritorialization of power, which reconfigures contemporary space according to an insular — and discriminatory — form of urbanization. If the enclave represents the dominant spatial paradigm of neoliberal ideology, the wall is without contest its most emblematic technology.

The paper analyzes various debates which have developed in Rio to both justify and discredit this radical public policy. It deconstructs a series of mutually reinforcing crisis discourses, propagated by neoliberal ideology, about public order and security, and shows how these narratives have produced, reinforced and legitimated a divisive culture of fear, distrust and suspicion among different social groups, with deep historical roots.

In 2000, Teresa Caldeira demonstrated how, in Brazilian cities, such culture of fear generated new forms of urban segregation and social discrimination while legitimating the development of new techniques of exclusion. However, the recent decision to enclose Rio's informal settlements and their residents against their own will suggests that a new paradigm has emerged. It is no longer enough for local elites to withdraw themselves from public life while blaming the poor for the instability and insecurities that have resulted from globalization and economic neoliberalism. This new policy suggests a desire on the part of political and eco-



monic elites to take more concrete and offensive action to contain the poor and reclaim city spaces to serve their own agendas.

This revanchist attitude resonates with Neil Smith's (1996) analysis of neoliberal tendencies to blame the failures of liberal policy and urban decay on marginalized populations — identified as major threats to public order — to justify aggressive and discriminatory policies against them. Incidentally, in Rio, the police occupation of the *favelas* by pacifying units (UPPs), which was by 2010 replacing the unpopular *favela* wall, is modeled on Rudolf Giuliani's repressive "zero tolerance" policy, upon which Smith's theory was developed.

As Rio prepares to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, concerns for image and security are taking center stage and will likely saturate future urban policies. The paper concludes with a discussion of how regressive urban policies challenge the possibility of social equality, making its realization ever more utopian. As the material concretization of prejudice, distrust and denied equality, the wall, which conceals, separates and isolates, stands as an obstacle for the realization of an open, racially integrated community of equal rights and opportunities.

## VANCOUVERISM IN ABU DHABI: RE-CREATING THE URBAN UTOPIA

*Alamira Reem Bani Hashim*

Cities all over the world, seeking to reinvent themselves as sustainable and livable places, are looking to Vancouver, Canada, as a model for city-building. In fact, Vancouver has become emblematic of the twenty-first century's utopian city — an image that has become the city's prime export, to the extent that it is referred to as "Vancouverism." One of Vancouver's most recent admirers is the city of Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates. Enamored with Vancouver's image as an urban utopia, and eager to replicate it, Abu Dhabi officials in 2007 recruited what was known as the "Vancouver mafia" to guide its urban development.

The paper will examine the ways in which Abu Dhabi has gone about re-creating Vancouver on the Arabian Gulf, including the significant role that Larry Beasley, Vancouver's former planning co-director, has played in shaping planning policy in the emirate and in developing the 2030 Urban Structure Framework Plan for Abu Dhabi (Plan Abu Dhabi 2030). By unpacking the principles that underlie Vancouverism, the paper will attempt to understand how the precedent of Vancouver is being used to steer Abu Dhabi toward being the Arab world's most livable city (an Arabian utopia), and how the Vancouver model has been translated in Abu Dhabi — that is, Vancouverism in Abu Dhabi terms.

The paper is based on extensive life experience, fieldwork, and architectural and planning practice in Abu Dhabi, and it builds on the burgeoning literature on planning in Vancouver in general. By exploring the ways in which Vancouverism has been utilized and reconfigured in Plan Abu Dhabi 2030, the paper offers a case study for other cities that may look to Vancouver as a model for planning their urban utopias.

## THE POLITICS OF REINVENTION IN AMMAN'S DOWNTOWN UTOPIA

*Eliana Abu-Hamdi*

Amman, Jordan, is quickly falling prey to an idealization of its urban potential while succumbing to political pressure to establish a new image as a city of relevance. In a search for identity within a regional, if not a global, context, it has compromised its connection to its heritage, commodifying itself in a search for immediate political and capital gain. Harvey has argued that post-modern culture generates commercialized environments through the manipulation of heritage. As the real, the genuine, and the true are compromised by commodification, a city of fabrication takes root based on utopian ideals that debase actual heritage.

Amman is a city of in-between, one that aspires but does not achieve because of its inability to meet the criteria presented by entrepreneurial cities. It has clearly taken notice of these paradigms by attempting to create a mega-urban downtown. But dig any deeper, and it is clear that the entrepreneurial city formula has not taken root. Amman's superficial duplication and application of it mean it can no more be defined as an entrepreneurial city than it can be as an Ottoman or British one. Amman is lost in the in-between, perpetually stunted in growth and establishment, never gaining the momentum to concretize any sense of authenticity or legitimacy as a city of importance.

Gentrification efforts in Amman's downtown, such as Rainbow Street in Jabal Amman and the Abdali Project, have failed to address the heritage of these sites and the true history of the city. Instead, regeneration efforts have been fueled by politics and commoditization. Daher has claimed that even the most high-minded adaptations of space in the historic district of Jabal Amman have proven disruptive to the essence of the neighborhood, imposing a Western style of business and development that is out of sync with the area. Rajjal has supported such a view in his critique of the Abdali Downtown Project, citing its failures and false promises. For example, a grand public plaza was removed from the plan for fear it might be used for political assembly. Thus, the new downtown echoes the density of the traditional urban environment, but reshapes urban life into a vertically dense core, more similar to the theme-park developments of Dubai than the vernacular style of the Abdali district. The project plays on the traditional ideals of city life — density, proximity and accessibility — but eschews the connectivity characteristic of the traditional Islamic city.

Neither Jabal Amman or al-Abdali is appreciated for its original character; rather they are seen as sites in need of improvement, gentrification and Westernization. Modernity and Western ideals are being imposed as the root ingredients in its quest for a utopian state and a firm footing in the world of regional politics.

This paper will examine Amman's approach to gaining a position of modern relevance, and the manner in which it has not achieved its goals. It argues that the city will not achieve an identity for itself if it continues to fracture its connections between heritage and modernity. Amman has been seduced by the entrepreneurial nature of global cities, and aspires to reach their status. But it will fail to establish itself as a city of modernity if it does not first find its roots in tradition and heritage.

## C.5 MICRO-TOPIAS OF EVERYDAY

### INSINUATING A BETTER WAY OF LIFE: MAKING DO IN THE EVERYDAY SPACES OF BUENOS AIRES

*Robert Mugerauer*

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

### “MADE IN VENEZUELA”: THE INVENTION OF A NEOSOCIALIST CITY IN THE TIMES OF NEOLIBERAL CRISIS

*Clara Irazabal and Juan Carlos Rodriguez*

*Columbia University, U.S.A., and Simon Bolivar University, Venezuela*

### SIMPLY WALKING ON THE PATH

*Christakis Chatzichristou*

*University of Cyprus*

### ‘ASHWA’IYYAT: DYSTOPIAS OR LIBERATED SPACES?

*Riem El-Zoghbi*

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

### EVERYDAY UTOPIAS, POLITICS AND TRADITION: LESSONS FROM OCCUPIED PALESTINE

*Sahera Bleibleh and Shu-Mei Haung*

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

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### INSINUATING A BETTER WAY OF LIFE: MAKING DO IN THE EVERYDAY SPACES OF BUENOS AIRES

*Robert Mugerauer*

The presentation will describe and examine the structures people use to surreptitiously and incrementally improve their lives. It will apply to three case studies Michel De Certeau’s ideas concerning ways that people in ordinary life resist the highly abstract conceptual ideals that operate in dominant social views and official administrative structures. It will show how ordinary people operate in the concrete here and now, using practical judgments to do the best they can with what they actually have, as opposed to the ways that central planners, architectural visionaries, government leaders, and powerful capitalists control and develop the city by attempting to implement utopian ideals. The outcome will be a deeper understanding of how we become adept at “making do” in the course of everyday life.

The presentation will document and explore local cases from contemporary Buenos Aires that show how residents insinuate themselves into the spaces and activities of the mainstream, officially sanctioned sphere in order to better inhabit their city. It will consider the situations both of those who live safely within the way “they” hold things are supposed to be, so they can subtly do things that make life just a little bit better, and of marginalized

groups — either those who are not seen and heard on a daily basis or those who are pushed aside and suppressed.

The presentation will first examine how the city’s major public Plaza de Mayo (flanked by the Presidential Palace) is occupied by a variety of people who flow across discontinuous dimensions of space and time: vendors, bureaucrats, tourists, pickpockets, the homeless, and demonstrators (including the assertively visible but perhaps “discounted” mothers still witnessing the disappeared — and various contingently allied political groups). Second, the presentation will show how the gently gentrifying neighborhood of San Telmo, which increasingly provides shopping and entertainment opportunities, also provides a scene within which original “downscale” residents continue to make their way, holding on through a variety of almost invisible utilizations or interventions.

Third, the presentation will closely observe and clarify how the waterfront redevelopment of Puerto Madero, which includes dramatically upscale highrise apartment buildings and service businesses, both overshadows and artfully coalesces with the everyday routines that occur along its margins. Here, poorer urban residents continue to inhabit and enjoy “the banks” of what had been the Rio de la Plata before it was filled in by rubbish and sediment. At the same time, the micro-environment has converted itself ecologically into a sort of wetland, so as to have generated a hybrid “ecological reserve.” This is partially legitimized by its “official identification” and partially the result of pollution and degradation — a place where, interestingly, nonhuman animals are also let be so they may successfully make do.

Overall, the cases will demonstrate how ordinary people enact a meshwork of positive and negative feedbacks fully worthy of being characterized in terms of dynamic complexity. From this emerges a vital life-world that not only is sustainable but generates an unappreciated richness from which all of us (as researchers, planners-designers, and persons) can learn a great deal.

### “MADE IN VENEZUELA”: THE INVENTION OF A NEOSOCIALIST CITY IN THE TIMES OF NEOLIBERAL CRISIS

*Clara Irazabal and Juan Carlos Rodriguez*

The government of Venezuela is making plans to reshape Caracas as a socialist city. At the global level, this is happening at a historical moment when former socialist cities around the world are turning themselves into postsocialist cities. It is also happening at a time of crisis for the neoliberal economy, which has left city planners everywhere scrambling to strategize new models. At the local level, planning for Caracas’s transformation is occurring within the conceptual context of the Bolivarian revolution and its “socialism of the twenty-first century.” It is also taking place within a contentious, multilevel political environment, where transformation has been supported at the metropolitan and national-government levels, but has faced significant resistance from some municipalities and communities.

The paper investigates what a socialist city is within the peculiarities of these contexts, as defined by the Caracas Socialist Plan,

and as appropriated by the people. It also considers the challenges and prospects of reshaping Caracas into a socialist city, shedding light on the gap between the practical urban conditions in which planning takes place and the normative project — between what is and what ought to be. Our qualitative methodology includes observation and participant observation; semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and unstructured interviews with citizens not directly related to making the plan; analysis of the plan and related documents; assessment of its feasibility according to socio-cultural, economic, political, and land use conditions in the city and nation; and content-analysis of media reports of plan-related news.

The intended transformation of Caracas faces enormous political, economic, urban and ideological challenges at both the local and global levels. Given these challenges, the Caracas Socialist Plan is bound to become a utopian plan that produces relatively little transformation of the city's physical structure. Its most prominent procedural- and outcome-oriented results are bound to be realized through the creation of social capital to help alleviate ideological barriers to a socialist political economy and communal order in the municipality of Libertador. Such a move toward socialism may nonetheless be faced with great resistance on the part of other municipalities and the metropolitan government adverse to the Bolivarian revolutionary project. If bridges are not built for greater respect and collaboration among polarized communities and governments in the metropolis, the Caracas Socialist Plan's goals of democracy, inclusiveness and integration may ultimately be subverted, paradoxically producing a city that exacerbates the anti-socialist conditions the plan aims to ameliorate.

While this is a "grand plan" that promotes a structural transformation of the city, what are more likely to emerge are more modest, "make-do" incremental changes that become possible, given the many constraints acting against its implementation. Whatever the outcome, the attempt to test a new urban-redevelopment paradigm at a time when old-world planning models have proven economically and environmentally unsustainable will likely provide valuable lessons to other cities, in Latin America and elsewhere.

## SIMPLY WALKING ON THE PATH

*Christakis Chatzichristou*

In De Certeau's model, as described in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, architecture can be seen to use "strategies" to create "places." The people who use these places may then be seen to use "tactics" to create their own, ephemeral "micro-utopias." This paper takes the case of a simple path on the sand, the most minimal or basic of architectural proposals, and examines how its various users take advantage of its characteristics and its context in order to "make do."

The path under investigation runs along the beach in the town of Lemesos in Cyprus, practically becoming the physical manifestation of the boundary between the beach on the waterside and the *dasoudi* ("small forest") on the inland side. It thus falls in

that peculiar architectural category of "inhabited" boundary. Those walking on it are somewhere, but this somewhere is always in-between, not only because they are in motion, but because they are constantly offered the choice of engaging, in one form or other, with what lies on either side.

For the purpose of our investigation, the path is taken to be a protagonist space which is "served" by "auxiliary" spaces such as a café/restaurant, a beach bar, a playground, volleyball courts, public restrooms and changing-rooms, parking lots, a beach, and the "forest." The "users" of this main space are those physically occupying it as well "partaking" in the experience while occupying the auxiliary spaces mentioned.

De Certeau uses railway navigation to talk about "the unchanging traveler" who "is pigeonholed, numbered, and regulated in the grid of the railway car, which is a perfect actualization of the rational utopia." The space under investigation here is a peculiar case of this ubiquitous "space packaging" phenomenon, one which seems to exhibit a ribbon-like pattern, echoing the coastline as if in a ripple effect. Thus, while the side adjacent to the beach is packaged so as to offer "relaxation," or pockets of micro-utopias to different users at different intervals along its length, the other, inland, side has a different character. While some of its sections are also strongly packaged and clearly labeled, other parts present themselves as raw, natural, or comparatively virgin in an architectural and/or social sense.

Rather than being in a railway car with the windowpane and the rail creating the necessary "spectator's distance," users of this path face a different setup, which, despite and because of its simple nature, creates an intriguing configuration of potential relationships or events. The path may seem to lack a windowpane or a rail, but the consequences of crossing its "boundaries" may have consequences equally significant to jumping off a train. The only warnings given are signs that no dogs or bicycling are allowed. The rest visitors are either expected to know already, or to discover while "simply walking on the path."

## 'ASHWA' IYYAT: DYSTOPIAS OR LIBERATED SPACES?

*Riem El-Zoghbi*

This paper questions whether *'ashwa' iyyat* — ad hoc, unplanned, low-income urban neighborhoods in Cairo, Egypt — may be seen as "liberated" spaces of the urban poor, or whether they are better seen as emergent dystopias in a city attempting to position itself as a site of transnational investment. Cairo has experienced an unprecedented growth of *'ashwa' iyyat* in the last two decades, and the government has largely ignored them as a form of piecemeal, unregulated urban expansion. In part, this lack of attention has been due to the government's inability to provide alternatives to the inexpensive housing thus produced (Ismail, 2006; Soliman, 2004; Harris and Wahba, 2002; Assaad, 1993). Indeed, many of Cairo's low-income households find few alternatives to the *'ashwa' iyyat* on the urban fringe. Hence, *'ashwa' iyyat* have come to signify the "traditional" space of the

urban poor, and they are associated with certain social classes, ways of life, meanings and associations.

Most Egyptians have a very particular understanding of the term *'ashwa iyyat*. On the one hand, such neighborhoods are vilified as spaces of deviance, illegitimacy and squalor; yet, on the other, they are heralded as “authentically” Egyptian spaces, where battles for everyday survival are played out by ordinary people trying to get by under oppressive social and political constraints. The paper will explore ways *'ashwa iyyat* have become the new “traditional” spaces of Cairo’s urban poor — and, specifically, how they have come to signify the contradictory notions of dystopia and “liberated” space. It will also interrogate the state’s role in the perpetuation and reproduction of conditions that foster *'ashwa iyyat*. I argue that the semi-authoritarian state benefits from the branding of *'ashwa iyyat* as dystopias, as this legitimizes the use of extra-legal methods in their management and manipulation to discipline, promote difference, and exclude *'ashwa iyyat* residents from the official vision of Cairo as a global metropolis.

Additionally, however, I argue that the very nature of *'ashwa iyyat* erodes the legitimacy of the state and presents opportunities to subvert the politics of difference from which they arise. In this regard, AlSayyad (1993) has suggested that *'ashwa iyyat* frequently attempt to remain below the government’s radar and “achieve political invisibility” to minimize interference from the state. And Bayat (1997) has written that this “quiet encroachment” of ordinary citizens represents a crucial way in which *'ashwa iyyat* residents shape and claim urban space. Meanwhile, Simone (2004) has argued that spaces such as *'ashwa iyyat* are instrumental in contests for limited resources and for shaping urban space through elaborate networks of action. Previous studies have shown that Cairo residents promote agency, define their modernity, and stake a claim to their immediate urban surroundings through such elaborate networks (Singerman, 1995; Ibrahim, 1995; Ghannam, 2002; Singerman and Amar, 2006). I will examine these notions and use Hobsbawm’s proposition that “traditions” seek to “inculcate certain values and norms” to engage the ways that *'ashwa iyyat* legitimize or subvert power relations and the vision of Cairo as a global metropolis; and whether they represent “liberated” spaces of the urban poor or emergent dystopias.

In occupied Palestine, people nurture this view everyday in discrete manners; they go to work to secure food each day, without thinking much of tomorrow, trying not to listen to unconsciousness worries that may translate into real threats anytime.

Through people’s narratives in the selected case we discuss the constant tension between stresses and wishes. Resistance to Israeli occupation and spontaneity with uncertainty are embedded in how people manage their daily practices and try to hang on to a sense of utopia. Thus, we interrogate the idea of utopia by examining their everyday utopias. We consider utopia, then, as a kind of effect that results from constant practices, rather than a stable space or state. In other words, we may consider utopias as powerful as the everyday practices that everybody makes a claim to; that is to say, powerless people under occupation may not be able to expect an achievable utopia, but they nevertheless manage to practice everyday utopias, with which they maintain the exercise of politics on the micro-level.

Following this discussion, we reinterpret traditions in political actions that constitute the “world of things” and “web of relations.” We focus on how political subjects live their spaces, paying attention to the processes by which people manage to attach their threatened identities to a place under stress due to occupation. It is precisely through everyday utopias that people under occupation may achieve a kind of togetherness — individual, communicative, collective — with respect to their traditions. Our discussion considers people’s narratives as their everyday utopian discourse. By tracking the configuration of these discourses, we reveal the way personal/familial memories and living experiences intertwine with the city history, to pursue a better understanding of the temporal and spatial depth of the city. This shared social fortune not only ties members of a community together, but also links them to the collective creation of communicative utopian space.

## EVERYDAY UTOPIAS, POLITICS AND TRADITION: LESSONS FROM OCCUPIED PALESTINE

*Sahera Bleibleh and Shu-Mei Haung*

This paper starts with a belief that utopia can be dreamed of not only by people living on terrain secured by a nation-state but also by those living under occupation. It argues that the transformative lessons taken from the latter can speak to the former in many aspects. The case of occupied Palestine will be used to show how people living in occupied territories are inclined to create their own utopias of freedom to avoid realities and overcome difficulties. However, this kind of utopia is of a short-term nature, something like dreams or daydreams embedded in uncertainty.

## A.6 UTOPIAN PROJECTS OF PLACEMAKING

### MODERNISM'S UTOPIC PRESENT: ARCHITECTURE IN CONTEMPORARY DUBAI

*Kishwar Rizvi*

*Yale University, U.S.A.*

### CONSTRUCTING THE PEACH BLOSSOM SPRING: ARCHITECTURE OF CHINESE UTOPIA

*Puay-Peng Ho*

*Chinese University of Hong Kong, China*

### XISHUANGBANNA IN SOUTHWEST CHINA: A FANTASIZED PLACE AND THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF THE PLACE

*Yun Gao*

*University of Huddersfield, U.K.*

### THE CITY AS TABULA RASA VERSUS THE CITY AS MOSAIC: CHANDIGARH AND MODERN DELHI

*Varun Kapur*

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

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### MODERNISM'S UTOPIC PRESENT: ARCHITECTURE IN CONTEMPORARY DUBAI

*Kishwar Rizvi*

When included in surveys of architectural history, architecture in the Middle East is characterized through buildings representative of a distant, Islamic, past. However, some of the most exciting examples of twentieth-century architecture may be found in cities as diverse as Istanbul and Riyadh. During much of that century, European and American architects were commissioned to experiment in contexts that appeared to them exceptional — and to actualize projects that opened up new horizons in their own practices. Meanwhile, for local architects in the Middle East, modern architecture was equated with the West, and historical precedent was often marginalized in order to create works that represented the new and progressive. In both cases the ideals of modernism were understood through a displacement of context and history, as though the present itself provided utopian possibilities through which social, economic and nationalist agendas could be realized.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, architecture continues to be regarded as prophetic and utopian, especially for nations that view themselves as newcomers to the global political stage. The case of Dubai provides insights into contemporary architecture in the United Arab Emirates through its engagement with modernism and its own history — one that is aimed at mov-

ing beyond geographic and national boundaries while maintaining local significance. This vision, harking back to the earliest ideals of architectural modernism, is recast through the increased mobility of architects as well as technology.

In this paper I study public architecture in Dubai, focusing on a series of architectural “firsts” — a mosque, a museum, a national bank, and a freehold apartment complex. All four projects make apparent the complex representations undertaken by this emirate to construct an idealized past while projecting a utopian future. In so doing, what are revealed are not the particularities of architecture in Dubai alone, but the contingencies of architectural modernism in the new millennium.

### CONSTRUCTING THE PEACH BLOSSOM SPRING: ARCHITECTURE OF CHINESE UTOPIA

*Puay-Peng Ho*

When I.M. Pei pondered the design of Miho Museum in Gifu prefecture near the ancient city of Kyoto in the early 1990s, he employed the ancient Chinese folklore of Peach Blossom Spring as the main concept of the design. In trying to blend the new museum with the protected landscape, the ancient idea came in handy to create a sense of other-worldliness. A similar approach was used in the year 2000 when the villages of Hongcun and Xidi in southern Anhui Province were inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In the nomination document, these villages were described as Shangri-las of ancient China. And in tourist literature, the villages have been promoted as the Peach Blossom Spring. How is the ancient idea of utopia a fitting allegory for modern architectural narrative?

Peach Blossom Spring was a metaphor used by poet Tao Yuanming (365–427) to describe a secluded community shielded by mountainous landscape and free from the ruthless regime that ruled China at the time. It has since been used as a utopian ideal to appeal to in the face of a harsh government. However, apart from the idealistic projection, what is the significance of the modern narration of this ideal? Why would these two villages be portrayed as the Peach Blossom Spring of Tao Yuanming?

This paper will look at the construction of the identity of the two villages in this narrative. The lineage registries of both villages indicate that their founders settled in this serene location to escape the cruel reality of the world. Yet, are these villages the ideal environment for living? In the construction of this paradisiac identity at the close of the twentieth century, the village layout, the siting of buildings and major community halls, and the expression of the architectural details were all used to substantiate the uniqueness of the villages and their fulfillment of the ancient description of Peach Blossom Spring.

Other than these two UNESCO-inscribed villages, there are many other villages in the immediate vicinity, as well as farther away, that could fit the description of Peach Blossom Spring. This paper looks at other villages in Jiangxi and Fujian provinces to compare them with the Anhui villages. It will be shown that

while the contemporary construction of Peach Blossom Spring is based on the nature of the site and the architectural provision, physical setting has no bearing on the utopian identity. In effect, the idea of Peach Blossom Spring was appropriated for commercial and touristic purposes. In this construction, the historical references and physical elements colluded to maintain the disjuncture between traditional discourse and invented reality.

## XISHUANGBANNA IN SOUTHWEST CHINA: A FANTASIZED PLACE AND THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF THE PLACE

*Yun Gao*

“Xishuangbanna is a magic and beautiful place.” So begins almost every introduction to the border region of southwest China where the Dai ethnic group lives. The Dai are one of 55 minority nationalities in China with their own culture. And popular images of Xishuangbanna show golden Dai Buddhist temples shining through tropical forests, Dai bamboo houses on stilts by the river, and beautiful Dai girls in the Spreading Water Festival wearing colorful dresses. In China’s reform era, hundreds and thousands of people have been drawn to Xishuangbanna by these representations. To both domestic and international tourists, this place is full of myth and fantasy — just as depicted in the 1982 Chinese film *The Peacock Princess*.

To Chinese domestic tourists, Xishuangbanna is also a version of Shi Wai Tao Yuan, “A Peach-Blossom Land outside This World” — a utopia. The term was used for the poetic imagery depicted in *Tao Hua Yuan Ji* by the famous Chinese poet Tao Yuanming during the Jin Dynasty (265–420). With the tourist industry developing rapidly in China, it is no surprise that Shi Wai Tao Yuan has been identified as a real place — Guilin, in Guangxi province. The advertisement for it boasts “a charming rural location, folk customs, and fascinating minority buildings and architecture.” However, Xishuangbanna is another Shi Wai Tao Yuan, one that lives in the myth and fantasy of a different culture, as shown in *The Peacock Princess*. This study will investigate the connection between exoticized Chinese literary representations of Xishuangbanna and the material transformations of the place since the 1990s when the tourist industry began to develop in the region.

One of the most popular tourist sites in Xishuangbanna is Dai Ethnic Park. It consists of five villages and their thousand-year-old Buddhist temple. Unlike a typical theme park, Dai Ethnic Park is still home to many real villagers. However, these villagers are increasingly giving up their traditional farming activities for employment as contract workers in the tourist industry. Under the tourists’ gaze, as part of a spectacle, the villagers organize local performances, make Dai handicrafts for sale, and cook Dai food for visitors who come to live in their houses. Yet, at the same time, in the same space, the villagers carry on their own lives. This study will explore the tensions between nostalgia for a fantasized place and the lived experience of that place — and, even more importantly, how this place has been shaped by the culture favored and produced by the local people.

## THE CITY AS TABULA RASA VERSUS THE CITY AS MOSAIC: CHANDIGARH AND MODERN DELHI

*Varun Kapur*

The historiography of Chandigarh reveals a city conceived, *tabula rasa*, in the 1950s as a symbol of modernization for newly independent India. By employing the architect Le Corbusier and the modern style, India’s first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, envisioned it as a manifestation of India’s break with the past and its turn to a future of progress and development.

In direct contrast to Chandigarh, Delhi was a city layered with the past and teeming with the present. By the 1950s the outgoing British had already built the administrative infrastructure required for Delhi to function as the national capital, and the dense and chaotic “Old Delhi,” with its precolonial roots, already existed as the bustling heart of the city. To compound these conditions, independence and partition in 1947 led to further explosive, disorderly growth and change in the city.

Due to these factors, and especially for the time period of the 1950s to the 1990s, architectural history has posited Chandigarh as an embodiment of the state-sponsored narrative of modern development in India. Meanwhile, Delhi has been analyzed from sociological, developmental and planning perspectives as a “failed” city that could not cope with rapid growth and expansion.

This paper seeks to reposition the history of modern Delhi as indicative of the complex and multiple modes of modernity in India during this time, and that continue to exist. While Chandigarh, with its gridded urban form and iconic Capitol complex, remains an important spatial representation of state-sponsored modernist progress, it is a static representation of a singular narrative from a particular historical moment. On the other hand, the narrative of Delhi is a dynamic one, embodying the intricate and multilayered social, economic and political conditions within which such modern tendencies existed. By inserting the histories and historiographies of Chandigarh and Delhi into the discourse of multiple and alternate modernities, the paper exposes the limitations of the narrative of Chandigarh. Instead, it positions Delhi, with its mosaic of modern and vernacular, planning and irregularity, governance and informality, as much more representative of the multiple realities of urban experience in India at the time.

The idea of tradition works at two levels in this discussion. At first, Delhi, with its layered history, could be seen as the space of tradition, and Chandigarh as the built representation of a modernist, planned urban utopia. However, if we position the mid-twentieth-century ideal of modernization as a tradition unto itself, we then see Chandigarh as employing traditions of the modern in the fabrication of its utopia. In this view, Delhi becomes a composite reality that exposes the inadequacy of this utopia to address the complex conditions of social space in India. Though Chandigarh has rightly been signaled out for praise in architectural and urban histories, its modernist utopian vision is static and incomplete. The dynamic, multifarious modernities of Delhi can add the social contexts that Chandigarh lacks.

## B.6 THE POLITICS OF PRESERVATION

### UTOPIA AND TRADITION IN A LATE SOCIALIST CITY: A GENEALOGY OF THE COLONIAL CITYSCAPE IN HAVANA, CUBA

*Matthew J. Hill*

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

### FOREVER ENGLAND: THE IDEA OF THE VILLAGE AS POLITICAL TOTEM

*Daniel Maudlin*

*University of Plymouth, U.K.*

### BORROWING PLACES: THE REEMERGENCE OF CHINATOWN PRESERVATION IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

*Rina Priyani*

*Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia*

### TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION: THE ARCHITECTURE OF CAPE MUSLIM CULTURE IN BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN

*Tariq Toffa*

*University of Cape Town, South Africa*

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### UTOPIA AND TRADITION IN A LATE SOCIALIST CITY: A GENEALOGY OF THE COLONIAL CITYSCAPE IN HAVANA, CUBA

*Matthew J. Hill*

This paper explores how a particular type of urban utopia, the heritage landscape, emerged in relation to the transition to late socialism and a nostalgic longing for the colonial past in Havana, Cuba. Over the past decade, the socialist state has embarked on a number of ambitious preservation projects that have transformed cities, provincial towns, and the countryside into colonial tourism landscapes, and generators of hard currency.

There are currently nine World Heritage Sites in Cuba, eight of which are either historic cityscapes or cultural landscapes that celebrate the material culture of the former colonial sugar, coffee or tobacco economies. The production of these landscapes relies heavily on the invention of tradition. Working with the material available in the local contexts, conservationists, municipal governments, and the Communist Party are actively involved in scraping away layers — and adding new ones — to remake these environments in highly aestheticized ways. In the case of Old Havana, which UNESCO designated as a World Heritage Site in 1982, this process of reinvention is particularly acute. Here, the charismatic city historian's political power, profit-making tourism enterprises, and urban planning office have combined with a lack of private ownership to produce an astonishing level of control over the texture of the built urban form. The management of design codes, color and form, signage, media outlets, and construction industries — as well as every aspect of the tourist experience including

state-controlled hotels, restaurants and museums — is being translated into a romantic rendition of the colonial past, which conservationists refer to as a utopia.

Building on the conference theme, this paper will present a genealogy of the materialized discourses through which a utopian landscape is being created in Old Havana. It will examine both the forms of continuity this landscape creates between the late socialist present and the colonial past, and how it “works” to normalize new sets of social relations on the ground.

### FOREVER ENGLAND: THE IDEA OF THE VILLAGE AS POLITICAL TOTEM

*Daniel Maudlin*

This paper will examine the co-option of the traditional English village as a socio-political utopia by successive governments in post-war Britain (1945–2005), as a matter of government policy, not simply political *Zeitgeist*, and consider the contrasting relationships between national politics and places of national identity.

The idealization of tradition, especially rural traditions, is a postromantic cultural phenomenon common to many Western industrial/postindustrial societies. From the time of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, through the social pains of industrialization, two World Wars, and the urban unrest of the late twentieth century, refuge in the idea of the English village has been a repeated cultural response to internal social unrest and external political threats to English identity. In architecture and design, since the universal classicism of eighteenth-century Enlightenment culture gave way to national romanticism, the reverence and representation of traditional rural English things, places and people has persisted as a form of cultural utopianism, adjacent in time to the development of modernity (e.g., Pugin's *Contrasts*, the Arts and Crafts movement, garden cities, and the 1930s Mock-Tudor style).

In the later twentieth century, the idealization of the English village shifted from the realm of cultural production to that of public policy under both Labour and Conservative governments. It is perhaps surprising that it was the immediate postwar Labour government, commonly associated with urban welfare and the widespread implementation of modernist highrise public housing schemes, which first worked toward the legal preservation of the countryside and the English village — the heartland of Englishness. The Campaign for the Preservation of Rural England was founded during World War II by the master-planner Patrick Abercrombie. Abercrombie's England was one of dense, modern urban centers ringed by modern suburbs (understood as suburban places). Beyond the suburbs, the authentic countryside would be protected from urbanism by green belts. This vision was turned into policy under the New Towns Act (1946) and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (founded in 1947). The countryside, traditional rural buildings and places, would be preserved under the Town and Country Planning Act (1949). Modernity and tradition were both embraced, but they were culturally and physically separated by political acts.

In contrast, the neotraditional movement of the Conservative 1980s (and later) was conceived culturally as the creation of suburban, not suburban, places, the outer boundary of the English countryside and Englishness. The design of these edge-of-town, greenfield sites emphasized the simulation of traditional cottage forms and village street patterns (described in Gordon Cullen's influential polemic *Townscapes* (1961) as "snaking lines"). While Labour sought to preserve, but ring-fence and contain the countryside and a certain type of Englishness, the Conservative governments of the late twentieth century sought to expand a traditional, rural "Vision of Britain" into the "characterless" suburbs and towns. This policy was enforced by local-government regulation in the 1980s and then under post-Thatcher, centrist New Labour's National Planning Policy (2005). The idea of the English village has been a pliable utopia used by both the political right and left in the development of socially driven planning policies.

### BORROWING PLACES: THE REEMERGENCE OF CHINATOWN PRESERVATION IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

*Rina Priyani*

The discourse of Indonesian-Chinese culture as part of national identity became a part of public life in Indonesia after the fall of Suharto regime in 1998. The change has been a key feature of the Reform Era, which has aimed to be more plural and democratic. But it can be understood today by examining policies, begun in the 1960s, that banned such cultural elements as the use of Chinese characters (e.g., for street and building signs and in newspapers) and the maintenance of Chinese temples as religious buildings. These policies were originally instituted in the name of national security at the beginning of the Suharto regime, soon after the mass murder and riots that led to accusations that a majority of Indonesian Chinese supported the Communist Party.

Prior to the Suharto regime, three types of citizenship were recognized in the Dutch-Indies: European, local and Chinese. During the colonial era, Chinese quarters were characterized as less hygienic than European ones. However, the minority citizenship of the Indonesian Chinese can be best understood by the words of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, a prominent writer, who wrote that all are truly Indonesian who live and die in Indonesia. Nevertheless, because of the new political barriers erected under Suharto, all of a sudden Chinese Indonesians become strangers in their own country.

This paper attempts to discuss the ways in which Indonesian Chinatowns have now reemerged through the idea of preservation as sites of local contestation. Building preservation allows the government, the Indonesian-Chinese community, and the inhabitants of these areas to construct and reconstruct their heritage. The findings demonstrate that the community has in some instances rebuilt Chinatown gates that look similar to those in places like Singapore, Hong Kong, and San Francisco. On the other hand, the Chinese New Year celebrations in Jakarta feature dragons in batik that attempt to represent a new, truly Indonesian culture.

### TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION: THE ARCHITECTURE OF CAPE MUSLIM CULTURE IN BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN

*Tariq Toffa*

The Muslim presence in South Africa is as old as Cape Town, the country's oldest city, where the first Muslims arrived in 1658. Nevertheless, the process of representing Islam in South Africa has been a neglected domain of research.

The first barrier to such a historiography of Islam is that Muslims, with few exceptions, did not record their own history. Muslims are only just emerging from being an underclass in South Africa, and do not yet have the intellectual and financial resources to sustain a viable historical culture. This problem of authorship has been aggravated by a formal architectural image that reflects the dominant colonial narrative. A second barrier is the inaccessibility of the High Dutch language in which many of the primary sources are written. Third, while Muslims and other previously disadvantaged groups in post-apartheid South Africa, now possess a sense of rightful entitlement and a proper acknowledgement of their role in South African history, they lack specific cases in which to apply this revisionist history. In light of these problems, it is necessary to construct a theoretical framework around which to pursue the question of Cape Muslim history.

The paper will advance two dimensions of interpretation of historical "facts." The first involves utilizing theoretical models of the representation of meaning and culture which forefront the poetics and politics of representation. Second, it involves taking cognizance of the normative parameters of Islamic law, which are pivotal to any understanding of Muslim culture, because they establish areas and ranges within which compromise on an issue is possible. The paper will argue that neither the representational system (which locates the work in its cultural context) nor the broader Islamic legal dimensions of Muslim culture (through which it is largely underpinned and filtered) should be lost or played down in an epistemology of Cape Muslim history. Through these processes, three sites of study will be approached: the contemporary writings as primary sources, a reading of social customs and traditions, and "buildings as text." Read together and over time, these "texts" reveal a shared cultural map.

The paper will attempt to identify and illustrate broad operating principles in Cape Muslim culture from within the Islamic tradition, by expanding a field of subaltern cultural study that has been historically neglected in South Africa. These operating principles have traditionally acted as an invaluable resource in diverse cultural surroundings and in shifting paradigms for Muslim societies across the world. For South African Muslims, they provide general guidelines for grasping and wisely applying a broader Islamic tradition, while at the same time participating fully in the unfolding post-apartheid era. Further, the paper hopes to develop a case for more community-specific architectural and urban-regeneration efforts rooted in such transformative local practices. Last, it calls for heritage policy to consider a deeper cultural dimension, which goes beyond formal concerns.



## C.6 POSTCONFLICT UTOPIAS

### SPECTRES OF REVOLT: DYSTOPIAN DISRUPTIONS OF THE COLONIAL PROJECT

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*  
*Yale University, U.S.A.*

### DISSECTING UTOPIA ALONG RELIGIOUS LINES: SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE OTHER IN BEIRUT, LEBANON

*Hiba Bou Akar*  
*American University of Beirut, Lebanon*

### ATTACKING FOREIGN ARCHITECTURE: TERRORISM AND UTOPIANISM IN INDONESIA

*Kemas Ridwan Kurniawan*  
*University of Indonesia*

### THE ASIAN MIRACLE, THE ASIAN PROMISE: THE MARKETIZATION OF PHNOM PENH

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

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### SPECTRES OF REVOLT: DYSTOPIAN DISRUPTIONS OF THE COLONIAL PROJECT

*Mrinalini Rajagopalan*

In 1858 a young photographer, Felice Beato, traveled to the British colony of India, where he recorded the aftermath of the Sepoy Mutiny — or the First Indian War of Independence, as revisionist historians have since referred to it. Of the many photographic prints that Beato produced, several showed Islamic monuments damaged during the violence between the “native” soldiers and the increasingly powerful British regime. As the seat of the waning Mughal Empire and a stronghold of the “mutineers,” the city of Delhi suffered a great loss of human life as well as damage to its imperial heritage. Described in utopian terms as a paradise on earth by the fourteenth-century poet Amir Khusrau, Delhi’s physical and cultural landscape was permanently changed by the violence of 1857. The Red Fort was transformed into a military outpost, with gargantuan Victorian barracks replacing many of the original Mughal buildings. And the city’s main mosques were either destroyed or confiscated by the British, who feared they might be used to harbor anti-colonial activists. Then, once the rebellion was squelched, the British government made the decision to evacuate the residents from the city to prevent any further possibility of sedition. When allowed to return years later, many could scarcely recognize their own city. The poet Mirza Ghalib, for one, lamented that Delhi had been reduced from an imperial capital to a mere military camp.

Unlike Mirza Ghalib’s elegiac description of Delhi, Felice Beato’s photos were meant to record the force and efficiency with which the Indian rebellion was crushed, thus allaying the anxiety of their audiences in the metropole, who worried that India was an ungovernable dominion. From a postcolonial perspective, however, Beato’s photographs can be read as a record of a deeply dystopian moment, when colonial power was maintained via brute force. Indeed, this dystopian vision of colonialism, while an accurate reflection of the everyday lives of the colonized, was in fact an aberration to the rhetoric of modern rationality and the principles of civilizational superiority upon which colonialism was justified.

In this presentation I employ Beato’s photographs as a departure point to explore two interrelated strands of colonial intervention in Delhi following the events of 1857. The first focuses on the physical destruction of large parts of the city’s Mughal fabric and its replacement with icons of British military might. Unlike the planned city of New Delhi that would be built several decades later, the early examples of British building in Delhi were ad hoc constructions concerned with maintaining military control. In addition to these physical changes, however, the colonial bureaucrats were also concerned with managing the enduring memory of 1857. This included redacting or revising the events of 1857 from the official histories and spaces of Delhi. I look at 1857 therefore as a dystopian moment that ruptured existing imperial traditions, but that also created new traditions of colonial representation and symbolism.

### DISSECTING UTOPIA ALONG RELIGIOUS LINES: SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE OTHER IN BEIRUT, LEBANON

*Hiba Bou Akar*

Residential neighborhoods that experience street fighting, militarization, displacement, or any form of violence are probably far from utopian. Indeed, they are in practice dystopian, since in common consciousness, living in a “residential utopia” does not involve guns. In Beirut, a city ravaged by civil war (1975–1990) and by postwar violence, religiously homogenous residential neighborhoods have become for many people an ideal place to live. When asked, many people speak of their preference for life in a “*beea’tu*.” The Arabic word *beea’tu* can be translated as “one’s environment,” in reference to a religiously homogenous residential area, involving a vision of living in “harmony” with one’s surroundings. However, the frontiers of these growing enclaves and their friction with the territory of the religious “other” have created new, shifting dividing lines where all forms of contestation and violence occur in an everyday spatial war for territory.

Sahra Choueifat, a southeastern suburb of Beirut, is one such area. For a long time, despite efforts to develop it as a bedroom community or an industrial zone, it preserved its image as a modern utopia, an olive grove on the edge of the city. During the civil war, Sahra Choueifat remained “green,” a zone of agriculture amid fast-urbanizing areas that played a key role in military strategies against the Israeli invasions of Beirut in the 1980s.

Nowadays, having been transformed into a residential area, it is considered an extension of al-Dahiya (“Hezbollah’s territory”) into Druze territory. As such, it is delineated by Hezbollah flags, martyrs’ pictures, and victory arches, and was bombed as a “target” during Israel’s July 2006 war on Lebanon. Most recently, in May 2008, Sahra Choueifat also became a frontline battleground between conflicting political parties, mainly Hezbollah and the Progressive Socialist Party. Dozens were killed.

Sahra Choueifat’s current bleak reality is a product of competing utopias and experimental planning visions. These include the possible revival of the postwar Lebanese nation-state, the “liberation” of the economy and the creation of regional industrial and tourist hubs, the impact of transnational circuits of diaspora money, the survival of religiously homogenous enclaves, and the desire of religious militias to protect their geographies of warfare (weapon tunnels, “politics of verticality,” etc.). By tracing the dialectics of the utopian visions and dystopian practices that shape Sahra Choueifat, I will discuss its development from an agricultural area to a mixed area with industries, urban agriculture, and affordable housing, which has been a site of ongoing violence along shifting dividing lines. Zoning technologies, planning schemes, building laws, war-displaced compensation packages, housing, and land markets have been used as tools by different actors — municipalities, political parties, the Lebanese government, landowners, planning agencies, and residents — in a war for territory in Sahra Choueifat. This has now transformed it from a green “urban utopia” to an environmental catastrophe, where new phases of displacement are now occurring, mostly along class lines.

## ATTACKING FOREIGN ARCHITECTURE: TERRORISM AND UTOPIANISM IN INDONESIAN URBAN AREAS

*Kemas Ridwan Kurniawan*

The paper discusses the relationship between architecture and a distorted form of utopian practice in Indonesian urban areas, one represented by terrorist attacks on foreign architecture. There are four sections to my investigation: 1) Architects of Terror; 2) Attacking Foreign Architecture; 3) Terrorism and Urban Space; and 4) From Space of Difference to Space of Negotiation. I explore intersections between a triad of concerns — space, people and power — along a spectrum that runs from terrorism to utopianism. The paper finds that there is still a space of negotiation to bridge the gap between terrorism and civilized life, mediated through particular urban practices.

## THE ASIAN MIRACLE, THE ASIAN PROMISE: THE MARKETIZATION OF PHNOM PENH

*Sylvia Nam*

Utopianism can be indexed in the socio-spatial liminalities of the city, the city itself being preeminent as a laboratory of such utopianism. As such, the city constitutes an “experimental terrain” through which a set of exclusions, extractions and representations are forged and elevated ethically if not politically. Thus, utopian ideals permeate modern liberalism, as they do its putative draconian inversion. This paper examines the circuits of utopianism that traverse the city of Phnom Penh, specifically at this moment of rampant marketization of its city-space and economy.

While utopianism enunciates firm, albeit mutable, boundaries of the ideal, the modes undertaken to establish these boundaries are flexible and transversal, as made notable in varying projects of colonialism, nationalism and development. With this in mind, I examine the underpinnings of a specific iteration of utopianism: contemporary Asian capitalism. The “Asiatic mode of production” (characterized by the despotism and backwardness of the Asian state and society, respectively) has in the “Asian miracle” (symbolizing the recent unprecedented growth and spectacular ascent of the region) its modern, and its seemingly paradoxical, correlate. Though enthusiasm for this miracle has been tempered by ensuing economic crises, these two very specific representations of Asian markets are transfixing. They are clearly evident in Phnom Penh, which boasts both some of the most expensive property in the region and some of its most pressing poverty.

Following the city’s emptying in the 1970s (which was attended by a protracted era of violence, risk and instability), life in Phnom Penh has been marked in the last few decades by a return of refugees and investors. While the country’s poverty has made it an object of attention for international aid agencies, the city itself has been objectified as part of the remaining Asian frontier, with the potential to mimic the growth trajectories of its neighbors. This paper gives due consideration to the latter in the interregional practices of marketization that animate contemporary development, and that reflect the promise of miraculous and spectacular growth.

## A.7 UTOPIAS OF DOMESTICITY

### **HIDMO: STONE HOUSES OF THE TIGRAY, ETHIOPIA**

*Joseph Aranha*

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### **IMPERFECT PRESENT: ARCHITECTURE, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND EUROPEAN PASTS IN POSTSOCIALIST BUCHAREST**

*Elena Tomlinson*

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

### **FROM FAMILY RITUALS TO EVERYDAY LIVING PRACTICE: PRESERVATION OF UTOPIAN IDEALS IN PRESENT-DAY TIBETAN HOUSES**

*Maggie Mei Kei Hui*

*Chinese University of Hong Kong, China*

### **RECONSIDERING RED SEA ARCHITECTURE: BUILDING TRADITIONS AT THE HINGE BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN**

*Nancy Um*

*Binghamton University, U.S.A.*

### **THE FATE OF A UTOPIA: THE NEOPHYTE TURKISH REPUBLIC'S IDEAL OF SINGLE FAMILY HOUSING**

*Yasemin Ince Guney*

*Balikesir University, Turkey*

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### **HIDMO: STONE HOUSES OF THE TIGRAY, ETHIOPIA**

*Joseph Aranha*

Ethiopia has the distinction of being one of the oldest countries in Africa. Its kings claim to be descendants of the biblical King Solomon and Queen Sheba. Throughout most of its history, however, Ethiopia has been isolated and difficult to access because of its mountainous terrain. The country is also unique, because, unlike other African nations, it never succumbed to European colonization, except for a five-year period of Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941. In more recent times, outside influences and development have been restricted due to decades of war with neighboring Eritrea and domestic struggles between rebels and the Communist Ethiopian dictator Mengistu. It was during this time that the last emperor was assassinated and the monarchy was abolished.

Since 1991, when the country overcame the communists and became a democratic republic, Ethiopia has slowly begun to connect with the rest of the world. Consequently, Ethiopian culture and much of its traditional built environment, particularly in the mountainous northern areas of the Tigray region, have retained their traditional forms. Today, as contemporary Ethiopia faces the challenges of a poor but developing society, rural structures in the

Tigray continue to be built using the same kinds of materials, tools and techniques used for centuries. Change, however, is on the horizon, as access is being improved by the construction and improvement of roads, improvements in communication systems, and other modernization and development projects. As a result, the built environment of the Tigray provides an opportunity to discuss the idea of utopian ideals versus traditional physical realities in the context of sustainable built environments — the new utopia of the twenty-first century.

This report is the result of a pilot field study documenting traditional rural stone house in the Tigray region. These houses, known as *hidmo*, continue to be built, but traditional construction methods are becoming more difficult to sustain. This paper also discusses examples of recent buildings and urban-upgrade projects in the Tigray region that draw on traditional techniques, and which provide examples of sustainable approaches to preserving traditional architecture and building traditions.

### **IMPERFECT PRESENT: ARCHITECTURE, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND EUROPEAN PASTS IN POSTSOCIALIST BUCHAREST**

*Elena Tomlinson*

Discussing urban transformations in “transitional” societies of postsocialist Eastern Europe, this paper asks how we might think about the notion of “transition,” as a developmental track that promises a more prosperous and secure future, when it is rendered not in terms of an imaginary utopian future, but in terms of an idealized past. As cities of Central and Eastern Europe move away from the future-oriented teleology of socialist modernity, they enter another process of accelerated history, that of “catching up” with global and Western European cities. Socialism is now a historical stage to progress *from*, rather than *toward*; but time has taken again a political dimension, as postsocialist cities look toward their presocialist past in order to rearticulate their identities vis-à-vis Europe.

I discuss one such example of “European becoming” here — the rehabilitation of the Lipscani historic district of Bucharest. Neglected for decades and scheduled for demolition in the 1980s as part of the future-oriented urban-renewal schemes of the Romanian socialist regime, Lipscani recently became central to how local government envisions transforming Bucharest into a “European city.” In the early period of socialist nation-building, the ruins of Lipscani’s medieval Princely Palace played an important role in establishing the feudal roots of the Romanian nation-state. But today rehabilitation proponents are highlighting the district’s cultural and commercial ties with Europe and uncovering its multi-ethnic past. By analyzing the rehabilitation proposals for making Lipscani a European cultural site, I show how “Europe,” as a cultural symbol and imaginary geography, is being deployed by various institutional and civil-society actors in an undertaking meant to enact a symbolic break with the “historical anomaly” represented by the socialist period. Rehabilitating Lipscani is not only a way to map European cultural aspirations onto space and redefine the

meaning and history of the area, but also a way to “mend the wound” inflicted by socialist urban-renewal schemes, and a wishful return to a presocialist “golden age.”

I suggest that the role architecture and historiography play in rearticulating national history vis-à-vis Europe is to be understood in the larger ideological and temporal context of “transition,” where an imperfect present in need of transformation is conceived through constant deferral to the past. In this context, the present is merely a junction in a developmental track, marked against an ideal past and headed toward a future that is already known. Thus, a certain politically constituted vein of historiography becomes not only a means to alter political and cultural borders, but also an ordering framework that renders the present through the developmental telos of transition. As such, the perpetual delay in “catching up” to that utopian future, or returning to the ideal past, is seen as produced by the contingencies of the present and not by the ideologies of “transition.”

#### FROM FAMILY RITUALS TO EVERYDAY LIVING PRACTICE: UTOPIAN IDEALS IN PRESENT-DAY TIBETAN HOUSES

*Maggie Mei Kei Hui*

In Tibetan living traditions, family rituals that take place in the house range from everyday religious practice to weddings and funerals. At one end of this spectrum, funerals formulate specific rules for spatial usage; by following these, the house may transcend its use as a daily living space to become a place for the deceased to be prepared for their next stage. Such arrangements also enable religious ideals to act upon the daily built environment.

In contemporary Tibetan house architecture, the influence of new building materials is changing such perceptions of traditional living. But the process of negotiating how modern building materials will be selectively adopted in new “traditional” Tibetan houses highlights enduring ideals regarding both the physicality of the architecture and its spatial qualities. These ideals vary between different types of household, such as between the houses of lay Tibetans and monks. Ritual also takes place on the exterior of the house. This serves as an additional area to witness how certain ideals that encapsulate the utopian view continue to be realized without interruption despite evolving architectural traditions.

Through an examination of daily rituals, weddings, and funerals in Tibetan houses, the paper will investigate how certain cultural ideals are realized through rituals while the physicality of the houses continues to evolve as a result of social and technological change. The adoption and rejection of these influences reveals hidden criteria in terms of utopian vision and the ideal of Tibetan culture in living practice.

The paper examines Tibetan houses in two geographical contexts in Kaniho prefecture (Gannan Tibetan Autonomy Prefecture of the Chinese Administrative Gansu Province), at the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau. First, it looks at rural houses of Kajia village in Choni (Zuoni County). Householders here keep herds as their main livelihood, and their houses adopt a combination of tradi-

tional building practices and new building materials. By describing the rituals carried out in one house, the paper will demonstrate how new influences interact with traditional rituals to create changes to traditional building form and space. Second, the paper examines houses in a relatively urban environment in Sanchu (Xiahe County) in which a monastic complex forms the core of the settlement. In Sanchu, lay houses are built both in traditional style and with modern materials, while the houses of monks seem to follow strict rules of building form and materials.

The paper aims to examine issues of modernity versus tradition, external influence versus local values, and the importance of ritual use in the design of residential space. It questions the ideals and associated utopian views embedded in the practice of traditional house design in present-day Tibet.

#### RECONSIDERING RED SEA ARCHITECTURE: BUILDING TRADITIONS AT THE HINGE BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN

*Nancy Um*

Historic merchants’ houses in the Red Sea port cities of Massawa in Eritrea, Suakin in Sudan, Yanbu’ and Jidda in Saudi Arabia, and al-Luhayya, al-Hudayda, and Mocha in Yemen represent a shared tradition of building that crosses regional boundaries, tying the eastern side of the Red Sea to the western. Often rising several stories high, built in stone and coral and brilliantly whitewashed with elaborately carved wooden doors and projecting windows, these Red Sea houses hark back to an era when the region prospered as a central hinge in an early-modern network of maritime trade extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. Today, many of these ports are dilapidated, a consequence of shifting trade routes and new technologies of transport developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Accordingly, most of the remaining merchants’ houses have been left to crumble in the harsh climatic conditions of the coast.

The paper explores the building of the Red Sea coast as a shared tradition that, in its nonmonumentality and supranational scope, does not readily assimilate the categories assigned to most regional house types or the rubrics offered by historic, dynastic, stylistic designations. Although artificial and undoubtedly invented by modern observers seeking regional labels as classificatory tools, the idea of the “Red Sea style,” as it is commonly named, demonstrates cross-cultural connections that contest, rather than confirm, the uniqueness or purity of national identities. It will be argued that the model of Red Sea building traditions may be interpreted as utopian or ideal, through their potential to negotiate the dimensions of cosmopolitan, cross-cultural exchange in a deeply interconnected world before the age of globalization.

The paper also contends that Red Sea architecture must be understood as a dynamic set of traditions that are being reinterpreted through a contemporary lens in recent efforts to rebuild and restore some historic Red Sea towns. As such, Red Sea architecture is presently being reimagined, repurposed and redefined.

The paper will look at these more recent interventions in the Red Sea architectural landscape, which are integral to our conception of its transregional scope.

#### THE FATE OF A UTOPIA: THE NEOPHYTE TURKISH REPUBLIC'S IDEAL OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING

*Yasemin Ince Guney*

Established in 1923, the neophyte Republic of Turkey aimed to combine the ideals of modernization with the reclamation of the nation-state's traditional Turkic roots. The epitome of the new government's ideal of cutting all ties with the former Ottoman Empire and with Ottoman identity was its decision to displace its capital from Istanbul, which had served as the capital of the Ottoman Empire for four hundred years, to Ankara. The move implied more than a change of address; it was a crucial juncture, at which the meaning of government itself was reformulated. The Kemalist aim to forge a modern national identity included constructing the new capital from scratch as a site to serve as the model for the transformation of the whole country.

Architecture was one of the significant mediums used by the Republic to establish the ideal of a new secular Turkish identity, whose citizens would follow a "modern" lifestyle. In particular, single-family housing was identified by the Kemalist elite as an "ideal" house type, appropriate to the Republic's perception of social life. These cubic houses were able both to reflect the signs of modern architecture and refer to traditional Turkish houses. Thus, they were able to serve the Kemalist ideal of joining the club of modern nations while creating a new national identity based on Turkish traditions. This utopia of the Republic was advocated in national propaganda magazines of the period such as *La Turquie Kemaliste*, professional magazines like *Mimar (Architect)*, and popular media such as *Yedigun (Seven Days)*, *Yenigun (New Day)*, and *Modern Turkiye Mecmuasi (Modern Turkey Magazine)*.

The desperate shortage of housing in Ankara did not help the Republic's agenda, however. Soon, apartment complexes, known as rent-houses, started to appear, and apartment life started to be advocated as the modern way of life, appropriate to the twentieth century. And, since then, apartment living has become the most common way of life in Turkey, even though single-family housing has always been part of the housing stock as well. During the last couple of decades, apartment buildings have even been constructed in small villages, replacing traditional houses. The aim of the paper is to examine the history of single-family housing as the utopic dream of the neophyte Republic, and interrogate how apartment living took its place and replaced it as a Turkish utopia.

## B.7 THE CONSTRUCTED UTOPIA OF HERITAGE

#### NOTIONAL HERITAGE AND THE MAKING OF MODERN UTOPIAS/DYSTOPIAS: THE CASE OF WORLD HERITAGE

*Montira Unakul*  
*UNESCO, Thailand*

#### INSTRUMENTALIZED "HERITAGE": POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*Zara Kadkani-Schmitt*  
*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

#### CUZCO: "INCA" MODERNITY?

*Catherine Elisabeth Covey*  
*University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.*

#### IN SEARCH OF UTOPIA: PURSUING HISTORIC ILLUSIONS THROUGH THE AMERICAN "MAIN STREET" MOVEMENT

*Hyun-Lim Jong and Stephen Hartley*  
*Savannah College of Art and Design and Savannah Technical College, U.S.A.*

#### THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY DURING THE VARGAS REGIME IN BRAZIL

*Marianna Al Assal*  
*Universidade de Sao Paulo, Brazil*

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#### NOTIONAL HERITAGE AND THE MAKING OF MODERN UTOPIAS/DYSTOPIAS: THE CASE OF WORLD HERITAGE

*Montira Unakul*

This paper seeks to examine the construction of "notional heritage" as part of the dualistic process of urban conservation/urban transformation. It will investigate how decisions are made to selectively conserve/develop to a certain fixed ideal — an ideal that is, more often than not, notional or evocative of an ideal archetype. For urban heritage, in particular, defining (or in some cases inventing) the significance of a site often hews to utopian visions of the ideal medieval town, the ideal folk village, the ideal modernist complex, or the ideal twenty-first-century postnationalist metropolis. As a result of the editing process, the end-product is rarely a reflection of the messier reality of how that place arrived at its current condition.

The paper will take the case of selected World Heritage Sites, which are subject to a litmus test of "authenticity" and "integrity" that takes place within an elaborate competitive exercise of reifying heritage archetypes on a global stage. It will ask several questions. Who makes the editing choices in defining what constitutes

the heritage of a particular site? How? Against the context of what socio-political structures? What is gained in the process? What is lost?

The paper will close with observations of how the power of this notional heritage can sometimes co-opt other claims to heritage and other mechanisms of urban placemaking.

## INSTRUMENTALIZED "HERITAGE": POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*Zara Kadkani-Schmitt*

Following the 1992–1995 war in the former Yugoslavia, and as a result of the postwar socio-political environment, the definition of Bosnian identity has become a challenging task. "National" heritage and tradition, though potentially essential elements for social identity and collective memory, have become resources for acrimony between Bosnia's three competing ethnic communities — Muslims, Croats and Serbs. Interestingly, as much as destruction of architecture was practiced as a strategy to eliminate particular ethnic identities and traditions during the war, reconstructed architecture has become a significant medium in the postwar period to rearticulate ethnic identities.

Throughout Bosnia's major cities, the meaning of national identity has been contested, as architectural designs are seen as instrumentalized tools of political resistance to the hegemony of the "other." In this context, the language of postwar designs reflects how people interpret the war, and how they want to remember the past and forget the memory of the "other." As a result, the political discourse of the perceived "tradition" embedded in the built landscape has become a topic of ideological contestation.

Simultaneously, due to Bosnia's strong prewar architectural heritage, the international community has tried to market and save the county as a historical site of "cosmopolitan" tradition. It has invested a large amount of money in rebuilding its cities in hopes of reviving and privatizing its economy. But at the same time, different religious leaders have called for support from their related institutions. Thus, despite the efforts of international organizations to underline Bosnia's cosmopolitan past, the particularistic position of religion in the process of reconstruction has been strongly evident, resulting in an actual reduction of prewar cosmopolitanism and an increasing separation between ethnic and religious groups.

Drawing on the concept of "utopic degeneration," which was introduced by the French poststructuralist philosopher Louis Marin, the paper will investigate the different and oftentimes competing projects in the postwar reconstruction in Bosnia. Following Marin's work, the paper seeks to demonstrate how, in the postwar era, the promulgated utopic representations of designs may be entirely captured in a dominant system of ideas and values. It then describes how utopic structures and functions may metamorphose into an ideological myth or a collective fantasy: in short, how the utopia degenerates. To illustrate this argument, the paper intends to uncover the ways in which the postwar built environ-

ments of the two Bosnian cities of Sarajevo and Mostar were shaped by different actors and various political motivations. Its goal is to bring a new understanding of the role and relationships of national identity, heritage, and the ideology of a globally directed "cosmopolitan tradition" in the postwar city.

## CUZCO: "INCA" MODERNITY?

*Catherine Elisabeth Covey*

Given that city planning is frequently aligned with state objectives and can be instrumental in social control and political ordering (Holston, 2008, 1989; Rabinow, 1989), urban aesthetics and spatial forms should not be conceptualized as neutral, natural or dispassionate material objects. Rather, they must be examined as the "product of social and political struggles" (Zhang, 2006; Davis, 1992; Soja, 1989; Caldeira, 2000). Shaped by constructed "images" and representations, the "modern" identity of cities can consequently be understood as a project that tends to shelter the intentions of policy-makers and planners, while concurrently obscuring the ways inequality can be articulated into the very fabric of the built environment.

Throughout history, a reevaluation of the past has influenced urban transformation; while many cities convert into modern metropolises through an annihilation of the old or "traditional," some choose to privilege their cultural heritage through preservation. But what is being preserved, and under what conditions? While turning a blind eye to historical and political processes, inherently artificial urban traditions have been presented with an affectation of authenticity and a sense of an "untouched" past. In the Andean highlands, from Inca times to the present, urban mythology has been constructed back to a re-created past and materialized in the present through various planning and architectural endeavors.

The city of Cuzco is a Peruvian cultural center where overlapping imperial Inca and Spanish colonial histories have produced neither a unidirectional nor a seamless story. Nevertheless, a mythologized pre-Columbian Inca image is promoted, and today the entire city of Cuzco has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site, acting as a gateway to the celebrated archaeological remains of Machu Picchu. In Cuzco, many issues influence urban projects — in particular, conscious choices in planning, design and materiality. These enhance the appearance and experience of the urban, but also act as a mechanism to convey ideology and emotional messages that reference the image of the city.

Urban landscapes such as "re-Incanized" Cuzco (Silverman, 2002) have been created and re-created through processes of image-making and placemaking, conceptually linking time and space under the governance of particular notions of modernity and modernization. The paper argues that Cuzco can be seen as shaped by the image of a mythologized and "static" past, peddled to the local/global community. Rising up from its contested imperial, epistemological and colonial roots, Cuzco now fuels an enormous tourist machine. Referencing a re-created history in a quest for

modernity, the municipal and national governments legitimize and authenticate the image of Cuzco through heritage-driven public works, archaeological patrimony, and sponsorship of “Inca” tourism.

### IN SEARCH OF UTOPIA: PURSUING HISTORIC ILLUSIONS THROUGH THE AMERICAN “MAIN STREET” MOVEMENT

*Hyun-Lim Jong and Stephen Hartley*

This paper discusses how the original concept of the “American Main Street,” which primarily refers to a central street or place of commercial and socializing activities, has been historically defined, physically interpreted, and culturally represented in twenty-first-century urbanism. In particular, it examines the ideals of Main Street revitalization programs in relation to the current state of downtown cores in the United States and the goals urban preservation and revitalization programs.

Ironically, the idea of the American Main Street, in its traditional form, was formulated at the same time that its object began disappearing from the landscape. As local retail services were aggregated into outlying private developments, the concept of the small town Main Street, a place one might find all the amenities of a traditional life, rose to prominence with the construction of “Main Street USA,” a carefully formulated nostalgia at the Disney Corporation’s theme parks. Starting in the 1970s, and fully supported by the National Trust in the 1980s, the Main Street movement has since grown into a national network of urban spaces dedicated to the reintroduction of local buying power and support for small businesses. By emphasizing historic image-making and the practical desire for economic revitalization, the Main Street cultural movement gradually became recognized as a subconscious cultural expression of Americans’ desires for both small towns and urban communities.

However, with the global economic downturn of the previous few years, as lines of credit have dried up for small businesses, property owners and downtown development authorities in the U.S. have faced rising vacancies in their shopping districts. As a result, many are actively recruiting national chain stores, which have the financial backing to weather most economic downturns. These activities are quickly transforming urban shopping districts, once a haven for small and unique businesses unsuited to the standard shopping-mall mold, into the very thing they were competing against. In essence, these traditional business districts are being transformed into pasteurized “urban shopping malls,” complete with all the standard franchise outlets found across the nation.

Using various examples, including Broughton Street, the “Main Street” of Savannah, Georgia, the paper will explore how the original historic concept of Main Street has been simplified, transformed, and selectively applied over time. It will then compare the utopian desires and ideals of the Main Street movement to present turbulent economic reality in the United States.

### THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY DURING THE VARGAS REGIME IN BRAZIL

*Marianna Al Assal*

Between 1937 and 1945 Brazil was governed by the dictatorial “Estado Novo” regime of Getúlio Vargas, whose ideology of progress and national growth emphasized nationalism, defense of sovereignty, institutional modernization, and industrialization. The Vargas years were marked by a transformation of collective imagery into a regulatory instrument of daily life, as the construction of a unifying national identity, able to accommodate differences, became a central mechanism of power. The period also saw the culmination of a long process of creating an autonomous architectural profession, especially in terms of its erudite aspect. This process, which had emerged in previous decades, not only involved strategies in the educational field but also the consolidation of a recognized language, the construction of emblematic buildings, and the elaboration of a distinct history. In these years of dictatorial power, architecture and the state established a special relationship. This paper will approach some of the issues surrounding this relationship by contrasting two of its accomplishments: the university campuses for the University of Brazil and the Rural University of Brazil.

The construction of the University of Brazil by the Ministry of Education and Health was the subject of major architectural discussions between 1936 and 1938. These involved not only the modernists Lucio Costa and Le Corbusier, but also the Italian architect Marcelo Piacentini — admittedly associated with the Italian government of Mussolini. Less known, the construction of the Rural University of Brazil was carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture between 1938 and 1943 with the intent of improving agronomy education and research. Its monumental architecture and careful urbanization mixed rationalism with picturesque traditions, definitively adopting the “neocolonial” as its official language. These architectural projects demonstrate some of the central guidelines of the dictatorial government of Getúlio Vargas. They also reveal disputes in the field of architecture in terms of selecting a formal language to represent Brazilian national identity.

## C.7 REIMAGINING THE POLITICS OF THE IDEAL

### MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN IT WAS: THE INTERLOCKING UTOPIAS OF HEZBOLLAH'S RECONSTRUCTION PROJECT

*Mona Fawaz*

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### RECLAIMING THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST: REIMAGINING THE POOR INTO DELHI'S MILLENIAL LANDSCAPE

*Gautam Bhan*

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### CRITICAL UTOPIA: THE MAKING OF UNIVERSITY TOWN IN GUANGZHOU, 2002–2009

*Yishi Liu*

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

### THE IDEAL VILLAGE: ARCHITECTURAL UTOPIAS IN PRE- AND POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

*Farhan Karim*

*University of Sydney, Australia*

### RETHINKING DUBAI: ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN THE AGE OF "UTOPIAN" POLITICAL VISIONS

*Jasmine Shahin*

*De Monfort University, U.K.*

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### MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN IT WAS: THE INTERLOCKING UTOPIAS OF HEZBOLLAH'S RECONSTRUCTION PROJECT

*Mona Fawaz*

On the first day of the cease fire that put a halt to 33 days of Israeli attacks on Lebanon in the summer of 2006, Secretary General Nasrallah of Hezbollah (the Party of God) pledged to rebuild Beirut's devastated southern suburbs, where more than 250 multistory apartment buildings had been literally turned into craters. The neighborhood, he promised, would be "more beautiful than it was." In an unprecedented move at this scale, Hezbollah then took charge of neighborhood reconstruction. It appointed a commission of architects to develop design guidelines and established a private agency to supervise and coordinate reconstruction of the demolished buildings. The agency was named Wa'd ("the Promise") in reference to the secretary general's pledge. The slogan was inscribed on every building sign in the neighborhood, molded in concrete blocks demarcating construction sites, and posted on building-size billboards.

The paper analyzes the formulation of the "beautiful" in Nasrallah's pledge — as it figures in the discourses of Hezbollah

actors, of the architects and planners hired by the Party of God to work on the project, and of neighborhood residents at different moments in the reconstruction process. It unravels how the utopias of past and present embodied in Nasrallah's pledge have worked to rationalize a design option otherwise impossible to implement. Two utopias comprise this vision: that of a harmonious past, and that of a glorious future.

The utopia of a harmonious past has been articulated along the lines of the former residents' fond memory of place. It implies that resuscitating the urban fabric as it existed before the war is the only ethically viable design option. This memory of place has, however, been selectively reconstructed around the relations between residents and their private spaces, while other (negative) memories tied to the quality of the neighborhood's public spaces have been suspended. Interviews with residents reflect how they gradually integrated this (private) formulation of their own relation to the neighborhood. Thus, their definition of the "beautiful" — articulated in the first months after the war as "more public parks," "better street quality," and "lower noise pollution" — eventually shifted to "modern buildings" and "high-quality construction standards."

The second utopia implies a future in which the neighborhood is rebuilt to embody the victory of the Party of God and the ideal of political resistance to Israel, articulated in architectural language through modern stylistic elements and high seismic qualifications. Unlike the utopia of the past, where residents' multiple voices and individual perceptions are apparently celebrated, the utopia of the future projects the representational space for a homogenized public, constructed as *jumhour al mouqawama*, or "the resistance's public." Its spatial materialization is the sum of the neighborhood buildings as sheer volumes, which together embody the Party's victory. This is eloquently signaled by the removal of all signs celebrating the Party's victory over the past months, as buildings rise and the neighborhood itself comes to embody the flattening of contending social and historical processes.

In sum, the utopia articulated by Hezbollah thus served to mold residents' expectations and allow for the implementation of the Party's priorities in the reconstruction: the on-site resettlement of its constituency and the entrenchment of its territory in Beirut.

### RECLAIMING THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST: REIMAGINING THE POOR INTO DELHI'S MILLENIAL LANDSCAPE

*Gautam Bhan*

India and Indian cities stand at a moment of profound political, aesthetic and economic transformation. Three broad trends define this transformation: an extensive economic and social restructuring following economic liberalization in 1991; emerging notions of the aesthetics of a "world-class city" at a moment of increasing global interaction; and a changing landscape of aspiration and economic opportunity for the nonpoor, often described as the rise of the great Indian middle class. Within these transformations, questions of urban governance and debates on public



interest within cities in particular, have become critical contemporary contests.

In millennial Delhi these transformations have manifested themselves in multiple forms. One has been a marked rise in the intensity, frequency and scale of evictions of the urban poor from informal settlements. Indeed, between 2000 and 2010 the city evicted more poor households than in the two decades before. These evictions, however, are different not just in degree but in kind. Each is the result of a court judgment as the result of a particular legal mechanism: public-interest litigation. In other words, they were ordered not by city government or a planning agency but by the highest courts of the land in the name of “public interest.”

How have the evictions of nearly half a million urban residents been recast in the name of “public interest”? The paper argues that a changing definition of public interest has accompanied the changing aesthetic and political imagination of the city — the creation of a new utopic political horizon. Delhi, in particular, is dreaming new urban dreams — to become a “world-class city” before the Commonwealth Games of 2010. In the context of a rapidly changing political economy, marked by booming and increasingly deregulated land markets and economic sectors, such a view mirrors the desire to become a Singapore or Shanghai of India. This dream has emerged in an economic context where its realization — though fraught with anxiety and hindered by inertia from the country’s more regulated and “socialist” past — seems, for the first time, possible.

To understand these issues, the paper analyzes the media coverage of the Commonwealth Games and the evictions that have preceded them. The juxtaposition shows how the vision of a world-class city deeply influences even juridical decisions on the public interest. The paper further analyzes the impact of this new urban vision on the citizenship rights of the poor. It argues that efforts to protect and safeguard these rights will not succeed by making claims on the welfare state, as before. Instead, they will need to define a different political vision for the city that does not erase the poor from the city’s imagination — and, in effect, from its streets.

## CRITICAL UTOPIA: THE MAKING OF UNIVERSITY TOWN IN GUANGZHOU, 2002–2009

*Yishi Liu*

University Town in Guangzhou (GUT), officially named Guangzhou Higher Education Mega Center, is an area dominated by universities on Xiaogwei Island on the southern outskirts of Guangzhou, China. Encompassing approximately 43.3 square kilometers of land and 3.53 million square meters of indoor space, it is home to ten institutions of higher education capable of accommodating 350,000 to 400,000 people. Initiated by the Guangzhou municipal government in 2003, GUT is intended to be a first-class national university campus. Its ambition is also to create a new urban center as part of the strategic expansion of the city onto nearby rural land.

The planned suburban city of GUT does not call itself a utopia, but its self-stated mission to bring a new standard of living to Guangzhou has many hallmarks of a utopian vision. It is a state-led project that in only three years has dramatically changed the socioeconomic fabric of Xiaogwei Island from its former status as a farming area; its attempt to physically restructure the island relies on a grand physical plan featuring geometry and symmetry; and it aims to establish tight control over spaces and users (i.e., students) to achieve a unified image over time. Furthermore, the legacy of existing villages on the island was largely ignored by planners and officials, as exemplified by planning drawings and governmental accounts.

However, this paper argues that the making of GUT demonstrates qualities counter to such utopian tendencies as expansionist megalomania, supra-historicity, homogeneity, finality, totalitarianism, etc. First and foremost, unlike an exclusive edge city, GUT is equipped with grand sports and cultural facilities connected with the whole city. Several vernacular houses and historical remains have been preserved, and tourism has been encouraged. And local construction techniques facilitating ventilation have been widely used in new buildings, while traditional embroidering has become a major source of income for farmers who have lost their former lands. First-hand materials about how Guangdong Pharmaceutical University, one of the ten universities of GUT, was planned and built, will corroborate these arguments.

Most of all, GUT appears to be the result of a process. Many classical utopians believed that material poverty and exploitation could be ended by replacing a free economy with a centralized one, regulating production and distribution from above. Contrary to this (as regulations prohibiting students from entering villages failed), the managers of GUT realized they could not give up the effectiveness of a free economy as a social institution to organize human productivity. The state role in enhancing the sharing of resources, such as libraries and teaching staff, has been confirmed, but many have banked on a wide-ranging decentralization of managerial systems. As recent spatial development attest, the making of GUT has not been based on a static spatial model uncorrupted by time and excluding unwanted people, but by the idea of a vibrant city that is a “heteropolis” of various landscapes and different social classes.

## THE IDEAL VILLAGE: ARCHITECTURAL UTOPIAS IN PRE- AND POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

*Farhan Karim*

By conceiving an anti-industrial utopia as a showcase, Gandhi crafted his own body as the central image of a vernacular Indian modernity: a strategic reformulation of tradition aimed at serving the revolutionary ends. To similar ends, architect Sris Chandra Chatterjee proposed, in several of his unrealized projects, an architectural utopia based on a Gandhian noncapitalist economy, a decentralized state, Indian spirituality, and subaltern empowerment. However, his architectural rhetoric, emphasizing the eclectic appro-

priation of traditional forms, never gained wide public appreciation, despite its acceptance among his own political coterie.

The failure of such a nationalist utopia, however, brought forth a trans-Atlantic effort to frame a different kind of utopia in post-independence India. In 1954 the U.N. sponsored the “International Exhibition of Low-Cost Housing” in Delhi. The show, which was directed by the British urban planner Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, contextualized the CIAM’s “Core.” Tyrwhitt’s “ideal Indian village” problematized Gandhi’s utopia of ascetic domesticity by attempting to give it a new, synthesized form that would comply with India’s midcentury venture into large-scale industrialization. The exhibition considered ways of generating modern forms conditioned by climatic factors and resource scarcity: a blend of nationalism and site-specificity for the newly independent nation-state. Its experiment with local conditions was as much an aspect of Third World identity discourse as it was an investigation of modernity to discern whether it could be applied at the periphery of the modern world.

## RETHINKING DUBAI: ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN THE AGE OF “UTOPIAN” POLITICAL VISIONS

*Jasmine Shahin*

Since antiquity, the construction of urban spaces has been associated in many ways, directly or indirectly, with humanity’s intrinsic need to assert its existence within a larger whole — the universe. However, as humanity attains unprecedented levels of knowledge and technology, it has today forfeited such a poetic vision of dwelling in favor of materialistic goals shaped primarily by intertwined global politics and interdependent economic agendas. As a result, architectural and cultural identities face major challenges in modern capitalist cities, most critically in the newly emerging cities of the Arabian Gulf.

Using the city of Dubai as a chief example of newly emerging urbanities, the paper investigates the problems of building illusory utopias as a way of creating cultural identity. It proposes a critical hermeneutic framework to understand the city’s deficiency in fostering genuine urban discourse. Through hermeneutics, some sense can be made of Dubai’s enigmatic overuse of iconic architecture. At first, such patterns of building were employed to draw global attention, but it has arguably now resulted in a lack of coherence and identity. These icons are seen as a set of empty signifiers capable of being integrated into a communicative circle. However, the paper accentuates the role of reciprocity in the evaluation of art/architecture and in enhancing communal identity. In this sense, it argues that much of Dubai’s architectural production is a symptom of alienation and fragmentation, signaling the presence of a complex dual system. First, Dubai’s highly iconic architecture operates as a relatively neutral primary sign system; second, it reflects the importance of Western culture, which the city holds as an ideal image to build upon.

The paper’s aim, then, is to uncover the dialectic relationship that results from the city’s highly controversial architectural repre-

sentations, which oscillate between an idealistic political vision and a culturally hollow urban experience. By understanding and interpreting the historical development of the city’s architectural and urban spaces in relation to its increasingly consumer-oriented society, the paper will address the anticipated challenges the city faces in coming years. It also proposes an alternative method for understanding modern cities — which, despite their apparent deficiency in harmonious living conditions, reveal certain truths about modern reality. The reality presented through our urban artifacts, even if it is only a simulated one, can be uncovered through our readiness to reflect and to rethink our place in the larger context of our cities and the world.

The paper concludes that Dubai can become more culturally discursive — but not by implementing yet another universalizing Western conception of the city. What is required is a method that can show, according to Gadamer’s *Truth and Method* (1960), how “to understand the phenomenon itself in its unique and historical concreteness . . . [and can] understand how this man, this people, or this state is what it has become or, more generally, how it happened that it is so.”

## A.8 THE UTOPICS OF PLACE AND SPACE

### MOSQUE AS UTOPIA: TOWARD A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE DYNAMICS OF PLACE

*Ann Shafer*

*American University of Cairo, Egypt*

### CHANNELING THE PAST: TRADITION AND POLITICS IN IVAN LEONIDOV'S "UTOPIAN CONSTRUCTIVISM"

*Derren Lowe*

*University of Newcastle, Australia*

### CREATING A UTOPIAN INDIGENOUS PLACE: THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

*Anne Marshall*

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

### WHEN A HOUSING TRADITION ENCOUNTERS UTOPIA: THE TULOU OF HEKENG VILLAGE, 1958–1972

*Jing Zheng*

*Chinese University of Hong Kong, China*

### FOR OR AGAINST TABULA RASA: HOW TO PERCEIVE THE CONTEMPORARY CITY IN TRANSITION

*Mirjana Lozanovska*

*Deakin University, Australia*

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### MOSQUE AS UTOPIA: TOWARD A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE DYNAMICS OF PLACE

*Ann Shafer*

The Muslim diaspora in the West manifests at its core utopian yearnings for an ideal life. The dynamic of immigration is one of hope, and in the United States in particular it engages a highly nuanced utopian narrative of the “American dream,” wherein egalitarian access to social, economic and political identity forms the scaffolding for an ideal place of habitation.

While the utopian dream is the catalyst for the physical movement of immigration, another, architectural, dynamic — the diaspora mosque — creates an interesting conceptual dialogue, especially as it relates to notions of the “ideal” community. Here, tradition is paramount — but not for the static stylistic and functional reasons that are often assumed in current architectural scholarship. Instead, tradition becomes a context for the next layer of collective quest — for knowledge, clarity of purpose, effective thought and action, and strengthened faith. This paper will explore how contemporary American mosques and their traditional communities are, by their very nature, productive manifestations of utopian ideals.

Focusing on mosques and prayer spaces in two major urban centers, Boston and Detroit, the paper examines several of the many and diverse layers of Muslim-American “utopian” place. On one level, it examines how these spaces engage the notion of architectural prototype — an inclusive and productive means of organizing thought and aspiration. On another level, it examines how, through the engagement of formal and restricted spatial codes, these vernacular spaces provide an opportunity to formulate and manifest appropriate action on the scale of the individual and the community. Finally, yet another layer of this study will demonstrate how the interactive emphasis in such vernacular spaces affects larger fields of perception and transformation in the society at large. By means of subtle methodological shifts, the Western mosque as an architectural and social type becomes richer in its potential as a field of study and more real as a player in contemporary religious, social and political landscapes.

### CHANNELING THE PAST: TRADITION AND POLITICS IN IVAN LEONIDOV'S "UTOPIAN CONSTRUCTIVISM"

*Derren Lowe*

In the immediate aftermath of Russia's tumultuous October Revolution, the new Soviet state was confronted with the enormous task of persuading a predominately illiterate population of the merits and relevance of its utopian goals. In its efforts to effectively gather and strengthen the resolve of the people, it readily embraced the energy and exuberance of artisans and architects of the Russian avant-garde. The political forces in the Soviet state strategically deployed visual arts, including architecture, observing in the avant-garde the potential for the arts to transmit and herald visually, physically and dynamically its vision for the future in a readily disseminated, albeit a radical and stylistically new, language.

For espousing the possibilities and dynamism of the new society, the work of Ivan Leonidov, a talented graduate of the Vkhutemas School, was met with much enthusiasm both from fellow practitioners and the wider public. However, analysis and critique of Leonidov's projects reveals a wide range of traditional forms, symbols, and compositional techniques. Although it hasn't been explored widely in an academic context, the work of Leonidov was deeply rooted in traditional Russian art and architecture, and thereby carried with it the weight of subconscious and abstract recognition of the traditional past.

When presented against the sober political realities of the emerging Soviet economy, however, Leonidov's iconic canon of work, under the stylistic label of Constructivism, began to be labeled by detractors as “formalist,” “utopian,” and ultimately “Leonidovist.” Much research has been conducted into the Russian Constructivist declaration against tradition and the subsequent tragedy of the retreat into Neoclassicism and Socialist Realism following the rise of Stalin. But overlooked in the analysis and critique of the early zeal of the Constructivist endeavor and the later collapse of the utopian ideal has been the underlying role that tradition played in informing and shaping the project in general, and the work of Leonidov specifically.

This paper advances current scholarly interpretations of Ivan Leonidov's iconic brand of Constructivism, by repositioning it within the context of traditional Russian art and architecture. The role of tradition in avant-garde strategies of the 1920s demonstrates a broader, politically complex paradigm that underpinned architectural production in the period. The work of Leonidov was central to this, marrying tradition and utopia and reflecting the politicization of the role of tradition in the architectural language of Constructivism.

## CREATING A UTOPIAN INDIGENOUS PLACE: THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Anne Marshall

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) opened to great fanfare on September 21, 2004. Indigenous peoples from throughout the Americas, many dressed in full regalia, participated in a multitude of celebratory activities including traditional music and dance. At the NMAI, Indigenous peoples have followed tradition in designing its building and landscape, curating and exhibiting objects, controlling and communicating knowledge, and emphasizing Native languages. This paper will consider how tradition has been harnessed with the aim of making the National Museum of the American Indian a utopian place. It will also examine the political role of the NMAI and how well the NMAI lives up to its utopian promise.

A consortium of architects, led by Douglas Cardinal (Blackfoot/Metis), designed the NMAI building on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Design processes included consultation with various Native people, some of whom walked the site to determine how best to position the building in the landscape. The building is oriented to the cardinal points, and, as tradition dictates for many Native Americans, the entrance faces east. Similar to many traditional Native American buildings, the NMAI is also relentlessly curvilinear. Meanwhile, the site design includes native croplands, forest, wetlands, and meadow habitats. Finally, the location of the building, on the last available plot of land along the National Mall, makes a powerful political statement about the continuing presence of Indigenous peoples. That statement is made clearer by the contrast between the undulating yellow sandstone building, set in a lush landscape, and surrounding static, white, Beaux Arts buildings set amid continuous clipped lawns.

The NMAI collection, nearly a million Native American objects, is housed following Indigenous protocols. The "objects" are considered living beings and receive traditional care. They need access to sunlight and air; they need to be "fed" with cornmeal; and ceremonies — some including smudging (smoke) — need to be performed on their behalf. In addition, since these living objects are powerful, some can only be handled and viewed by people of a particular gender. Exhibitions of the objects within the NMAI Building on the National Mall challenge expectations of most visitors. Although some argue that the NMAI is practicing an "Indigenous museology," many people, including experts in

Indigenous museums, fail to understand the meanings of exhibitions. Other Native scholars criticize the NMAI for not telling essential, painful stories of colonization. Many people travel in groups to visit the NMAI and complain that exhibit spaces are too compartmentalized to allow group viewing.

The vision for the National Museum of the American Indian was for a utopian place for and about Indigenous peoples from throughout the hemisphere. But is this possible, or is it an "impossible unity" of the sort Homi Bhabha described in *Nation and Narration* (1990)? Can a single building and its contents possibly represent the diversity of Indigenous peoples within the Americas? And given that the NMAI is part of the Smithsonian Institutions, therefore linked to the U.S. government, how effectively can the NMAI represent Indigenous peoples?

## WHEN A HOUSING TRADITION ENCOUNTERS UTOPIA: THE TULOOU OF HEKENG VILLAGE, 1958–1972

Jing Zheng

The Communist revolution that occurred during the third quarter of the twentieth century was deconstructive to the traditional built environment in rural China. During this period most forms of traditional architecture were no longer built; they were either altered and reallocated or torn down and replaced by the new "national form." However, *tulou*, a building tradition in southeastern China, experienced a peak in construction. In this paper, I argue that one reason was that *tulou*, unlike other traditional forms, was a dwelling form built and organized by housing cooperatives. When agricultural collectivization swept over rural China in the 1950s, these housing cooperatives were able to balance their traditional social organization with the new Communist ideology. The cooperatives were soon adapted into "production teams" and manufactured many "Communist-style" *tulou*.

The term *tulou* refers to large-scale, multistory earthen buildings in Fujian province, China. Usually, every *tulou* was equally divided into twenty to forty units, each owned by a household or a shareholder. The construction of *tulou* required simple techniques but a great amount of labor and materials; this called for housing cooperatives consisting of dozens of shareholders. The cooperatives not only managed daily affairs within their *tulou*, but also became a basic social unit.

From 1958 to 1982 rural China experienced agricultural collectivization. All private property, including land and equipment, was forfeited to people's communes. A commune consisted of about 100 production teams, each of which was made up of about 33 households, or 145 people. Cadres, new peasant leaders, supervised the organization of agricultural production and construction activities.

In 1958 there were about 600 people in Hekeng village, and they resided in eight *tulou* built over the past three centuries. When the commune system was established, each *tulou* cooperative turned into a production team and took over the management of the resources. Within a few years six new *tulou* were launched in the village to implement the Communist ideology. These

dwellings provided more units than the total number in the previous *tulou*, far exceeding need. Unlike the old buildings, however, which were mostly square and had dark units in their corners, “Communist-style” *tulou* were circular to ensure that every household received a unit of equal quality, a nod toward egalitarianism. In addition, new *tulou* had much larger units, a simpler structure, and fewer decorations.

This paper explores the dynamic relationship between construction traditions and the Communist utopia in the context of a *tulou* settlement in southeastern China. By comparing the architectural forms built before and after 1958, by interviewing the cadres and villagers who participated in the construction, and by examining official real estate records from the 1950s and local documents such as lineage records, the paper will show how two cooperative concepts interacted and changed the built environment.

## FOR OR AGAINST TABULA RASA: HOW TO PERCEIVE THE CONTEMPORARY CITY IN TRANSITION

*Mirjana Lozanovska*

The “City of Possible Worlds: World=City=Worlds” exhibition received one of three commendation awards from judges at the 2006 Venice Biennale. Four young architects under the guidance of Minas Bakalcev and Mitko Hadji-Pulja (MBMHP) used the exhibition to explore the fragmented and enclaved nature of the city of Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia, a state that, strangely, is still in transition despite its separation from Yugoslavia in 1994. The exhibition addressed the notion of fragments within a city, but, importantly, it examined how disparate fragments might be perceived as a series of coexisting worlds rather than small pieces of a once imagined whole. This was an inspired and considered project that responded to globalizing forces — political, financial and military — as well as to the inherited utopian ideologies of architecture and urbanism. It was comprised of two components: white chalk drawings on a ten-meter-long blackboard envisioning the future of the city; and a freestanding model of the worlds within Skopje, 1,200 millimeters from the ground. These components resulted from two ideas: a satellite image of the world (round) and a zoomed-in Google Earth image of the 2x2-kilometer (square) area of the city of Skopje. It was a project that spoke from a specific position about the city of Skopje, but it was also a project that spoke to the city of the twenty-first century — and through it about utopia and tradition.

Both the round world and the 2x2 square image reference a utopia: the former, the utopia of wholeness and unity, progress and technology; the latter the historical utopia of a new city, the area outlined by a United Nations competition for the reconstruction of Skopje after a 1963 earthquake that destroyed 75 percent of its buildings. The Japanese architect Kenzo Tange’s winning scheme highlighted the monumental elements of “city wall” housing, a “city gate” railway station, and a new urban matrix. However, since then, an urban planning institute reinvigorated by historicism in the late 1970s has attempted to reinstate the pre-earthquake architectural and urban traditions, critiquing the tabula rasa basis of

Tange’s vision. Thus Skopje is dramatically marked by the superimposed urbanizing gestures of critical regionalism, including those involved in current battles to build on the city square.

The Biennale project did not reinforce simple versions of a critical regionalist tradition; it did not set inherited utopia and tradition in dialectic opposition. Rather, the white chalk gives the project a particularly ephemeral, yet historical nature, illustrating both the impermanence and the impact of ideas, thereby exploring its erasing affects. Through a discussion of the realities of contemporary Skopje and the vision of the City of Possible Worlds project, the paper examines the historical tensions between tabula rasa as a founding platform for utopian modernism and inherited architectural and urban traditions.

## B.8 TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY URBANISMS OF THE IDEAL

### INSPIRATION: RESTORING THE “ELEGANT” CITY

*Heba Farouk Ahmed*  
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### INFORMATIONAL URBANISM: A NEW UTOPIAN DISCOURSE

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

### THE REMAKING OF MANILA: THE REFERENCING OF SINGAPORE AS A “REALIZABLE UTOPIA”

*Michael Gonzales*  
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### ON THE EMERGENCE OF THE “EUROPEAN CITY” AS A POST-1989 UTOPIA

*Johannes C. Warda*  
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### THE CONTENTION BETWEEN AVANT-GARDE URBAN VISION AND KITSCH IN AMMAN

*Rami Daher*  
German-Jordanian University, Jordan

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### INSPIRATION: RESTORING THE “ELEGANT” CITY

*Heba Farouk Ahmed*

It is not 1869, and it is not the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal, yet Paris still inspires Cairo. More than a century after it provided a model for Cairo’s redesign, Paris is again inspiring a “revamping” of the city; however, this time Cairo’s “new” downtown is not being commissioned by the state as a “Paris of the East,” but is being driven by private interests and real estate developers intent on “re-creating” that lost utopia. The new vision is being shaped by the Al-Ismailia Real Estate Company, whose shareholders include Egyptian billionaire Samih Sawiris and the Saudi private-equity firm Amwal Al-Khalij. The company recently bought about twenty buildings in downtown Cairo as a step toward re-creating the city’s “faded glory.”

This paper compares and contrasts the processes implemented by Khedive Ismail to modernize Cairo with those being implemented by the al-Ismailia Company to “revive” Cairo’s downtown and “salvage” its neglected heritage. By comparing these urban projects, it will ask to what extent urban dreams and urban revivals create or re-create “utopias.” What is the point of reference? Who determines the characteristics of these imagined utopias? Are there agreed-upon norms? In the case of Cairo, did the nine-

teenth-century city represent “an ideal form”? And what does it mean to “revive” that downtown for elite tourism?

The research also sheds light on Cairo’s real estate market, by identifying the extent to which the city’s late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century modernity represents a traditional formula to be implemented and re-created. There are many stakeholders/entities involved, including the real estate company, the governorate of Cairo, the Urban Beautification Council, insurance companies that own many of the buildings, as well as the many residents and inhabitants of the area whose lives will be greatly affected by it. The research will highlight two main points. First, it asks who will benefit from the project of restoring the downtown — the city itself or private developers? Second, it analyzes the development scheme to identify whether it embodies a process of “revival” of a dilapidated downtown or a creative redevelopment fantasy aimed at making a profit.

### INFORMATIONAL URBANISM: A NEW UTOPIAN DISCOURSE

*John Stallmeyer*

Architects and planners have often found inspiration for utopian visions in the possibilities offered by new technologies. This paper explores new visions for cities based on the discourse surrounding the emergence of information technology (IT) during the last thirty years. It is widely accepted that IT is transforming the way we live, from the way we communicate to the way we navigate the city, both literally and figuratively. It is also widely acknowledged by scholars (Mitchell, 1995, 1999; Robins and Webster, 1999; Graham and Marvin, 1996, 2001; Wheeler, Aoyama and Wharf, 2000) that IT is transforming the city and our relationship to it. In this paper I argue that — like industrialism (the discourse that developed around new urban forms influenced by industrialization) — informatization, the “process of change that features the use of information and IT to such an extent that they become the dominant forces in commanding economic, political, social, and cultural development” (Wang, 1995), has given rise to a discourse of “informationalism.” This discourse is employed by architects and planners to envision new cities founded on the transformative affects of information technology. I term these new city/urban formations “informational urbanism.”

Those who invoke the imagery of the informationalism are envisioning not what exists today but what might exist in the future. In this respect, their utopian visions are mythic in that they have the ability to “animate individuals and societies by providing paths to transcendence that lift people out of the banality of everyday life” (Mosco, 2004). Informational discourse is thus having wide-ranging impacts on city form as well as on the social, political and economic visions of cities. Furthermore, city/urban formations, as well as the architects and planners who create them, are in a reciprocal relationship with this discourse, in that they are both produced from it and contribute to its production.

As IT becomes a ubiquitous feature of cities, the discourse surrounding it is naturalized. This is important for architects and

planners as they invoke informationalism, because, as Vincent Mosco (2004) points out, “the power of new technologies does not appear during their mythic period; rather, their social impact is greatest when technologies become banal.” As architects and planners envision new city/urban space based on informationalism, they should remain cognizant that, as these conceptions of space are concretized in the city, they have the potential to be simultaneously utopian and dystopian.

## THE REMAKING OF MANILA: THE REFERENCING OF SINGAPORE AS A “REALIZABLE UTOPIA”

*Michael Gonzales*

In an effort to attract capital investment to metropolitan Manila, the government of the Philippines has played a critical role in reconfiguring its infrastructure and institutions, recasting its urban policy and reaching out to global markets. In this effort, the Philippine nation-state has not been defined in contrast to the market, but as an entanglement of public and private partnerships. Meanwhile, both public and private Philippine institutions have recast the traditional concept of *utang na loob*, or “a debt of one’s inner self,” through the construction of a modern Philippine citizen-subject who is both an entrepreneurial risk-taker and a national hero. This recasting is intended to rectify the often contentious and uncertain conditions facing service-sector workers (domestics, construction workers, nurses, etc.) employed overseas.

As Philippine institutions promote the movement of service-sector workers around the world, innovative methods of city governance and private real estate development have adopted strategies that encourage capital investment (remittance flows) by them. In this effort, both government and private developers have referenced the very same politically and economically successful, aesthetically appealing, global cities to which Filipino workers have migrated. In this corporate endeavor of aspirational construction, these cities provide the ideal urban and architectural frameworks to follow.

Previous discourse has framed Manila as a dependent city, a primate city, or a peripheral city. This paper seeks to depart from these analyses through an examination of state and private development endeavors; how the Philippine citizen has been recast as both a migrant and an entrepreneurial subject; and how Singapore has been referenced as a realizable migratory, political, economic and aesthetic utopia. This entanglement of scales reconstitutes metropolitan Manila as the main nodal point in the simultaneous convergence and divergence of ideas and people in global spaces.

The above condition will be examined through case studies of two locales that have both institutionally framed themselves and become popularly known as “little Singapores.” The first is the city of Marikina. In response to popular beliefs about endemic corruption in city governments throughout metropolitan Manila, the current regime of this working- and middle-class city has sought to reference Singapore as a model of good governance and architectural and urban character. The other case is Rockwell,

Makati, an exclusive residential and commercial enclave of expats, wealthy locals, and overseas Filipinos. Rockwell has framed itself as a little Singapore to emphasize its corporatized and efficient methods of urban intervention.

The purpose of the paper is to reveal the political, economic and aesthetic possibilities and limitations in the construction of Singapore as a utopia. In both the public and private realms, this has allowed the two case-study locales to be reconfigured as nodal points in a global imaginary.

## ON THE EMERGENCE OF THE “EUROPEAN CITY” AS A POST-1989 UTOPIA

*Johannes C. Warda*

European notions of the East have long been clouded by a stereotypical image of backwardness. Indeed, the mere assumption that there is something like an East-West divide tells a Western story of centuries of cultural arrogance and feelings of superiority.

When social and political order became the distinguishing feature of East and West, Western images of the East built on a number of existing cultural stereotypes. One of these was the phrase “Polnische Wirtschaft,” or “Polish conditions,” which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterized the unordered administrative state with a powerful regional nobility and a weak king. Communist rule added yet another element to the East, blending landscape and social order into one. The office chairs in the Jena city hall still carry the stickers “Made in Yugoslavia,” and railway cars from Halberstadt still run on the line from Sarajevo to the Adria. We detect the aesthetics of Socialist Realism throughout the countries of former Soviet bloc at once. Architecture and design, appliances, machinery, and the distinct grayness of the plastering form a code that translate into a single word: East.

There is yet another image of the East that comes to mind. It is that of the “European city” and its alleged renaissance after the fall of Communism. During the last years of state socialism the historian Karl Schlögel was among the first to write about the “return” of the cities of East-Central Europe. Their transnational history and diverse populations had been destroyed by Nazi occupation, and decades of isolation behind the Iron Curtain followed. This paper deals with images, ideas and concepts of the “European city” and their emergence as a postsocialist utopia. The construction of “the” European city, the paper argues, was part of a discursive set of strategies of memory politics to accommodate the socialist past within the processes of change during the years of transformation.

The paper will focus on sample cases that illustrate two key concepts of making the “old,” “European” city — which I call overwriting socialism (East Germany) and recovering history (Poland, Slovenia, Croatia). In both cases I analyze reconstruction, historic preservation, and political rhetoric as memory-making practices in the built environment.

## THE CONTENTION BETWEEN AVANT-GARDE URBAN VISION AND KITSCH IN AMMAN

*Rami Farouk Daher*

This paper investigates the emergence of certain phenomena in Amman centered on the rise of inferior eclectic replication of “historicized” architectural styles and/or the reinvention of cultural and heritage icons in places that have undergone or are undergoing urban and economic regeneration, such as Rainbow Street and Faisal Plaza.

In particular, the area of Rainbow Street underwent a successful urban-regeneration effort based on understanding the reality of Amman’s urban heritage, and premised on a policy of minimal intervention. The creation of an inclusive public space in this historic part of the city resulted in a huge comeback of commercial, entertainment and cultural activities, inducing additions to buildings and storefront facades. Some of these interventions have been relatively successful in respecting the authenticity of Amman’s urban heritage. Others, however, have presented an “invention of tradition,” a false replication of cultural and heritage icons that the author has classified as representing several syndromes of kitsch: the Neoclassical-motif syndrome, the Petra Treasury syndrome, the Bab-al-Hara syndrome, and the village-in-the-city syndrome. These phenomena share certain physical characteristics such as the excessive use of wood or other materials to clad original stone facades and the appropriation of the heritage of the other (e.g., Damascene or generic Arab/Islamic).

Based on extensive ethnographic encounters, the paper presents several explanations for the rise of such derogatory and pretentious work, which panders to popular demand for commercial purposes, rather than creates works of self-expression. These focus on the way Amman’s urban heritage is caught between discursive practices. The result is that Amman’s urban reality has not been properly recognized, appreciated, studied, or even incorporated in formal and popular definitions of the Jordanian nation.

The paper builds on philosophical works that provide a basis for kitsch criticism (e.g., Immanuel Kant’s philosophy of aesthetics; Hegel’s concept of *Zeitgeist*; Theodore Adorno’s critique of culture industries, Broch and Greenberg’s critique of the decline of taste in consumer society; and contemporary approaches to constructive conservation and authenticity research). It then attempts to situate this phenomenon in the context of contemporary Amman. Finally, in the spirit of engaging in everyday matters, it presents an agenda linked to action-oriented research, focusing on awareness-building. This is complemented by typological and typo-morphological research aimed at arriving at a critical understanding of the evolution of the city and the specificity of its urban heritage and tradition.

## C.8 ENVIRONMENTAL UTOPIAS AND THE GREEN IDEAL

### RAISING HOPES, UNLEASHING DESIRES: THE LEBANON MOUNTAIN TRAIL AS ARCADIA

*Mona Khechen*

*Independent Scholar, Lebanon*

### BENEATH THE RADAR: EXOTICS AND NATIVES IN BOHEMIA’S BORDER GARDENS

*Morna Livingston*

*Philadelphia University, U.S.A.*

### URBAN GARDENS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL PRACTICE AND UTOPIAN IDEALS: EDENIC VISION FOR TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY BEIRUT

*Jala Makhzoumi*

*American University of Beirut, Lebanon*

### THE GREEN LEAP FORWARD: GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL UTOPIA AND THE POLITICS OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

*Jia-Ching Chen*

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

### ROMAN GREEN: PARAMETERS OF PARADISE

*Annette Giesecke*

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

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### RAISING HOPES, UNLEASHING DESIRES: THE LEBANON MOUNTAIN TRAIL AS ARCADIA

*Mona Khechen*

The Lebanon Mountain Trail (LMT) project, the subject of this paper, is an example of contemporary projects that deploy nature, cultural heritage, and local tradition as a tool for a broad process of development and reform. Through environmentally and socially responsible tourism, the project seeks to expand economic opportunities to remote rural areas and bring communities closer together in firm determination to conserve Lebanon’s unique natural and cultural heritage.

Motivated by Lebanon’s thriving tourism sector and eco-tourism industry, in 2005 the American-Lebanese environmental firm ECODIT Inc. came up with the idea for the trail. The project was then implemented within two years, with core funding provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and support from the Appalachian Trail Conservancy (ATC) as well as from Lebanon’s Ministry of Tourism and several international and local organizations and individuals.



In taking the LMT as a case study, the paper will elucidate some of the fundamental dynamics of contemporary utopian thought as manifested in “development” discourse, and it will demonstrate how cultural heritage and traditions may be mobilized and manipulated in the manufacture of dreams of prosperity and a better life. Specifically, the paper traces the historical roots of the LMT and discusses its experience and developmental rhetoric within broader politico-utopian discourse. In this regard, it presents the very concept of responsible rural ecotourism as a utopia of escape and reconstruction that simultaneously aspires to transcend and transform existing realities.

The paper has five sections. The first places the LMT against the conceptual backdrop of its historical precedent, the Appalachian Trail of the Eastern United States, and the utopian pragmatic thought of Benton MacKaye, its creator. The second section presents the LMT as a spatial construct and an escape journey to Arcadia. The third discusses the LMT as a utopian developmental process that revolves around the principle of hope. The fourth section illustrates the political utopian dimensions of the project in relation to the cultural politics of U.S. foreign aid. The final section reflects on how history and tradition may be co-opted by different political and social actors to serve value-laden ends and ideologies.

## BENEATH THE RADAR: EXOTICS AND NATIVES IN BOHEMIA'S BORDER GARDENS

*Morna Livingston*

In the 1960s police harassed the photographer Jan Sagl in Prague. Seeking asylum, he found in southern Bohemia, although collectivized, a “reality in which was concentrated everything worth considering.” Sagl’s *Southern Bohemian Landscape* (*Jihoceska krajina*) subsequently appeared in 1984.

In building the Iron Curtain twenty years earlier, the Communists had used barbed wire, guards, light towers, dogs, mines, and even poison; yet their lockdown backfired, turning the sequestered space into an ecological commons. Unsanctioned seeds made the Curtain a greenbelt from Finland to Turkey; birds and animals followed — like marginalia in a breviary. Bohemia’s border gardens — then state-owned, now in private hands — like the greenbelt, ran counter to “collectivization,” for at borders, Rebecca Solnit has assured us, the erased “reappear[s] . . . reshuffled into . . . memory . . . identity, meaning and possibility.”

Sagl’s attempt to understand politics through landscape can now extend to the undocumented gardens of the border. These wet-meadow, carp-filled utopias of Cesky Kanada and Bohemia depend on a river that crisscrosses the border, where it cross-dresses as the Diye in its Czech meanders, becoming the Thaya in Austria. Its rippling fords and passable ice are companion and water source to both the greenbelt and the border gardens. The land here shifted to the East, then West; was German, then Czech; by turns Catholic then Protestant. Slavonice, the only town the Communists left standing along the border, gives little clue to this

wrenching history. As glaciers once scoured Bohemia’s fields, two decades of politics abraded its population. Its Jews, German-speaking Sudetendeutsch, and Czech border farmers were eradicated from 1939 on.

Although its houses hide behind sgraffito walls, their gardens lack the edginess of the town. Casual and unmanicured, plants flourish here in long-sought freedom. We spy on gardens in secret, as Miroslav Tichy hid to take his photographs. While Tichy never turned his paper cameras on landscape, or wound film with elastic from his shorts except to throw it away, for fifty years he deliberately used wretched equipment in a half-mad, half-inspired response to a repressive regime.

With equal persistence, politics created a populace of garden enthusiasts. When no one could leave the country, homemade and local pleasures had to suffice. Gardens sheltered bonsai, teepees, potatoes, plums for liqueur, bees, rabbits and poultry, but posed no danger to the regime. Even socialist apartments provided gardens, crammed full of life like Noah’s ark. Indebted to the ribbon-like farms surrounding towns in ellipses, before the Communists plowed them into one, people collected old plants around their barns, converting them to rooms and tool sheds. As collectivized monocultures replaced old plantings, the people filled garden voids with fantasy. American Indian identities were borrowed by some, like works of “spiritual rather than . . . political” art. Border gardens, filled with seats to eat al fresco, hammocks under willows by the water, tables and beds sheltered in three-sided ruins, stone benches, camp fires, and Japanese bridges, all repeople in imagination. Gardens, even if unsophisticated, are integrative spaces which allow for people and memory. In that, they lie in diametrical opposition to imposed borders.

## URBAN GARDENS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL PRACTICE AND UTOPIAN IDEALS: EDENIC VISION FOR TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY BEIRUT

*Jala Makhzoumi*

Biblical Eden, Quranic Jenna, and the Greek adoption of the Persian “paradise” have, throughout history, embodied the essence of the garden as a physical place of beauty and a mental state of bliss and contentment. Eden, here, is an ideal garden — otherworldly, past and future — fantasy to some, aspired destination to others. Some have argued that Eden is the “mother of all gardens,” and similarly that underlying the creation of earthly gardens is a longing for Eden. If we accept that utopia is an ideal place, “a consciousness that is not congruent with its surrounding ‘existence,’” an overlap becomes apparent between utopia and the idea of Eden as a primordial garden. But while utopias are a literary genre, an ideal, gardens by definition are tangible places. Thus, the intangible conception, the Edenic ideal, is imbedded in their planning, production and experience. Or is it?

In an earlier inquiry, I argued that the domestic village garden in Lebanon is in essence an Edenic, productive garden. Known as *hakura*, it is a hybrid orchard, vegetable patch, and plea-

sure garden, an embodiment of the biblical Edenic conception. The *hakura* is also a sustainable landscape, a tangible product and socio-cultural production, evolving in form and conception to respond to changing political, economic and cultural contexts. Ingrained in local culture, this conception was a powerful influence on household gardens established outside the historic walls of Beirut in the 1860s. In form and content, the gardens of traditional Beirut houses retained the concept of *hakura* — albeit with a diminishing interest in productivity. Rather, the garden/orchard served as a spatial buffer, a space that mediated between the public domain of the street and the private domain of the dwelling.

In twenty-first-century Beirut, gardens in the traditional Edenic sense as places of repose and reflection, private or public, are virtually nonexistent. With no state-municipal planning regulations, the physical development of the city is ruled by real estate speculation and neoliberal politics. The urban garden, in its larger sense of a green and/or open space, is close to extinction. All that remains are a few vestiges of nature that have evaded private development and some semi-public enclaves on university campuses and in similar places. Is the idea of the garden as a utopia still relevant? Is it possible today to conjure up places of repose and reflection, pleasure and enjoyment, given Beirut's rising land values?

Returning to the essence of the garden as an idyllic relationship of three components — space, community and nature — this paper questions the utopian conception of the garden in twenty-first-century Beirut. Drawing on urban ecologies, local initiatives, and public engagement, it attempts to contextualize the traditional, Edenic conception of garden, the *hakura*, within present limitations and political realities.

## THE GREEN LEAP FORWARD: GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL UTOPIA AND THE POLITICS OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

*Jia-Ching Chen*

The politics of tradition have been central to the articulation of Chinese modernism and utopian visions of socialism. In what might be called China's "postutopian age," these politics are no less important in securing state legitimacy to rule, and in achieving continued social consent and mobilization to achieve evolving national goals. This paper examines the politics of tradition and utopia in the contemporary reworking of the ideal community in relation to environmental rationalities and notions of green development in China. As during the Great Leap Forward, this moment ties an ideological conception of tradition and progress to socio-spatial processes of economic development, rural transformation, the organization of social reproduction, and the division of labor.

China's linked processes of rapid urbanization and economic development are increasingly interpreted as a global environmental problem. At the same time, China's sustained growth and strong state are seen as vital to developing, scaling and implementing new solutions to this "crisis." The paper examines the emergence of green development planning in China as an articu-

lation of a global environmental utopian vision and the politics of the Chinese socialist-utopian tradition.

The paper will examine how the politics of tradition and visions of utopia evident in state discourses of development have incorporated varying critiques and values related to the environment and its governance. Since 1978 the repudiation of the Maoist road to socialism can be clearly read in the transition of official development goals to concepts such as *xiaokang* ("moderate prosperity"). In 2006 Hu Jintao adopted "harmonious society" (*hexie shehui*) as the goal of development, to address increasing disparities in quality of life, explicitly including local environmental conditions. These discursive figures are important markers of shifting notions of social entitlement in China. Accompanying changes to the geography of accumulation, they track the transformation of Chinese citizenship, the national imagined community, and its utopian ideals.

Situating the production of urban space within the politics of tradition and discourses of utopian socialism and global environmental community, the paper moves beyond formalist and quantitative-descriptive approaches to the transformations of China's metropolitan regions and new domains of environmental governance. It analyzes the emergence of green development discourse in Jiangsu, a state-designated "ecological province" on China's central coast and a leading region of the country in green development. Using ethnographic, archival and visual sources, the paper will demonstrate how this discourse emerges from practices of environmental planning and engineering, architecture, urban planning, real estate development, and transnational corporate and Chinese state business activity in the "green economy" to promote models of development driven by global environmental mandates and markets, while simultaneously embodying a new vision of Chinese modernity. The paper further examines how this green utopian vision of modernity is a fundamentally urban one, and how China's urban revolution — a transformation of the city from a utopian space of socialist production to one of accumulation, private ownership, consumption, and global capital flows — is increasingly tied to an environmental rationality.

## ROMAN GREEN: PARAMETERS OF PARADISE

*Annette Giesecke*

Mention of ancient Roman gardens conjures images of lavish suburban estates with far-reaching views, outfitted with specimen plantings from around the world, aviaries and fishponds, pergolas for outdoor dining, and sculpture-lined swimming pools. Such sprawling gardens were indeed described by the younger Pliny in his letters, and evidence for them exists at the remains of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. Such places would also influence Islamic and monastic gardens as well as gardens of Renaissance Europe. And they would resonate in gardens from the seventeenth century onwards, their underlying presence felt to the present day.

These Roman estates and their gardens are generally viewed as resulting directly from a desire to emulate the palaces of

Hellenistic nobles, experienced first-hand by Romans when they became masters of the Mediterranean in the second century BCE. It is said, in turn, that Romans of lesser means replaced kitchen gardens with their decorative counterparts, and, in the absence of space for planting, even covered their walls with garden murals, all out of a desire to live as luxuriously as the elite. This, however, is just part of the picture, and “fashionability” is hardly enough to explain the extent and longevity of the garden movement in the Roman world. The movement had its origins at a most volatile point in Roman history, one ripe for utopian reverie. It was a time when citizens worried deeply about the effects of Roman conquests and the impacts of Rome’s extravagant building campaigns on an increasingly depleted Earth; when it appeared most desirable to “return” to simpler times, to the imagined comforts of a hallowed agricultural past idealized by tradition.

This paper addresses the origins and underlying principles of the Roman Green Movement as manifest not only in literature and art but also, and most dramatically, in Roman domestic architecture of the mid-second century BCE and thereafter. Quite unlike houses in the Near East and Egypt, which, at their grandest, boasted dwellings set in lush walled gardens, Roman houses had garden spaces at their core — the house itself “becoming” the garden’s enclosure. As such, the Roman house became a *paradeisos*, physically and symbolically alike.

The semantics, and associative range, of *paradeisos*, a Median loanword introduced into Greek and signifying a walled enclosure, is extraordinarily complex. A *paradeisos* might be an orchard, a hunting park, or a vegetable patch; or it might be a pleasure garden with lavish water features, a gymnasium and its grounds, or a temple garden. Combining the full range of paradisiacal associations, the sacred and the profane, the useful and the purely decorative, the Roman domestic garden came to express an ideal of living harmoniously with nature that was accessible to virtually the whole citizenry.

## A.9 IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF UTOPIA

### THE UTOPIA OF HOME: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE, GENDER, AND NOSTALGIA IN SYRIA

*Heghnar Watenpaugh*

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

### MORE MEXICAN THAN MEXICO: EXPATS AND THE TRADITIONAL MEXICAN HOUSE

*Catherine Ettinger*

*Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Mexico*

### “NEW LIGHTS FOR ALADDIN”: UTOPIAN VISIONS, ARCHITECTURES OF TRADITION, AND THE MAKING OF MODERN BAGHDAD, 1950–1970

*Mona Damluji*

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

### THE ROLE OF MEMORY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ISLAMIST UTOPIAN IDENTITY IN BIRMINGHAM

*Noha Nasser*

*Greenwich University, U.K.*

### SLUMDOG AND THE CITY: THE UTOPIA OF BOMBAY

*Vandana Baweja*

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

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### THE UTOPIA OF HOME: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE, GENDER, AND NOSTALGIA IN SYRIA

*Heghnar Watenpaugh*

The notion of the family sphere and the architectural forms of the home are critical to the elaboration of utopia in its most intimate dimension. This paper seeks to analyze and critique how a “traditional” architectural form, “the old courtyard house,” is deployed in contemporary Syria as a condensed shorthand for an undefined premodern utopia. The paper emphasizes the lenses of gender and nostalgia to make explicit how the discursive and physical constructions of the old courtyard house perform a political role in the present.

Since the early 1990s Syrian popular culture has witnessed renewed interest in the visible past. Under the rubric of *al-'awda ila al-tarikh* (“the return to history”), cultural forms such as television serials focusing on the recent past, filmed in historic settings, have been consumed eagerly; old and new novels set in historic periods and memoirs are also widely read; and the phenomenon has included the commercialization and commodification of historic architecture. One of the most intriguing foci of this “return”

is the old courtyard house (often called *bayt 'arabi*, “Arab-style house”), a typology of elite urban domestic architecture. Anthropologists and historians of contemporary Syria have noted the peculiar trajectories of this specific element from the past, from museum displays to reproductions and recontextualizations as settings for restaurants, festivals or nightclubs. These constructions of the past, imbued with nostalgia, often foreground traditional gender roles.

This paper critiques literary constructions of “the old courtyard house,” and its physical preservation, by questioning how biographies of a prominent woman and the spatial hierarchies that they stage operate to further, or foreclose, particular representations of social and gendered experience. My focus is nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographies of Aleppo’s first modern poetess, Mariyana Marrash (1848–1919). Marrash was one of this city’s first female figures to have a public persona, yet her biographies spatialize her less as a published poet in the public sphere than as a hostess presiding over gatherings in an old courtyard house. Thus the description of the architecture of the home is made to stand in for her biography. This occlusion of the female subject, and the replacement of the details of her life by the idealized, utopian house, its architecture, and the social mores that inhabit it is both an outcome and a shaper of the nostalgic “return” to a Syrian past.

## MORE MEXICAN THAN MEXICO: EXPATS AND THE TRADITIONAL MEXICAN HOUSE

*Catherine Ettinger*

The formation of expat communities in Mexico, beginning in the 1920s and continuing today, is related to the rejection of modernity and the embrace of the utopian ideal of an authentic way of life closely linked to tradition. This ideal was first promoted in books such as Stuart Chase’s *Mexico: A Study of Two Americas* (1931), illustrated by Diego Rivera, which extolled traditional life in Mexico in comparison to the machine-ridden United States. Writers such as Katherine Anne Porter, Graham Greene, and D.H. Lawrence also spurred the American imagination with richly sensorial descriptions of life in Mexico; and artists including Avery Milton, Andrew Dasburg, René D’Harnoncourt, and the silver designer William Spratling promoted an image of Mexico in terms of tradition and color.

Life in Mexico, for the expat, signified the recuperation of traditional ways in an equally traditional setting. Communities such as Taxco, San Miguel de Allende, Cuernavaca, and Chapala became, during the first half of the twentieth century, important expat centers. In their enclaves of traditional architecture the Mexican house, with its emphasis on craftsmanship, color, mass and vegetation, was promoted as the antithesis of modernity.

This paper will trace the diffusion of imagery of the Mexican house in terms of tradition and craftsmanship in the American press, and it will examine its role in promoting the idea of a genuine way of life closely linked to tradition, nature and community.

The texts examined will include those cited above as well as works by expats living in Mexico, such as Elizabeth Morrow’s *Casa Mañana* (1932), which describes the house in Cuernavaca that she and her husband, Dwight Morrow, built while he was ambassador in Mexico, Frances Toor’s writings on Mexican crafts, and William Spratling’s *Little Mexico*. The paper will also analyze a series of books on the Mexican house, edited by the Architectural Book Publishing Company during the 1960s and 1970s, that included photographs of expat homes.

The paper will close with reflections on the way the notion of Mexico, and particularly a home that embodies tradition, has engendered and promoted an imagery in Mexican architecture that continues today to represent an authentic way of living, especially when viewed from abroad.

## “NEW LIGHTS FOR ALADDIN”: UTOPIAN VISIONS, ARCHITECTURES OF TRADITION, AND THE MAKING OF MODERN BAGHDAD, 1950–1970

*Mona Damluji*

Abidin Kusno (2000) has suggested that practices of representation in architecture and urban design “profoundly shape the way in which the nation imagines its body — the shape of the people it rules, the legitimacy of its age, and the geography of its domain.” This paper engages this provocation in the context of mid-twentieth-century Baghdad, examining the role of official architecture, urban design, and state discourse in the political project of constructing the “imagined community” of the modern Iraqi nation.

The paper builds on architecture and urban planning scholarship that examines intersections between state-sponsored designs in developing countries and constructions of modernity, to investigate how foreign and Iraqi architects selectively deployed “tradition” as part of larger political formulations of Iraqi modernity. Broadly, it questions how constructions of Iraqi modernity were manifested in the work of three state-commissioned modern architects during the mid-twentieth century: Brian J. Cooper, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Rifat Chadirji. In particular, it focuses on the relationship between their work and the corresponding moments in Iraq’s shifting political backdrop, from the British Mandate to the monarchy to the republican period.

First, I look at the state commission of Cooper, a British architect of the colonial era, whose design for the Iraqi Parliament building negated the local context entirely and imposed a vision of modernity modeled on colonial precedents in India and the metropole. Second, I examine how Wright, an internationally renowned American architect, conceived his 1955 plan for central Baghdad as a utopian landscape that relied on Orientalist interpretations of Iraqi tradition, conjuring imagery from the Arabian Nights and biblical lore as its literal cornerstones. As a final case, I focus on Chadirji, a pioneering Iraqi architect trained in England, who developed designs for Baghdad’s ministries and public buildings in 1958, and who called for regionally specific articulations of

modernist architecture that deployed formal references to the ruined edifices of past dynasties once located within Iraq's national boundaries.

Based on archival research, the paper examines the designs and discourses related to these utopian projects. At key moments in Iraq's political history, the Iraq Development Board commissioned each of these architects to design landmarks that would embody anticipated visions of the modern Iraq to come. The resulting work provided the Iraqi government with a model of spatial transformation that showcased its vision for modernity. However, each of these articulations differed critically in its particular deployments of "tradition" and definitions of Iraqi modernity. The paper also moves beyond an analysis of architectural design to interpret how, in specific political moments, state-sponsored discourses promoted the work of each architect in a range of publications, from state propaganda to international newspapers and architectural journals, as a means to represent and legitimize government initiatives to "build a modern Iraq."

## THE ROLE OF MEMORY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ISLAMIST UTOPIAN IDENTITY IN BIRMINGHAM

*Noha Nasser*

The rise of political Islam is regarded by many in the West as a response to colonialism and globalization. At the same time, the massive political, cultural and economic shift from a once-prosperous Golden Age of Islam has provoked widespread fear in the Muslim *ummah* (the global body of believers) of spiritual corruption and a loss of unity and identity. For Muslims, the Golden Age is conceived as a period of military strength, cultural superiority, and, most importantly, unity among this community of believers. The progressive breakdown of the *ummah* following the colonization of the Muslim world in the eighteenth century is considered a turning point in the history of Islam. And the social, political and cultural degradation of Islam that followed is frequently registered as the consequence of a loss of faith, the result of a turn toward a secularism.

The politicization of the contemporary Islamist movement is a response to continued foreign domination — politically, culturally and economically. It is a call to faith, which lies close to the heart of all Muslims, whether or not they are Islamists. In fact, the Islamist movement is a call to abide by the religious principles that are already deeply embedded in the consciousness of the majority. And it is the reconstruction of the "imagination of the Golden Age" which underpins the psychological drive of the Islamist movement, in which a past historical moment creates a present reality.

This paper will explore the Islamist project as a global return to the Golden Age of Islam — the utopia of the contemporary Muslim imagination. It will critically analyze the role of memory in the construction of political and social realities, and how these realities manifest themselves in space and architecture. The paper argues that this envisioned society is utopian precisely for its

impossibility, for its purely imaginative status. Indeed, the memory of Islam's Golden Age is complete fantasy, because such a moment never existed in the history of Islam.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, large-scale immigration of Muslims to the U.K.'s industrial cities has disrupted the narratives of British unity and identity. Today, these established immigrant communities face mounting challenges to hold true to their religious principles and way of life. Living as minorities, their politicization around the issue of their "Islamness" has become heightened. Members of such communities continue to search for the purity of a utopian past and its associated identity, partly as cultural preservation, and partly to politicize their "Islamness." The paper focuses on the communities of Birmingham, where Muslim lived realities can be charted in distinctive geographies within the city as parallel lives. The architecture and spatial practices of these communities reveal an attempt to construct a memory of utopia in which education, economic exchange, employment, and faith are once more inextricably intertwined.

## SLUMDOG AND THE CITY: THE UTOPIA OF BOMBAY

*Vandana Baweja*

Debates about the representation of poverty as a spectacle have dominated reviews of the film *Slumdog Millionaire* and generated heated arguments about the representation of Mumbai as a city of slums. I propose that *Slumdog Millionaire* actually represents a number of other contradictions that have recently defined the city of Mumbai/Bombay: the collision of "Mumbai" with "Bombay"; the multiple economies of black money, global capital, and white money; and the relationship between the urban poor and the rich.

I define "Bombay" as the cosmopolitan city that captured the imagination of Bollywood, what Arjun Appadurai has called the "cosmopolis of commerce." However, the city was renamed Mumbai in 1995 in an effort to renationalize and reterritorialize it as a Marathi-Hindu space, cleansed of Muslims and outsiders. Scholars have since contended that the appropriation of Bombay by right-wing forces, and its nationalization as Mumbai, have compromised its cosmopolitanism as Bombay.

I argue that *Slumdog Millionaire* reimagines and reclaims the utopia of Bombay as a global cosmopolis. This happens through a seamless integration of the sites of contemporary globalization it depicts (such as a call center and the TV station that produces the Indian version of *Who Wants To Be a Millionaire*) with established sites of nineteenth-century colonialism such as the Gothic Victoria Terminus railway station. The ultimate union of the Muslim protagonist, the slumdog Jamal, with the Hindu girl Latika at Victoria Terminus and the transformation of the slumdog into a millionaire reinforce the utopian reimagination of Bombay as a city that transcends its right-wing configuration as Mumbai.

## B.9 CONSUMING THE PAST: THE POLITICS OF THE MUSEUM AND MONUMENT

### TRADITIONAL URBAN LANDSCAPES IN JORDAN: BETWEEN CULTURAL INTIMACY AND MASS MEDIATION

*Luna Khirfan*

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### WHERE UTOPIA WAS BORN AND DIED: THE STRUGGLES OVER CONEY ISLAND, AND THE CRISIS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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### UNSETTLED MODERNISM: DAI NIANCI AND THE DESIGN OF THE BANDARANAIKE MEMORIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HALL

*Duanfang Lu*

*University of Sydney, Australia*

### UTOPIA OF MEMORY: GUERRILLA TOUR, TSUNAMI MUSEUM, AND THE SPACE OF INSURGENCY IN ACEH, INDONESIA

*Herlily Herlily*

*University of Indonesia*

### MEXICO AS ANOTHER NONPLACE: UTOPIA, THE MUSEUM, AND THE PROBLEM OF IDENTITY

*Fidel Meraz*

*University Campus Suffolk, U.K.*

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### TRADITIONAL URBAN LANDSCAPES IN JORDAN: BETWEEN CULTURAL INTIMACY AND MASS MEDIATION

*Luna Khirfan*

This paper explores discourses of the traditional in the contemporary urban landscape of Jordan. Specifically, it investigates two divergent yet concurrent processes. On the one hand, idealized versions of traditional urban landscapes — whether homes, neighborhoods or villages — are being developed as desired retro-style products. Yet, on the other, the historically traditional in the urban landscape is being spatially isolated and suppressed. The paper asks the following questions: How do these dichotomous discourses coexist in the Jordanian urban landscape? Why? And how do these dichotomous discourses of the traditional relate to larger political, economic and cultural contexts in Jordan?

To address these questions, the paper builds on the premise that while utopia-like versions of the traditional are mass-mediated,

some of the more culturally intimate aspects of the traditional are a source of embarrassment, and hence, should be obscured. The paper transfers the anthropological notion of cultural intimacy and mass mediation to the urban realm and deploys architectural and urban design methods to address the issues above. In the process, the paper investigates three aspects of “idealized traditional” utopias: their functions and the activities within them, their physical and spatial attributes, and their meanings and conceptions.

Using an approach akin to architectural typologies, the paper identifies, then classifies, these marketed versions of the “idealized traditional,” and places them against their nemesis, the “suppressed traditional.” This classification, however, transcends architectural typologies to incorporate functional, physical and conceptual aspects. The analysis investigates the functions of these idealized traditional urban landscapes whether they provide cultural venues (e.g., Al-Salt Historic Museum, Darat al-Funun Art Gallery, Bayt al-Shi'r/Poetry House), tourism facilities (e.g., Mövenpick Dead Sea Hotel, Fakhr el-Din Restaurant), or residential environments (e.g., Tala Bay gated community), among others. Additionally, the classification considers their design approach (e.g., new construction, adaptive reuse), and their spatial arrangements and morphological articulation within the larger urban context. Finally, the analysis delves into their meanings, both existing and manufactured, which are mass-mediated as typical identities, and the various conceptions of these identities depending on one's vantage point, as in the case of users or excluded nonusers.

In addition to a review of planning documents, the research included observations of “idealized traditional” developments and their users. And it drew on secondary sources, including academic publications, marketing media, and material in local newspapers such as articles, cartoons, and social media (readers' commentaries on the articles and cartoons). The findings shed light on the cultural, political and economic processes that contribute to the construction (tangible and intangible) of contemporary, idealized versions of traditional urban landscapes and to the suppression of other, historically traditional urban landscapes. The findings link theoretical discourses and the practice of urban planning and design, especially with regard to the selectivity processes that underlie its functional, physical and conceptual dimensions.

### WHERE UTOPIA WAS BORN AND DIED: THE STRUGGLES OVER CONEY ISLAND, AND THE CRISIS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

*Alessandro Busà*

Facing the Atlantic Ocean at the southern tip of Brooklyn, Coney Island developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from an exclusive seaside resort of Victorian hotels and private beaches into a popular display of magnificent architectures, electric arcade games, thrill rides, and revolutionary technological innovations. Kasson (1978) has renamed it “the utopian laboratory of modernity,” while Koolhaas (1978) has described it as epitomizing the utopian *Zeitgeist* of New York City in the industrial age.

Coney Island's first amusement parks were strongly indebted to the City Beautiful Movement and particularly to Burnham's "White City" — a model for an idealized, utopian urban environment. They featured monumental buildings and slender towers, articulated in an orderly manner among green spaces, wide canals, reflective pools, and lagoons. At the dawn of the twentieth century, electric bulbs, impressive machinery, baby incubators, and roller coasters were all on display at Coney Island, while its late architectures of the 1940s — the vertiginous Parachute Jump, massive ferry wheels, and many roller coasters — reflected the utopian quest of contemporary World's Fairs for astounding innovations.

However, the history of urban development at Coney Island in the past seventy years has been one of the progressive obliteration of utopia, the dismissal of its ideals of a democratic community, and the erasure of its unique architectural heritage. Beginning with Robert Moses's urban renewal plans in the 1950s, Coney Island became a bloody battlefield of conflicting redevelopment plans, political ambitions, and greedy speculations.

More recently, struggles over the redevelopment of Coney Island have cast light on the crisis of conventional rezoning practices, as they crystallized during New York's housing boom between Mayor Bloomberg's first and second terms. The present rezoning plan for Coney Island replicates routinized development strategies, featuring a residential and commercial expansion at the expense of the land currently zoned for amusements. It allows for the construction of condominium towers and large-scale "entertainment-related" retail outlets, while permanently shrinking the amusement area from 61 to around 9 acres.

This presentation will investigate how power has dealt with tradition at Coney Island, swaying between securing real estate interests and a half-hearted attempt to rebuild (at least in the rhetoric of official statements) an idealized utopia on the Brooklyn shore.

### UNSETTLED MODERNISM: DAI NIANCI AND THE DESIGN OF THE BANDARANAIKE MEMORIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HALL

*Duanfang Lu*

Since the founding of the nonaligned coalition at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, China has consistently identified itself with the Third World and considered the strengthening of cooperation with other such nations to be a basic element of its foreign policy. Within this Cold War context, extensive exports of Chinese architectural services began in 1956 as part of overseas aid programs. And in the decades that followed, Chinese architects designed and oversaw the construction of projects ranging from major national buildings to factories in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

Completed in 1973, the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, represents one of the most prominent examples of such foreign-aid commissions. An outright gift from the Chinese government, BMICH was built to honor the memory of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. Echoing both postwar modernist

architectural movements and the iconography of Maoist utopianism, BMICH has since served as an important symbol of the Sri Lankan republic, a welcoming civic center, and a major tourist attraction.

BMICH was designed by Dai Nianci, an important figure in contemporary Chinese architecture, who also designed the Chinese National Gallery, the Beijing Hotel, the Queli Hotel, and many other significant buildings in China. This paper provides an account of the design, construction and reception of BMICH. Situating its design within Chinese architectural discourse, it reveals its multiple associations with the development of modern architecture in China. Drawing upon first-hand material and oral histories, the paper also documents the processes of management and skill transfer during its construction, highlighting the entanglement of different knowledge systems within a transnational context. The study also looks into the role of BMICH in the development of the China-Sri Lanka relationship during the Cold War, and shows the power of architecture to elaborate a political vision of the future between nations. In many ways, the paper argues, the example of BMICH illustrates the complexities of modernist architecture in the Third World context.

### UTOPIA OF MEMORY: GUERRILLA TOUR, TSUNAMI MUSEUM, AND THE SPACE OF INSURGENCY IN ACEH, INDONESIA

*Herlily Herlily*

This paper examines the perplexing intersection of the memory on insurgency, the nostalgic despair of disaster, and the actually existing Shari'ah tradition in Aceh, on the island of Sumatra. It focuses particular attention on how this intersection, as an open process, constantly produces and confuses the space of utopia in the collective memory of the Acehnese, yet also allows localities to be produced for global circulation, based on exportable images of conflict.

I situate the paper within the contexts that followed the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004, the Aceh peace agreement of 2006, and the rebirth of Shari'ah tradition that has accompanied regional autonomy in post-Suharto Indonesia. I use two sites of memory in this discussion. One is the Guerilla Tour in the former jungle battleground of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). The other is the controversial Tsunami Museum in Banda Aceh, intended to pay tribute to local victims and survivors of the 2004 disaster. These two sites portray moments of sorrow and darkness in the collective memory of Acehnese, yet they are now celebrated as tourist sites.

In 2007 a Dutch man married to an Acehnese initiated a jungle tour that tracked the space of insurgency of the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, or GAM) in its former headquarters area in Lhok Nga, around the Krueng Raba riverbank. Claiming to represent the genuine nature of guerrilla war, as well as the beautiful yet rough and dangerous jungles of Aceh, the tours are guided by former members of GAM, including its commander-in-chief. As primary actors in the freedom movement,

they were engaged first-hand in the fight against the Indonesian Army for almost thirty years before the Helsinki Peace Agreement was signed in 2006. Although I do not intend to categorize the tour, I argue that it, paradoxically, not only portrays the area of conflict as a Disneyesque theme park, but claims to preserve “authentic” features of the battle zone and of the guerilla fighters as GAM heroes.

The Tsunami Museum in Aceh, designed by a local Indonesian architect, is a 2,500-square-meter, four-story structure intended to provide lasting tribute to the 230,000 Acehnese killed by one of the most terrible natural disasters in recent history. Opened in March 2009, it is designed to be a memorial and a place for reflection. Its exhibitions include an electronic simulation of the Indian Ocean earthquake, photographs of victims, and stories from survivors. Meanwhile, the museum walls are adorned with images of people performing the Saman or “Thousand Hands” dance, a symbolic gesture romanticizing the strength, discipline, and religious beliefs of the Acehnese people. However, accusations have been made that the museum is a case of misplaced priorities at a time when more than seven hundred families remain homeless in the wake of the disaster.

## MEXICO AS ANOTHER NONPLACE: UTOPIA, THE MUSEUM, AND THE PROBLEM OF IDENTITY

*Fidel Meraz*

This paper explores the shift of Mexican architectural practice from a utopian nationalist model toward a dystopian globalized one through a phenomenological interpretation of architectural interventions in colonial buildings to accommodate museums. It argues that such museums are a utopian place for Mexico’s international image, representing both traditional identity and intended modernity. On the one hand, the modern approach of conservators is to protect heritage not only as physical evidence of the past (in an archaeological and anthropological sense) but in terms of vaguely defined identity values. On the other, globalized designer-architects, under the influence of the contemporary architectural market, have proposed projects that challenge traditional notions of architecture.

The discrepancy of approaches between conservators and contemporary designers in adapting historic buildings to museums is frequently severe. Conservators, especially those involved with the political issues behind museums, argue against new projects, claiming values such as original spirit, authenticity, and protection of historical sources. They appeal to an image of the past, present and future that corresponds to a utopian nation. Meanwhile, avant-garde designer architects see themselves as agents for the expression of progress, cosmopolitanism and modernity for the nation.

The purpose of the paper is not to describe again the conflict between tradition and innovation, which seems already canonical. Rather it is to deconstruct architectural perceptions from two different but related disciplinary viewpoints. This approach should uncover power structures that lie behind the declared and con-

scious intentions of the practitioners. In other words, the paper identifies elements within the perceived architectural manifold for Mexican architects, and differentiates two collective identities for approaching the dichotomy colonial-contemporary — that of conservators and that of designers. The conclusions suggest paths toward understanding conservation practice not as a recovery of utopia, which cannot be achieved, but as a process of caring for changing, culturally significant architecture, and for helping society learn how to creatively receive the new in environments that are still considered supportive of tradition.



## C.9 INCLUSION AND THE SPACE OF DIFFERENCE

### THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AS UTOPIA OF DIFFERENCE

*C. Greig Crysler*

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

### PLURALITIES IN THE MARGIN: COMMUNITY, RELIGION AND AGRICULTURE ALONG SINGAPORE'S ABANDONED RAILWAY LINES

*Chee-Kien Lai*

*National University of Singapore*

### MULTIPETAL DIFFERENCE OF BALKAN(IZATION): WEIZMAN'S BOUNDARIES

*Nikolina Bobic*

*University of Sydney, Australia*

### MUSLIM DETROIT: ENCLAVING A DYSTOPIC CITY

*Saima Akhtar*

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

### POSTCOLONIAL UTOPIAS IN THE CONTEXT OF CYPRUS

*Petros Phokaides and Panayiota Pyla*

*National Technical University of Athens, Greece, and University of Cyprus*

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### THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AS UTOPIA OF DIFFERENCE

*C. Greig Crysler*

National museums have historically been the site of utopian narratives of progress and collective development, where the sequential passage through an order of things retraces a mythology of the evolving genius and achievements of the nation-state. The nineteenth-century museum was organized around the ideal of the rational, self-actualizing white male. Its processes of self-fashioning became coherent through the rhetoric of imperialism and a carefully staged opposition to the "uncivilized" realm of the colonized other. In the wake of decolonization and the rapid growth in global migration, national museums are increasingly subject to reinterpretation by the populations they once excluded or marginalized. This paper examines recent examples of national museums as utopias of difference, where formerly subjugated populations and their collective histories are represented as both the ideal basis of national citizenship and the lens through which the prototypical categories of national achievement, such as art, technology, science and history, are now understood. Under these conditions, the national museum is increasingly intertwined with state-led multiculturalism efforts that seek to manage cultural difference within encompassing ideas of national progress, convert-

ing the other to the same, and assimilating historical conflicts into idealized representations of nationhood.

The paper will examine the political paradoxes of utopian representations of difference at the recently commissioned National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) in Washington, D.C., and the International Museum of Slavery in Liverpool, U.K. The two museums are connected through the history of the African diaspora and the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The recently commissioned NMAAHC is described by its architects as a monumental version of a corona, the golden crown of a column in Yoruban culture. After entering the museum, the visitor circumnavigates its exhibitions areas, finally arriving at a rooftop garden that connects this celebratory "journey" to grand vistas of the national landscape. When announcing the competition winner, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institutions, Wayne Clough, described the building as symbolizing "triumph and tragedy . . . and above all, what it means to be an American."

I will compare the idealized version of national history proposed by the NMAAHC to that of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, U.K. The Liverpool museum is located in a former imperial warehouse in the Albert Docks area (now a World Heritage Site), where it is part of a "National Museums Group." Though overlapping with the history represented in NMAAHC, the model of citizenship constructed at the Liverpool institution selectively reactivates the (post)imperial history of Britain and its transnational imaginings. I will compare how, and on what terms, these two institutions integrate histories of slavery into narratives of national identity and multicultural citizenship. In doing so, I explore the situated politics of visibility in national utopias of difference and the interdependent role of architecture, urbanism, and exhibition design in their articulation.

### PLURALITIES IN THE MARGIN: COMMUNITY, RELIGION AND AGRICULTURE ALONG SINGAPORE'S ABANDONED RAILWAY LINES

*Chee-Kien Lai*

The railway system that runs between Malaysia and Singapore was constructed in phases during the British colonial period to facilitate travel as well as the transfer of economic products and raw materials from the western towns of peninsular Malaysia to Tanjong Pagar in Singapore. In 1885 and 1886, respectively, the tin-mining states of Perak and Selangor witnessed construction of the first lines, which by 1909 were connected to Johor Bahru in the south. On Singapore Island, a separate train line was built from the dockyards area to Kranji by 1903, and was connected to the peninsular line following completion of a causeway to the mainland in the 1920s. A branch line was then built from Bukit Timah to Jurong in the 1960s to serve the industrialization of Singapore at Jurong. Both lines were administered by the Federal Malay States Railway company (presently Keretapi Tanah Melayu).

This linear configuration of rail lines is the site of intersecting economic, political and social histories for both countries. Built

and maintained by Tamil labor, it facilitated the development of railway towns on the western coast of the Malayan peninsula, including the capital city of Kuala Lumpur, and the port areas of Singapore. In recent times land constituting the section that dissects Singapore into western and eastern “halves” has come under scrutiny, and a proposal has been made to move the main Singapore station north to free up land in the land-scarce city-state. In the meantime, the land reservation on both sides of the tracks has become a strip of “conserved” nature adjacent to the island’s main remaining nature reserves and water catchment areas. And attempts by the private sector to construct a high-speed rail system to connect Kuala Lumpur and Singapore in under three hours have been postponed until political decisions are made.

The paper examines a site along the Jurong branch line along Sungei Ulu Pandan that has since been abandoned by the state of Singapore. Like the main line, the land area is still under Malaysian jurisdiction (although located in Singapore). However, sections along it have been claimed surreptitiously by various groups for small-scale agriculture, as well as for Hindu and Taoist ritual activities. The site and their current uses are not registered on most Singapore maps, and exist in countenance to adjacent developments at the edge of the Clementi public housing estate and various private housing estates. The land’s various multiethnic users, nominally “Malay,” “Chinese,” and “Indian,” acknowledge the presence of other groups and coexist cordially. The strange replication but disruption of Singapore’s and Malaysia’s official racial categories on the site is incidental, but I argue that the evidence of “alternative” everyday multiculturalism may be traced to the estranged pasts and presences of both Malaysia and Singapore — particularly as hauntings of their social, economic and political histories.

## MULTIPETAL DIFFERENCE OF BALKAN(IZATION): WEIZMAN’S BOUNDARIES

*Nikolina Bobic*

The paper will interpret the proposition that current ideological practices are heterogeneously open as still suggestive of modernist binary and universalist processes. This idea will be applied to the city of Belgrade — more specifically, to the 1999 urbicide that occurred during the Kosovo war — to explore how the popular preoccupation with heterogeneity is no different from the modernist utopian ideal of homogenous freedom and preference for technologically derived solutions. The paper suggests that these views are another side of the same coin, involving an imbalance of power and a desire for control.

Historically, the territory of Belgrade has been viewed as a strategic political site between the West (indicative of modernist knowledge and power as a derivative of a binary mind) and the East (interpreted since Classical times as involving an experience of knowledge via the senses). Similarly, this territory is viewed as representative of nonconsent, since it integrates both ideals (West and East) — for example, during the post-World War II period

when an alternative form of socialism, known as Titoism, was practiced. On the one hand, the 1999 destruction of Belgrade’s urbanism, culture and biology was presented in the media as an attempt to rescue the exercise of difference in Kosovo. On the other, it targeted and flattened the physical and conceptual ideals of nonalignment and dissent from Western modernist ideals of universality. With the philosophical aid of Agnes Heller, the paper will suggest that being open to the practice of difference and heterogeneous desire will not be attainable until the whole period of modernity is reconsidered. This includes the notion of universal and binary freedom and its preference for development as an expansion of technology and capital value.

Finally, the paper will employ the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari — more specifically, their ideas of re/deterritorialization and surplus value — to interpret the destruction of urban life in Belgrade, and the subsequent period of its reconstruction, as dependent on foreign aid, particularly from the World Bank. Considering how values of hygiene and binary order are a prerequisite for any modern Western civil society, the current aid is indicative of a political discourse. Since 1999 the World Bank has invested reconstruction resources in transport, energy, irrigation, health, privatization of banks and state-owned companies, and cadastral registration of property. In this manner, the paper will relate Belgrade’s noted agitation and former nonmodernist associations to a reading of urbicide that not only involved the destruction of territory (place in relation to geography and military strategy), but control of ideology and biology. Thus, it is suggestive of a logic where narratives of difference are only possible when they are indebted to capital ownership, expressive of the gap between countries of the North and South, and integrative/dependent on fear, control and protection from the other. The analysis is commensurate with Eyal Weizman’s idea that, from the political/military point of view, the city is a social/physical obstacle that must be reorganized before it can be controlled.

## MUSLIM DETROIT: ENCLAVING A DYSTOPIC CITY

*Saima Akhtar*

Detroit’s current urban conditions are reminiscent of those described in prominent works of twentieth-century dystopic literature, which depict urban industrial centers as brave new worlds confronted by dwindling traditions, advanced technology, and the emergence of a dominant state. Indeed, it is not a stretch to imagine Detroit as the precedent for these fictional dystopias, whose authors often attributed the onset of capitalist and industrial conditions to Henry Ford, the inventor of the assembly line that allowed the triumph of mass production. However, notably absent from these fictions is tension between social groups and the political and economic currents brought on by industrialization. This paper situates metropolitan Detroit within the parallel worlds of dystopic fiction and real urban conditions, as it examines the use of traditional architectural forms by a prominent social group, Muslim immigrants. Ultimately, it argues that the

referencing of national religious and ethnic traditions by Muslim immigrants in the form of architectural landmarks unsettles the imagined and real dystopic landscape of Detroit.

The formation of Muslim immigrant enclaves is a crucial and understudied aspect of Detroit's urban history. It also provides a window into the types of utopian architectural ideals envisioned by minority communities in the United States. Muslim immigrants arriving in Detroit in the 1960s were confronted by a landscape of race riots and white flight — ironically both social consequences of an economic boom. Yet, unlike many other immigrant groups at the time, they initially chose to band together under the banner of religion rather than national origin when faced with these dystopic conditions. The reason was that they were a diverse ethnic community which shared many of the same religious traditions. Nevertheless, as immigration increased, Muslim groups drew into dense ethnic enclaves that each had their own vision of propagating identity through national and religious forms. And they eventually constructed buildings featuring a cacophony of architectural references that reinvented traditional Islamic and national building forms. The enclaves eventually became powerful vehicles that put forth the utopic visions of this minority community in a disarrayed landscape.

As the magnitude of the decline of the auto industry in Detroit becomes evident amidst the current economic crisis, and as scrutiny of Muslim groups in the West persists, Detroit's Muslims continue to build communities on shifting notions of religious, political and architectural ideals. The paper shows the importance of architectural traditions in maintaining and displaying identity through the construction of utopian ideals. Further, it examines Muslim enclaves as spaces of exception that allow social cohesion, individuality, and the practice of tradition in a fractured socioeconomic landscape. These spaces demonstrate the ability of social groups to reverse the capitalist and industrial takeover of architectural representations of utopia by taking to the streets themselves.

## POSTCOLONIAL UTOPIAS IN THE CONTEXT OF CYPRUS

*Petros Phokaides and Panayiota Pyla*

This paper examines linkages between utopia, politics and tradition in postcolonial Cyprus, an island characterized both by rapid processes of nation-building and intense internal socio-political tensions. Casting the spotlight on a 1968–73 international design competition for a major government complex, the paper investigates the history and politics of the competition brief, the individual submissions, and the jury processes to uncover the different attitudes toward modernity, modernization and tradition being advanced by government officials and designers. With regard to the project's aspirations to nationhood as a strategy for overcoming Cyprus's dystopian realities of the time, the paper reflects on the competition as a practice of utopia.

## A.10 VISIONS OF AN ISLAND UTOPIA

### A LOCAL GLOBAL UTOPIA: PRE-WORLD WAR II JAPANESE ORIENTALISM ON TREASURE ISLAND

*Lynne Horiuchi*

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### PRODUCTION OF AN "ECO-URBAN" UTOPIA: THE TREASURE ISLAND DEVELOPMENT PLAN

*Tanu Sankalia*

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

### UTOPIAN VISIONS: PRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE 1939–40 GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

*Lisa Schrenk*

*Norwich University, U.S.A.*

### GREEN URBANISM ON SHIFTING GROUND: STUBBORNLY MATERIAL TRACES AND THE UTOPIANISM OF THE BLANK SLATE ON SAN FRANCISCO'S TREASURE ISLAND

*John Stehlin*

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

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### A LOCAL GLOBAL UTOPIA: PRE-WORLD WAR II JAPANESE ORIENTALISM ON TREASURE ISLAND

*Lynne Horiuchi*

An 80-foot-high figure of the goddess Pacifica, more Mayan than Asian, dominated the main promenade of the Golden Gate International Exposition when it was held in 1939–1940 on the 400-acre landfill known as Treasure Island north of Yerba Buena Island and the newly opened San Francisco Bay Bridge. At night, colored lights illuminated the statue and its backdrop, a monumental 100-foot-high "metal prayer curtain" with wind chimes. Such cinematic sights expressed the fair's utopian theme of unity and peace among the countries of the Pacific Rim, extending from the United States to South America, Australia, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan.

Within this grand ceremonial setting the GGIE also provided employment and entertainment. San Francisco Bay Area residents played roles in appropriate ethnic dress, representing their ancestral nations in parades, shows and ceremonies — a kind of international cosmopolitanism shared with fairgoers. The Japanese government created an elaborate Japanese Pavilion replete with replicas of a feudal castle, samurai's residence, and garden. The architectural display evoked, with a note of nostalgia, the Tokugawa era (1603–1868) rather than the modernity of the late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century Meiji, Taisho and Showa eras. Local Japanese and Japanese Americans participated in performances, social functions, and parades.

Promoted by local boosters at the height of the Great Depression and funded by the Works Progress Administration, the development of GGIE took place as Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia initiated World War II through military aggression. By 1939 Japan had captured Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing and Wuhan; Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939.

How did the theatrical displays at GGIE physically, culturally and iconically relate to each other and the conflagrations in Europe and Asia? If Japanese and Japanese Americans delighted in participating in the Orientalist displays, literally orchestrated by the Japanese government, what was the meaning of these displays in terms of national belonging and identity? How did utopian and Orientalist ideologies provide for a fusion of cultural or racial pride and national belonging? And how were notions of ethnic identity, national identity, and a sense of place recategorized and reconfigured for the groups who had participated in the GGIE following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and U.S. involvement in World War II?

This paper will examine the apparent contradictions in prospects for peace and unity in 1938 through 1940, and the way builders, participants and viewers at Treasure Island were able to will these into nonexistence. Japanese displays exalted traditional Tokugawa culture through Orientalist displays within the context of an American international exposition with the participation of Japanese Americans. At the local level, similar multiethnic contradictions played out in the San Francisco Bay Area, until Pearl Harbor was attacked and the American entry into World War II redefined local claims to ethnic identity or national belonging linked to allied Axis homelands.

## PRODUCTION OF AN “ECO-URBAN” UTOPIA: THE TREASURE ISLAND DEVELOPMENT PLAN

*Tanu Sankalia*

Treasure Island is a 400-acre manmade island in the middle of San Francisco Bay, originally built with dredged bay mud and completed in 1939 as a site for the Golden Gate International Exposition. After subsequent occupation by the U.S. Navy for more than fifty years (1941–1997), the island is now being reenvisioned as a sustainable neighborhood and a possible harbinger of green urban development in the twenty-first-century Bay Area. The Treasure Island Development Plan is an ambitious proposal to house 15,000 new residents in 6,000 dwelling units, with 300 acres set aside for parkland and urban agriculture. The plan can be framed in terms of what might be called a utopian “eco-urbanism.” As an antidote to urban sprawl, it seamlessly blends climate-responsive, neomodernist high design with progressive planning policies such as unbundled parking and congestion pricing. However, it also faces major environmental, engineering and financial challenges such as imminent sea-level rise, the threat of seismic liquefaction, and a stuttering U.S. economy — aspects that cast a shadow over its prospects.

In this paper I examine the award-winning Treasure Island Development Plan, which was completed in 2006 by the architec-

tural firms of Simon Martin-Vegue Winkelstein and Moris and Skidmore Owings and Merrill. The plan is characterized by a compact arrangement of streamlined buildings, a strategically skewed grid, sleek towers, and picturesque waterfront parks that suggest a significant departure from the familiar tropes of neotraditional urban design. But I will discuss how the design, in fact, fits into a long tradition of utopian visions articulated by form-making — from Versailles to Brasilia — where tabula rasa and dramatic form underpin the production of place. In particular, I compare and contrast the designs of the Treasure Island Development Plan with the 1939 International Exposition, in order to uncover the recurring themes of global political ambition, technological ascendancy, and aspirations of leadership in avant-garde urban design. Using historical and theoretical discourses and specific examples, I also dwell on the dialectical image — utopia/dystopia, imagination/reality — inherent in utopian conceptions of place.

If the phantasmagoria of the 1939 International Exposition obscured political turmoil in Europe and East Asia, then does the formal rhetoric of an “eco-urban” utopia mask the specter of socioeconomic homogeneity and political elitism on Treasure Island? In this sense, what does the latest transformation of Treasure Island mean for the legacy and future of utopian visions of place articulated by dramatic form? These are some of the broader questions that the Treasure Island Development Plan provokes.

## UTOPIAN VISIONS: PRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE 1939–40 GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

*Lisa Schrenk*

As early as the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, World’s Fairs have served as important venues for nations to present carefully constructed visions of their identities through architecture. Both historic and modern building forms have been used as backdrops for the promotion of a wide range of national political views and agendas. The nature of expositions, set apart from the everyday world outside their gates, has provided countries the opportunity to create micro-utopian representations of themselves that are largely defined by how they want to be viewed by others. As places to house exhibitions of arts, commercial products, and scientific advances, discrete pavilions have served as one of the most iconic means of making such representations at World’s Fairs. However, historic villages, featuring traditional foods, handicrafts and performances, have also been widely used to represent national identity.

More Pacific Rim nations contributed pavilions and exhibitions to the 1939–40 Golden Gate Exposition than to any previous World’s Fair in the United States. And while corporate exhibitions had dominated other American fairs of the era, organizers of the “Pageant of the Pacific” on Treasure Island were more interested in celebrating the growing American presence in the region than in advancing a still-sluggish economy through the promotion of innovative, commercial products. The result was an event more in keeping with major European colonial expositions of the 1920s and 30s than contemporary American fairs.

Architects of the Golden Gate Exposition stated that they derived the basic style of the fair's architecture from Mayan precedents. They then decorated the "Pre-Columbian" pyramidal forms with a "mingling" of modern interpretations of "Oriental, Cambodian, and Mayan details," to create a new, exotic style they called "Pacifica." While often employing native designers, participating countries were limited in their individual architectural expressions by design requirements dictated by Exposition organizers concerned with ensuring that national pavilions would fit the overall design scheme. The result was a seductive, utopian world, highlighted by ethnic architectural fantasies set off by wondrous elements of sculpture, landscaping, and colored lighting.

The paper will examine the architectural presentation of foreign nations at the Golden Gate Exposition in the context of the political situation leading up to World War II. In doing so, it will address how the use of both "authentic" and modern interpretations of historic building forms fit into a long tradition at international expositions of relying on ethnic architectural elements to create national utopian visions.

## GREEN URBANISM ON SHIFTING GROUND: STUBBORNLY MATERIAL TRACES AND THE UTOPIANISM OF THE BLANK SLATE ON SAN FRANCISCO'S TREASURE ISLAND

*John Stehlin*

Serious consideration of soil has not often been a major concern of urban studies. Yet in the "green" turn of neoliberal urban development, soil often plays a key role in claims to environmental responsibility. In its metaphorical sense, soil is also typically associated with nationalism and the making of places of belonging. Bringing these views together, I investigate how sustainable development and spectacular placemaking both operate through soil on Treasure Island in San Francisco.

Poised to play host to an ambitious new development project, Treasure Island was originally constructed for the 1939 Pacific Exposition, using fill dredged from San Francisco Bay, and until 1997 it served as a U.S. Navy base. The production of landscapes through the reuse of this soil provides a basis for the project's "green" credentials, including a teaching center for organic agriculture, an artificial marsh for wastewater-recycling, and 250 acres of open parkland. Such facilities underwrite the economic value of the terrain as a "green" commodity, yet their constructed quality also provokes anxiety about possible liquefaction during seismic events and latent toxicity from the Navy's tenure.

At each moment since its construction, Treasure Island has embodied the territorialization of particular forms of globally articulated power — from the Pacific imperial imagery of the Expo, to its denuding for use as a military outpost, to the ecotopian futurism of the present plan. Within this evolution, the island has been made and remade through the unstable composition and chemistry of its soils and the regulatory arrangements pertaining thereto. Thus, I contend that the island's soil played as important a role during the Navy years — by absorbing massive quantities of

spilled fuel and radioactive material, and by forming a crucial military territory — as it did in the twin utopian moments of the Expo and the current development plan. Similarly, the new plan depends as much on shifts in jurisdictional configuration and the placemaking efforts of planners and media as planned new structural and chemical transformations of the soil itself.

These ongoing material processes, taken in context with the constant working and reworking of the landscape through patterns of capital accumulation, sit uncomfortably alongside the imaginary of a planned utopian end-state of sustainability. Drawing from archives, planning documents, and interviews, the paper pulls together questions of sustainable urbanization and placemaking under capitalism with the effects of soils that refuse to be simply ground on which to build.

## B.10 DISPLACEMENT UTOPIA IN TRANSYLVANIA'S "SAXON VILLAGES"

### CURRENT REALITY AND UTOPIAN RECONSTRUCTION: NEW INHABITANTS' RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EXISTING VILLAGE FABRIC AND ITS CONSERVATION

*Alina Hughes*

*Nottingham Trent University, U.K.*

### THE NARRATIVE OF LOST UTOPIAS: THE SAXON AND ANGLO-SAXON EDENS

*James Koranyi*

*University of Saint Andrews, U.K.*

### THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL: BENEFICENT ENVIRONMENTAL PATRON OR REIMAGINED EUROPEAN RURAL UTOPIA?

*Justin Pollard*

*University of Exeter, U.K.*

### UTOPIC VISIONS AND RETROFIT: A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR ROMANIA'S SAXON VILLAGES

*Tom Hughes*

*Nottingham Trent University, U.K.*

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### CURRENT REALITY AND UTOPIAN RECONSTRUCTION: NEW INHABITANTS' RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EXISTING VILLAGE FABRIC AND ITS CONSERVATION

*Alina Hughes*

Concern for the rapid deterioration of Transylvania's medieval Saxon villages has prompted Romanian and international (mostly U.K.) specialists and organizations to undertake local studies and initiatives aimed at preserving and restoring the villages and reinhabiting their derelict houses. But growing international concern for the villages and their future conceals a largely unreported power struggle between identities, cultures, and constructions of utopia.

Following the mass exodus of the Saxons in the early 1990s some of the villages fell into a state of dereliction or were occupied by new low-income inhabitants, usually Roma. Meanwhile, in other villages, the Saxon houses have been occupied by Roma and Romanians from elsewhere, who now form the majority of the village population. Typically, these ethnic groups had been present in the villages for generations, though in a geographically subaltern position — i.e., on secondary or peripheral streets and in smaller or lower-standard houses. Yet today, those who can afford to maintain and improve the more prominent houses tend to see it as an opportunity to make manifest their own background and identity, as well as more recently constructed values and aspirations. Thus,

rather than faithfully restoring the houses, and especially their elevations, in order to preserve the appearance of the villages (as many specialists and organizations acting in the area would like), a significant number have modified them. This is arguably what may be described in postcolonial terms as the manifestation of a hybrid culture, which Romanians have derived from exposure to and travel throughout Europe — Germany, in particular. But it can also be seen as expression of a wider desired, though utopian, environment, as a new identity project is embraced by new village inhabitants, generally supported by local governments.

Meanwhile, the ideal qualities of Transylvania's Saxon villages have also been perceived and glorified by a particular U.K.-based conservationist organization, which has become the main advocate for their preservation. The villages' appearance — their urban planning, architecture, and agricultural patterns — have evoked utopic visions of a lost medieval existence for their organization's main figure and founding member. Today the conservationist organization typically engages with villages in the former (derelict) category, whose new low-income inhabitants offer greater potential as collaborators with the organization's purist conservation philosophy. This may be explained by the villagers' desire to satisfy their basic needs through benefits received in exchange for their cooperation. Unsurprisingly, such villages have become suitable ground for the reconstruction of an endangered or "lost Eden," as perceived by the U.K. conservationist organization, which has been endorsed by the listing of some villages as World Heritage Sites.

Thus, once dominated by the rigid Saxon way of living, the villages are now in a state of tension, as new, competing influences dispute territory they each see as the site of right for their own brand of utopian construction. This paper dissects and evaluates this dynamic and positions the forces involved in the struggle.

### THE NARRATIVE OF LOST UTOPIAS: THE SAXON AND ANGLO-SAXON EDENS

*James Koranyi*

Following the mass exodus of Transylvanian Saxons from Romania to Germany at the end of the Cold War, the Saxon villages in Transylvania were repopulated primarily by Romanian and Roma newcomers. Largely ignored in the European media, by politicians, and even by academics, these villages began to attract the attention of conservationist organizations from abroad. In particular, they were "discovered" by the London-based Mihai Eminescu Trust (MET) — an organization previously linked to underground universities in east-central Europe. Since the late 1990s, with the support of luminaries such as Prince Charles and Zac Goldsmith, this organization has been heavily involved in preserving Saxon heritage in a number of different ways.

By "reeducating" the new locals and equipping them with skills perceived to be traditional, MET has been seeking to establish a particular image of village life in Transylvania. Based on a notion of cultural hierarchy, in which Saxon — or German — cul-

ture is deemed most authentic and worthwhile, MET has used a specific narrative to tell stories about a mythical past and adopt this as a blueprint for the present. Much of the conservationist work done in Saxon villages has thus been part of a process of “reinventing” rural Europe. Not only do these narratives place Saxon culture above that of the current inhabitants of these villages, but they also constitute a rejection of modernity (or at least aspects thereof) in favor of a premodern image of Europe.

This paper will examine the histories and narratives involved in this project and the ways they are employed. Using MET and other sources, it will demonstrate that these narratives are more concerned with a utopia that transcends Transylvania and that addresses broader European developments and imagined pasts. Transylvanian Saxon villages thus act as a symbol for a wider discourse on lost utopias in Europe that is intricately associated with hierarchy, order, (pre-)modernity, and perceived differences in cultural value.

## THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL: BENEFICENT ENVIRONMENTAL PATRON OR REIMAGINED EUROPEAN RURAL UTOPIA?

*Justin Pollard*

The Duchy of Cornwall is the Prince of Wales’s private estate, a historical anomaly and one of only two duchies in the United Kingdom — the other being the less-well-known Duchy of Lancaster. As the future monarch and Prince of Wales, Prince Charles enjoys a prominent public profile in the U.K., and has used his privileged position to promote views on a broad range of subjects, including initiatives in agriculture, conservation and architecture on duchy lands. A number of projects undertaken there, including the model village of Poundbury in Dorset, have developed the prince’s ideas in practice, and have been lauded as exemplars of traditional architectural aesthetics and sustainable development. However, the prince and the duchy are not without critics. In particular, there have been concerns voiced by communities on or near duchy land, in both the Isles of Scilly and in Cornwall (“Surfbury” in Newquay), that the prince’s “green” image overshadows a determined commercial operation that does not always benefit “the locals,” and that imposes an outdated image of rural England on the area.

The link between the duchy’s conservationist aims and the narrative of Mihai Eminescu Trust (MET) for Transylvania is evident not only in the shared patronage of Prince Charles, but also in the overlapping narratives of European rural utopia. The vision of rural Europe propounded by the Prince of Wales and the Duchy of Cornwall is an idealized construct, one that is traditional, conservative, and informed by a quasi-religious, spiritual worldview, instrumentalized through the promotion of “traditional” farming techniques, handicrafts, and architecture. It is utopian in nature and imbued with an essentialist understanding of man, nature and ecology. It may therefore harbor inherent conflicts with a more progressive, egalitarian and democratic vision of rural Europe.

Like the Saxon culture promoted by the MET in Romania, the idealized vision of rural Britain promoted by the Duchy of

Cornwall may not always be in harmony with the needs of extant rural communities. This paper will explore the duchy’s use of conservationist narratives to promote its aims, while drawing pertinent comparisons with the MET and its work in Romania. In so doing, it seeks to add insight to the case study of the Saxon villages and elicit overarching themes that form part of an emerging pan-European conservationist framework.

## UTOPIC VISIONS AND RETROFIT: A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR ROMANIA’S SAXON VILLAGES

*Tom Hughes*

The “Saxon” villages of Transylvania are causing growing fascination in Romania and elsewhere through their well-preserved built and landscape heritage. Formed through the traditions of living and building of the culturally dominant Saxon population, the settlement pattern and many of the buildings remained unmodernized during the Communist era. However, the mass exodus of the Saxons in the early 1990s following the fall of communism in Romania, and the subsequent repopulation of the villages by Romanians, Roma and others, created a scenario of heritage threat through dereliction, adaptation, and unregulated modernization.

This scenario attracted the interest of external conservation bodies, who initially became involved in the repair of major architectural structures such as fortified churches. But they also found in the domestic and agricultural heritage of the villages both a fragment of a common European history and a vision for a sustainable future based on low-intensity agriculture, ecotourism, and traditional architecture and urbanism.

Headed by a U.K.-based nongovernmental organization under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, a new “whole village” approach today involves interventions in the buildings, infrastructure, and economic life of the villages. However, the foregrounding of Saxon built heritage embedded in this approach conceals a power struggle between identities, cultures, and constructions of utopia that originate both inside and outside the villages. In relation to the locals’ quest for self-determination, the utopic nature of the conservation and reconstruction project seems self-evident in an environment where the author-community has, in almost all circumstances, completely or nearly completely vanished.

This paper examines the evidence of this power struggle, which surfaces in competing strategies for integrating “sustainable technology” in village buildings and infrastructure. One approach involves individual householders making highly visible modernizations to their properties; the other involves the invisible integration of selected technologies, usually through externally funded programs. While both approaches are routinely justified (and denigrated) on the basis of technical rationality, this research examines the influence that utopian visions and conceptions of identity and belonging have on the decision-making process.

## C.10 THE UNEQUAL SPACES OF UTOPIA

### FROM HOME TO HYPERGHETTO: DESTRUCTION, DYSTOPIA AND DELUSION IN THE NAHR EL-BARED REFUGEE CAMP, LEBANON

*Are Knudsen*

*Chr. Michelsen Institute, Norway*

### IDEAL SUBURBS: UTOPIA AND SOCIAL IMAGINATION OF NEW CITIES AROUND JAKARTA

*Yulia Lukito*

*University of Indonesia*

### PETROPIA: DISSECTING CRITICAL DEBATES ON THE POSTCOLONIAL AFRICAN CITY

*Ricardo Cardoso*

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

### DISCOURSE AND DYSTOPIA, AMERICAN STYLE: THE RISE OF "SLUMBURBIA" IN A TIME OF CRISIS

*Alex Schafran*

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

### SEEMING PARADOXES OF POLISH ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS

*Andrzej Piotrowski*

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

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### FROM HOME TO HYPERGHETTO: DESTRUCTION, DYSTOPIA AND DELUSION IN THE NAHR EL-BARED REFUGEE CAMP, LEBANON

*Are Knudsen*

The contested postwar reconstruction of Beirut has been widely documented in scholarly books and articles, including excellent studies of low-income neighborhoods and urban "slums." Many of these focus on war-torn neighborhoods and the prospects for rebuilding urban spaces following the disjunction and destruction caused by the civil war.

The paper examines the production of an urban space that is currently both undertheorized and understudied, namely, Palestinian refugee camps. Lebanon is home to twelve such camps, most located in its coastal cities. The camps are produced by specific modes of governance that have made their residents Lebanon's poorest and most marginalized group. These are not traditional environments, but artificial ones seeking to contain, in the words of the French anthropologist Michel Agier, "the most unthinkable and undesirable populations of the planet." Agier's

critique takes its theoretical cue from the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, whose work has created important insights as to the topology of (concentration) camps in general, and is used here to theorize the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

In 2007 the Nahr el-Bared camp in Tripoli was destroyed and its populace displaced in the largest battle in post-civil-war Lebanon. Fifteen weeks of intense bombardment turned it into the ultimate dystopia, leaving a ruined, jagged skyline set against the sea. I argue that the destruction of the Nahr el-Bared camp was made possible by making it a "space of exception," to use Agamben's terminology. More specifically, living in a "space of exception," the Nahr el-Bared refugees became a marginal and isolated minority without political protection — and, hence, they were considered disposable. In the end, the destruction of the camp was hailed as a victory, and the destitute refugees were left suspended in chronic insecurity. The ruins of the Nahr el-Bared camp are now a "hyperghetto," whose residents are subject to strict surveillance and segregation, living in what could be called a "permanent state of emergency." Current plans for rebuilding the camp seek to extend this state of emergency by extending the military's role in controlling the camp and its populace in what could be described as "outdoor imprisonment."

Almost three years since its destruction, Nahr el-Bared is still a no-man's land and its reconstruction a utopian delusion. The work of Henri Lefebvre and his insistence on the "right to the city" — not only for "citizens" (which refugees are not), but also "urban dwellers" (which they are) — has not been explored with regard to camp-based refugees. In closing, I discuss the relevance of this work to attempts by the Nahr el-Bared refugees to reclaim their right to homes and livelihoods — and, more generally, their civil rights, which for decades have been denied.

### IDEAL SUBURBS: UTOPIA AND SOCIAL IMAGINATION OF NEW CITIES AROUND JAKARTA

*Yulia Lukito*

In recent years several new cities have been developed around Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, to support a need for housing, facilities, and modern lifestyles. Most of the people who live in the cities still work in Jakarta, however. Thus, they support a variety of common metropolitan-suburban phenomena such as middle-income families, malls, and social and spatial segregation. Such places reveal how the emergence of capitalism, coupled with new patterns of urbanization and the invention of new technologies of transportation and communication, have changed people's perceptions of time, movement and subjectivity. They also reveal the rise of a culture of consumption and new modes of entertainment that produce a multitude of distresses.

Government, architects and planners continue to build cities based on utopian ideas — what they think of as ideal spaces based on specific traditions. On the one hand, the idea of utopia has created modern cities, and new lifestyles; yet on the other, it has created gated communities or communities regulated by identity



enclaves. Here I investigate both the utopian and dystopian aspects of the new cities of BSD and Bintaro near Jakarta. I believe the utopian/dystopian aspects of these modern places can help elucidate the relationship between capital, the state, and the city. In particular, I will investigate how tradition was imagined to shape the form of these cities, as related to the political systems of twentieth-century dystopian vision, such as comprehensive systems of surveillance.

Certain aspects of these cities also reveal the changing nature of modern urban life. First, the idea of territory is shrinking; it now takes only a few hours to travel from Jakarta to BSD and Bintaro. Second, the construction of space now takes place both as an idea and in real life, a condition which I believe relates to the contemporary social imagination of the city. In this regard, I will investigate meanings of utopian cities that are developed by continuing practices of local tradition, and how the meaning of utopia has shifted. Is utopia a critique of old cities, without a definite program or dimension, or is it connected more dynamically to particular social projects? Is the idea of utopia about the future, or about the present? I will focus on a study of networks, which are an object of infrastructure and relate to circulation and regulation, especially in public spaces. My understanding is that networks mediate people's lives in modern cities. Thus, they can help in understanding territory and the construction of space, both as an idea and a lived reality.

## PETROPIA: DISSECTING CRITICAL DEBATES ON THE POSTCOLONIAL AFRICAN CITY

*Ricardo Cardoso*

African cities are ambivalently portrayed around many of the paradoxes that substantiate the notion of utopia. The multifarious, discontinuous, and unevenly interconnected spectrum of thinking on the African urban condition distills two broad approaches with divergent methodological and political implications.

On the one hand, urban Africa is thought to be the embodiment of dystopia. Here, "the defining feature of contemporary African metropolises" (Watts, 2005) is characterized as a quintessential perversion of the neoliberal world order. Reflecting recurrent rounds of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey, 2005), such as a succession of macroeconomic stabilization policies, structural-adjustment programs, and resource-plundering agendas, the dire and formidable African slum materializes a conglomerate of global forces that nourish prodigious rates of population growth in cities characterized by deindustrialization, economic torpidity, and pervasive unemployment. In this view of rapid urbanization unabsorbed by stagnant local economies, both scholarly and policy discourses frequently deploy a metanarrative of "overurbanization." Epitomized by Mike Davis's gloomy portrayals in *Planet of Slums* (2006), such political-economic readings of the African city represent a chaotic and dysfunctional urban involution. This becomes palpable both in what Kaplan (1994) apocalyptically depicted as "the coming anarchy," and Watts (2005) more

carefully described as vast urban spaces of political invisibility, fragile citizenship, and social exclusion.

On the other hand, African cities are envisioned as "yet to come." This countertrend in critical studies highlights local economic logics, lived vitalities, and the nuances of the everyday. Explicitly seeking to contend with urban modes of Afro-pessimism, this view considers the slum no longer as a slum, but as a place indistinguishably open to spatial contingency and the constant unpredictability of urban modernity (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008). This implies a relentlessly generative urban spatiality through which transient forms of symbolic exchange, affective convergence, and opportunistic searching continuously enact both collaborative and intimate possibilities of spatial becoming. Widely affiliated with AbdouMalik Simone's idealizing study *For the City Yet to Come* (2004), such ethnographically oriented ways of grasping the African city seek to reinvigorate the interplay between discernability and invisibility as a means to invoke immaterial textures of urban life and denote the simultaneously mundane and extraordinary "micropolitics of alignment, interdependency, and exuberance" (Simone, 2004) that make it possible (De Boeck and Plissart, 2004).

Undergoing massive oil-fuelled transformations at the metropolitan level while solidly sitting at the forefront of Africa's urban transition, Luanda offers a privileged platform for articulating such epistemic differences in understanding the interactions between everyday social practices, changing configurations of the state, and the determinations of global political economic trends. This paper critically unpacks the lineaments of such conceptual ambivalences by looking at the production of space in Angola's unfolding petropia.

## DISCOURSE AND DYSTOPIA, AMERICAN STYLE: THE RISE OF "SLUMBURBIA" IN A TIME OF CRISIS

*Alex Schafran*

American urban discourse has long been trapped in a city/suburb dialectic, where conceptions of both the urban and suburban become impossible without the other. This tense relationship was marked by distinctive utopian and dystopian elements during much of the twentieth century, with the utopian suburb and dystopian city slowly being replaced by the utopian city and dystopian suburb. As Becky Nicolaides (2006) has noted so presciently, "hell moved from the city to the suburb."

The recent foreclosure crisis in America has spawned a new wave of interest in suburban dystopia, this time marked by discussions of "suburban decline" (a phrase reminiscent of postwar discussions of urban conditions) and polemics regarding the rise of "slumburbia." "Slumburbia" is a conception that seems particularly popular among pundits talking about California, including the recent blog-cum-column of the same name by the *New York Times's* Timothy Egan about foreclosures in the state and the decline of the San Joaquin Valley.

This paper examines the rise of a new discourse of decline in relation to the American suburb, situating it both in the history of

American urbanism and the empirical reality of changing communities on the edge of the San Francisco Bay Area. Meshing content analysis with ethnographic fieldwork and descriptive statistical analysis, it highlights legitimate concerns about rising poverty on the fringes of the American metropolis and the ravages of real estate capitalism in the neoliberal era. At the same time, it will keep in mind the power of discourse to mark people and places as declining, a self-fulfilling prophecy with deep roots in American urban history (Beauregard, 1993).

## SEEMING PARADOXES OF POLISH ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS

*Andrzej Piotrowski*

Elements of the so-called Polish Renaissance style have been frequently evoked as emblematic of Polishness, and they have even been incorporated as essentially Polish features in the design of buildings representing Social Realism. Such a reference seems paradoxical, however, because the architectural traditions of the late Renaissance in the Commonwealth of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were antithetical to the notion of uniformity. Instead of a homogenous cultural identity, the architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries embraced diversity and manifested dynamic processes of political and cultural negotiation in what the papal nuncio Ruggieri called an *asylum hereticorum* (heretics' safe haven).

At that time, the Commonwealth provided refuge for people of various denominations who had escaped prosecution or were tired of religious wars in their native lands. In particular, the rise of Protestantism was so pervasive that it required new sociopolitical and institutional relationships. Architecture — a nonverbal public form of expression — became instrumental in exploring these emerging ways of thinking and ordering. In the spirit of the Reformation, Polish Renaissance decorations were used to question stylistic traditions associated with the conservative dominance of Roman Catholicism. Such buildings seemingly operated within the old conventions, but in fact they subverted those traditions and tested a broad spectrum of nonhierarchical dependencies. In addition, designers of the late Renaissance frequently remodeled or added onto existing structures, a practice that helped manifest a dialogue between old and new attitudes. Later, however, these complex cultural and political constructions became obscure to the point where they triggered only an unconscious nostalgia for their aesthetic effects, and their earlier meanings were erased by the strategies of the Counter-Reformation. Thus, Baroque architecture and Catholic systems of education silenced the political content of the Polish Renaissance.

In order to substantiate these assertions, I will discuss two buildings little known outside Poland. First is the town hall in Chełmno (Kulm), a medieval structure, which was added onto in 1567–1572. Its composition of elevations and their relation to an even-later tower reveal the symbolic process of political exchange among religious dissenters and Catholic inhabitants of the city. In

a nuanced way, the building visually exposes and explores tacit assumptions behind the Italian Renaissance. Meanwhile, the tower, built in 1589–1595, reflects another phase of these political tensions — a time when the local bishop attempted to reassert the dominant position of the Catholic Church.

The second building is a townhouse built, or rather remodeled, by the Przybyła brothers in Kazimierz Dolny. Although the city was a commercially dynamic center administered by one of the most powerful Calvinist families in Poland, devout Catholics living there, such as Przybyła, absorbed and materially expressed a tolerant attitude toward the ordering of the world. Their house represents how they organized their symbolic thoughts. Its decorations are similar to those one can find in traditionally multicultural towns, which would paradoxically end up symbolizing cultural uniformity in Poland.

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# Guide for Preparation of Manuscripts

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

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Please divide the main body of the paper with a single progression of subheadings. There need be no more than four or five of these, but they should describe the paper's main sections and reinforce the reader's sense of progress through the text.

*Sample Progression:* The Role of the Longhouse in Iban Culture. The Longhouse as a Building Form. Transformation of the Longhouse at the New Year. The Impact of Modern Technology. Conclusion: Endangered Form or Form in Transition? Do not use any numbering system in subheadings. Use secondary subheadings only when absolutely essential for format or clarity.

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

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

In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.<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 Stirrs Old Debate," *Smithsonian*, Vol.11 No.2 (December 1983), pp.24-34.
2. B. Smithson, "Characteristic Roof Forms," in H. Jones, ed., *Architecture of North Africa* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p.123.
3. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see J. Idris, *Roofs and Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).
4. In my interviews I found that the local people understood the full meaning of my question only when I used a more formal Egyptian word for "roof" than that in common usage.

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