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

Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review is the official publication of IASTE. As a semi-annual refereed journal, TDSR acts as a forum for the exchange of ideas and a means to disseminate information and report on research activities. All articles submitted to TDSR are evaluated through a blind peer-review process. TDSR has been funded by grants from the Graham Foundation, the Getty Publication Program, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Center for Environmental Design Research, and the office of the Provost at the University of California at Berkeley.

IASTE membership is open to all who are interested in traditional environments and their related studies. In addition to receiving the Association’s semi-annual journal, members are eligible to attend the biennial conference at reduced rates. Subscription to the journal is available only with membership in IASTE. Annual rates are: Individual, $45; Institutional, $90; Corporations, $160. Foreign members add $12 for mailing. Libraries, museums, and academic organizations qualify as institutions. Subscriptions are payable in U.S. dollars only (by check drawn on a U.S. bank, U.S. money order, or international bank draft). Send inquiries to:

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Editors' Note

This special issue of *TDSR* is devoted to the 1996 IASTE conference in Berkeley, California, U.S.A. Its purpose is to provide IASTE's individual members who do not attend the chance to be informed about the details of the conference. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing all the abstracts accepted for presentation.

The theme of this, our fifth IASTE conference, is “Identity, Tradition, and the Built Environment: the Role of Culture in Planning and Development.” The conference is predicated on the belief that globalization trends and increased communication have created in the latter part of this century a world system that is ripe with cultural conflict. Some argue that the world is becoming a singular economic entity, characterized by informationally interconnected modes of production and exchange under a predominantly capitalist order. Within this paradigm, tradition loses its relevance, as culture becomes more informationally based and less place rooted. Yet there are those, by contrast, who argue that culture can never be placeless, and that development scenarios must always be based on recognizing the placelessness of culture and the regional value of tradition. As a means of maintaining identity, some nations and communities have resorted to their traditions, religions, and ethnic roots as primary ways of identifying their collective selves. Other nations, becoming more inclusive of the “other,” have accepted a redefinition of their identity by embracing hybridity and recognizing the multicultural dimensions of their constituent groups.

IASTE has always been dedicated to studying traditional dwellings and settlements as a means of exploring the conflicts brought about by the necessity of adaptation and change. Scholars from a variety of disciplines including architecture, art history, anthropology, folklore, geography, history, planning, sociology, and urban studies have submitted papers for this conference in three broad categories: tradition as a means of understanding identity in the face of rising nationalism and ethnic affiliation; the role of culture in the development of communities; and the planning of the physical environment in a manner that responds to the legacies of tradition.

This fifth IASTE conference would not have been possible without the support of several institutions and individuals, including the Graham Foundation for Advanced Study of the Fine Arts; and the Center for Environmental Design Research, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the Institute for International Studies, and the Institute for Urban and Regional Development, all at the University of California, Berkeley. We also recognize the special support of Dean Harrison Fraker of the College of Environmental Design, and of Dean Richard Buxbaum of International and Area Studies. Finally, we owe a great debt of gratitude to Ananya Roy, our conference coordinator, whose thoughtfulness and dedication makes this conference what it is.

We hope that all those in attendance will find this year's conference and this special issue of *TDSR* intellectually engaging.

NEZAR ALSAYYAD
JEAN-PAUL BOURDIER
I. IDENTITY, TRADITION, AND BUILT FORM

THE BUILT FORM AND THREE CULTURAL TENDENCIES: NOSTALGIA, ANTICIPATION AND PRESENTISM
Ali A. Mazrui
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IDENTITY, TRADITION, AND CULTURAL CONTINUITY: THE RESURGENCE OF NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURAL THEORY
Suha Ozkan
Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Zurich, Switzerland

At the risk of oversimplifying, let us identify three types of cultures in the world — cultures of nostalgia, cultures of presentism, and cultures of anticipation. Cultures of nostalgia are revivalist and look for icons of the past, both in architecture and in governance. Cultures of presentism are militantly oriented toward making full use of present opportunities, even if there is a cost to future generations. Cultures of anticipation attempt a cost-benefit analysis for the future. The built form is at stake in all three cultural tendencies.

The most ecology-friendly are cultures of anticipation, as exemplified in the Green movements and Greenpeace. There is a commitment in them to bequeath to our grandchildren a physical environment which is no less healthy or beautiful than the environment we inherited from our forefathers. What we build — from bridges to mansions — should be guided by that concern.

The most identity-friendly are cultures of nostalgia, which put a premium on authenticity. There are occasions when such cultures are so oriented toward tradition that they have no inclination to plan for the future. Equatorial Africa actually suffers from almost a contempt for planning. Environmental determinism would suggest that the absence of a winter season deprived such equatorial cultures of the kind of planning orientation captured in the old English adage, “Make hay while the sun shines.” How does all this relate to built form? In architecture, nostalgia can sometimes take the form of trying to recapture the classical forms of a culture. In equatorial Africa, on the other hand, cultures of nostalgia are often in retreat from brick-and-mortar — maintaining rudimentary structures of residence and agricultural storage. Retreat from the built form is also captured in the saga of Great Zimbabwe.

Cultures of presentism are ecology-reckless, rather than ecology-friendly. The here and now is paramount. Highly competitive behavior under capitalism becomes pure presentism. Architecture and construction would also tend to be excessively utilitarian in presentist terms. This cultural orientation often defies both tradition and identity in the built form.

In reality the three tendencies of nostalgia, presentism and anticipation in the last years of the twentieth century have often intermingled in the same society. But it still makes a difference which tendency is paramount in a given country.

The Roman building manual written by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio and entitled Dici Libri has formed the basis of architectural theory since the formal notion of architecture as a guild or profession evolved during the Renaissance. Since then, neither the responsibilities of architects nor the prescriptive nature of architectural theory has changed substantially. For more than 450 years, Vitruvian theory has continued to be assertive and self-perpetuating. Even the resolution of architectural expression and industrial production brought about by modernism are not substantially different from this prescriptive predecessor.

Since the late 1960s, with the collapse of modernism as a binding architectural ideal, other aspects of architectural thinking which had been neglected for many years, began to receive attention. With increasing research, interest in and knowledge of these processes grew stronger. The importance of issues such as historical continuity, cultural identity, and meaning, which had been denied under the homogenizing ideology of modernism, began to emerge, as vernacular architecture was given the place it had so long deserved in architectural theory. Though limited, by scope and nature, primarily to urban housing and rural building types, vernacular architecture has the manifest potential of altering critical thinking in architectural theory. Research into vernacular architecture must, by its very nature, accommodate a multitude of architectural phenomena. It has the potential to introduce more thorough societal, historical and technological analyses of architecture than most of the other fragmented theoretical discourses which have been dominant during the last decade or two.

The paper discusses the evolution of vernacular architecture within the context of the development of the theory of architecture since the Renaissance.
II. CULTURE, GLOBALIZATION, AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

WHOSE CITY IS IT?
Saskia Sassen
Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LIBERATION
Talat S. Halman
New York University, New York, U.S.A., and Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

WHOSE CITY IS IT?
Saskia Sassen

The organizing theme is that place is central to the multiple circuits through which economic globalization is constituted. One strategic type of place for these developments, and the one focused on here, is the city. Including cities in the analysis of economic globalization is not without conceptual consequences. Economic globalization has mostly been conceptualized in terms of the duality national/global, where the latter gains at the expense of the former. And it has largely been conceptualized in terms of the internationalization of capital, and then only the upper circuits of capital. Introducing cities in an analysis of economic globalization allows us to reconceptualize processes of economic globalization as concrete economic complexes situated in specific places. A focus on cities decomposes the nation state into a variety of sub-national components, some profoundly articulated with the global economy and others not. Recovering place in analyses of the global economy, particularly place as constituted in major cities, allows us to see the multiplicity of economies and work cultures in which the global information economy is embedded. It also allows us to recover the concrete, localized processes through which globalization exists and to argue that much of the multiculturalism in large cities is as much a part of globalization as is international finance. Finally, focusing on cities allows us to specify a geography of strategic places at the global scale, places bound to each other by the dynamics of economic globalization. I refer to this as a new geography of centrality. One of the questions it engenders is whether this new transnational geography also is the space for a new transnational politics. Insofar as my economic analysis of the global city recovers the broad array of jobs and work cultures that are part of the global economy, though typically not marked as such, it allows me to examine the possibility of a new politics of traditionally disadvantaged actors operating in this new transnational economic geography.

The centrality of place in a context of global processes engenders a transnational economic and political opening in the formation of new claims, and hence, in the constitution of entitlements, notably rights to place and, at the limit, in the institutionalization of "citizenship." The city has indeed emerged as a site for new claims by global capital which uses the city as an "organizational commodity," but also by disadvantaged sectors of the urban population, frequently as internationalized a presence in large cities as capital. The de-nationalization of urban space and the formation of new claims centered in transnational actors and involving contestation raise the question, "Whose city is it?"

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LIBERATION
Talat S. Halman

"Law on the Life and Death of Ideologies": "Ideology starts as an idea, evolves into an ideal, suffuses the collective id and the common idiom, becomes the shared identity, then stumbles into idolatry, and ends up as idiocy."

We are now living through an "Age of Liberation" which might well herald the new freedom of the third millennium. In the past few centuries many societies have suffered from the oppression imposed by colonialism and imperialism as well as agrarian and industrial exploitation. The promises of the French and Russian Revolutions ended up in dismal failure. The collapse of totalitarian ideologies will probably enable the world to enjoy a new creative freedom — provided that capitalism does not evolve into an oppressive ideology by the next century.

Until the present time architecture and human settlements served the "reigning ideologies," and often became not only their symbols but also their embodiment. Most of them will continue to litter the world landscapes, especially in urban areas, as specters of history's anomalous beliefs and unjust regimes.

It was "culture" — be it tribal or local or regional, with or without clearly articulated nationalistic or religious components — that restricted so-called universal ideologies. Now, culture has started, in its diversity, to withstand the homogenizing aspiration of globalization. Unless we fall prey to the emerging technological imperialism, "cultures," and the identities preserved and regenerated by them, promise to give further impetus to "culturally defined states" with their own authentic identities. The architectures of the new age of ideology-free cultural freedom are likely to be both indigenous and receptive to international influences. Migrations, mass travel, global communications, and intellectual liberation will probably lead to an exciting synthesis in architecture. We are on the eve of a new network of cross-fertilization whose architecture may combine "lux" and "frux," both autochthonous and international, aesthetic and functional, based on social justice and private happiness.
III. THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

VERNACLAR STUDIES: OBJECTIVES AND APPLICATIONS
Paul Oliver
Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, U.K.

ON THE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURES OF AFRICA, AMERICA, ASIA AND OCEANIA
Dora Crouch
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, U.S.A.

A RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
Amos Rapoport
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, U.S.A.

THE POLITICS OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
Anthony King
Binghamton University, Binghamton, U.S.A.

COMMENTARY
Dell Upton
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

VERNACLAR STUDIES: OBJECTIVES AND APPLICATIONS
Paul Oliver

The twentieth century has witnessed the decline of architectural traditions all over the world. Universal modernism contributed to the neglect of vernacular architecture. It was not until the mid-century that serious, if minority, attention was given to the heritage that was rapidly being lost. Today, as my recent experience compiling the Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World has revealed to me, there are a great variety of approaches to vernacular architecture, confirming both the significance and complexity of the topic. Yet, while it is stimulating to experience and share in the discoveries made of the relationship of architecture to culture and experience, this diversity also reveals the fundamental weakness in the study of the subject. It has not generated its own discipline; it has not established a shared language; it has no program of coordinated and combined research, and it has no objectives and no applications in view. Whereas modernism failed the developing world and post-modernity has already become a dated fad, regionalism and contextualism will likely share this fate if identity and tradition are perceived only in terms of evocative form and detail. We should seriously consider the benefits and outcomes of the growth of research within the area of vernacular studies in the past decade. In particular, interdisciplinary action based on integrated and evaluated research has the potential to make a positive contribution to the massive need worldwide for housing through vernacular means.

ON THE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURES OF AFRICA, AMERICA, ASIA AND OCEANIA
Dora Crouch

This position paper highlights the issues and problems involved in assembling a book dealing with the subject of traditional architecture. Traditional Architecture of Africa, America, Asia and Oceania (Oxford: Oxford University Press, anticipated in 1997) attempts an encyclopedic comparative approach that recognizes the distinctions of every region. In particular, the paper summarizes some of the theoretical problems and prospects involved in the study of traditional architecture.

A RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
Amos Rapoport

On the tenth anniversary of the first IASTE conference I will consider the strengths and weaknesses of what has been achieved so far and what still needs to be done. Three questions need to be answered: What is it that we study? Why do we study it? And how do we (and should we) study it? I approach the first question by attempting to describe the specific domain that IASTE has defined for itself in relation to other domains. The results here have generally been positive, as one can see by scanning the themes of the five conferences, the books and abstracts published, and the issues of TDSR. In relation to the second question, I argue that the five conferences and TDSR have from the start emphasized one very important goal: learning from the above-defined domain for the purposes of design, planning and development. The results have not been as successful with relation to the third question, however. I point out a number of problems with the work and development of IASTE that also apply to related fields and environment-behavior relations (EBR) as a whole. These generally relate to the neglect of integration, linkages, synthesis, and theory development. If an improved approach to the method of study can be adopted, it would lead to more rapid development of the field and of theory and would influence the learning that can be achieved, and hence the possibility of influencing (and improving) design, planning and development.
The topic of identity, tradition, and built form is paradigmatically an outcome of globalization. This contemporary obsession with identity should make us focus on the imperialistic role of architectural culture, with its transnational tendencies. The assumption that culture has to be related to place/space has become increasingly problematic. Today there are innumerable globalized, placeless cultures and many cultures that exist far from their points of origin. The paper argues that much of the current discourse on "traditional dwellings and settlements" misplaces them as environments belonging principally to “the other.” Left out of this debate are such traditions as socialist planning in Cuba, public housing policies in Sweden, and the skyscraper tradition currently being introduced in China. The paper concludes by posing several questions: Does this distinctive geographical distribution of topics mean that this is simply a neo-colonial discourse, with the U.S.A. as a basis (and base) from which to continue its cultural hegemony in the non-Western world? Or is it, on the contrary, a desire of closet socialists determined to stem the penetration of market forces to parts of the world they have not yet reached? Or, alternatively, a right-wing reaction intent on keeping “traditional environments,” and their inhabitants, in place for the benefit of global tourism? Who is setting the agenda for the study of “traditional environments,” and for what reasons? Where are the politics in the study of traditional dwellings and environments? I think it is time they were addressed.

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The author has examined stereographs from the Keystone Tour of the World, a set of 1,200 cards published between 1935 and 1939. The photographs, along with the texts on the backs of the cards, provide a valuable resource for social anthropologists and cultural historians, enabling them to reconstruct cultural meanings and define social attitudes in the United States in the 1930s.

The Keystone Company, based in Meadville, PA, was a successful publisher of these widely distributed stereographs. Considered the first photographic mass media when introduced in the nineteenth century, the cards were designed to reinforce the values of their conservative, nativist, and mostly middle-class purchasers, which included educational institutions (schools and libraries) as well as individuals.

The author proposes that colonial economic theory depended on shaping the popular perceptions of the use of non-Western resources by reinforcing cultural prejudices. The stereograph images and texts served these propagandist ends. For example, a stereograph of Elizabethville is accompanied by a descriptive survey which concludes with two questions asked by the text writer: "What do you think as you stand here on the main street of Elizabethville, in the Belgian Congo? Is this a land the white man can wisely and profitably develop?"

The presentation is comprised of original stereographs from the Keystone Tour of the World, projected in three dimensions, with a reading and analysis of the accompanying texts.
1. PERMEABLE BOUNDARIES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE

GLOBALIZATION AND DESIGN PRACTICES: CITIES AND SPATIAL POLITICS
Carol J. Burns
Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A.

FENCE PATTERNS, SEMI-PUBLIC PASSAGEWAYS, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: CASE STUDIES FROM SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
Robert Mugerauer
University of Texas, Austin, U.S.A.

BUILDING IDENTITY ON THE BORDER: TEXAS COLONIAS AS CULTURAL TEXTS
Duncan Earle and Chang S. Huang
Texas A & M University, College Station, U.S.A.

AT THE BOUNDARIES OF DAR AL-ISLAM: THE MEDIEVAL CITIES OF EAST AFRICA
Thomas Gensheimer
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

DECOLONIZING THE CITY: THE CHANGING CULTURE OF PUBLIC SPACES IN LATINO LOS ANGELES
Liette Gilbert
University of California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

GLOBALIZATION AND DESIGN PRACTICES: CITIES AND SPATIAL POLITICS
Carol J. Burns

The paper discusses contemporary changes in global communications and finance in order to describe certain challenges posed by the emergence of what Manuel Castells has called “the space of flows as distinct from the space of places.” Changes associated with globalization challenge the meaning of cities, the welfare of societies, and the role of professions devoted to the design of physical places. Perhaps the rise of world culture is not obviously linked immediately to design practices. However, its impact on urban planning and design demonstrates the magnitude and complexity of forces that shape the arena within which designers perform.

FENCE PATTERNS, SEMI-PUBLIC PASSAGEWAYS, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: CASE STUDIES FROM SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
Robert Mugerauer

Research has established that residents in standardized dwellings, including public housing, tend to personalize their units (to the extent allowed) in a way that manifests their cultural heritages and the degree and manner in which they are, or desire to be, assimilated (or not) to the dominant surrounding culture (Rao, 1992; Marcus and Sarkissian, 1968). The largest part of the research literature has focused on the forms and materials of major symbolic and functional elements (especially on roofs, doors, porches, ornamental and decorative features, plantings and gardens, courtyards, plazas, and play areas) when describing similarities, differences and changes among specific ethnic groups’ environments and identities and those of surrounding built environments (Davoli, 1993; Francis, 1987; Lewis 1980; Newman, 1983, 1994). The same is true of the literature analyzing how to prescribe ways that public housing should or should not be related to its context (Cutler and Cutler, 1983; HUD, 1994; Murnane, 1993; Newman, 1994). Very little attention, however, has been placed on yard systems and the various private and semi-private/semi-public passageways in standardized dwelling environments among Hispanic or Black groups (though some work has been done on the issue in suburbs and middle-class residential areas, Mugerauer, 1989, 1994). This paper begins to fill the gap. The researcher uses the methodology of hermeneutical phenomenology and interpretative anthropology (Mugerauer, 1994, 1996) to observe, visually and verbally document, and interpret the fencing patterns and semi-pubic passageways in three standardized public housing environments in San Antonio, Texas. The case studies describe and compare the types, forms and materials of institutional and personal fencing systems and the social, observational and behavioral means by which both authorities and residents attempt to control passage and maintain contested identities and differences. Analysis is made of differences and similarities of fencing and passageway systems within each housing envi-
vironment, between each housing environment and its surrounding neighborhood, and finally among the three sites and contexts. The outcome is a confirmation of the research findings covering the more studied elements discussed above. In other words, when institutional and personal patterns fit the surroundings, there is an integration of the standardized dwelling into the neighborhood. This finding highlights problems as well, since when the context is dangerous or dysfunctional, questions of how to safeguard and nurture residents of standardized dwellings results in a dilemma: to change the fencing forms and materials from neighborhood norms to ones that better control movement and "undesirable" behavior, while thereby separating the standardized housing and groups from their context in ways that either stigmatize them or make them seem "elitist" and isolated (HUD-Cisneros, 1994).

BUILDING IDENTITY ON THE BORDER: TEXAS COLONIAS AS CULTURAL TEXTS
Duncan Earle and Chang S. Huang

In the transnational web of post-Fordian globalization, a new settlement form has arisen within the borderlands of the southern U.S. in the last decades, called colonias. These substandard, largely unincorporated subdivisions, called by Congressional reports "The Third World in Texas," represent a massive, rapidly growing settlement phenomenon that houses as many as a half million, mostly Latino/Mexican, low- to no-income residents. Made up of migrants, urban out-migrants, and immigrants from across the border, these little-studied settlements defy normalized classifications of rural/suburban/urban and creatively manifest reworked, often contradictory, hybrid identities as emergent communities. From a multidisciplinary approach, we examine colonias in the Laredo region, with attention to their settlement pattern, housing "face," and spatial strategies over time, and especially their yard and garden areas, approaching these data as social and cultural texts delineating a nonlinear narrative about place and household identity.

AT THE BOUNDARIES OF DAR AL-ISLAM: THE MEDIEVAL CITIES OF EAST AFRICA
Thomas Gensheimer

Globalization of economies and cultures is not exclusive to modern times. Similar processes occurred within the region of the Western Indian Ocean during the late Middle Ages, as economies from Europe to the Far East were linked by the expanding scale of overseas trade. As a result, cross-cultural contacts intensified, radiating from the more developed regions of the Islamic world, and leading to significant cultural changes within outlying areas, most notably within the region of the East African coast. Although commercial contacts between East Africa and Islamic Asia began in Abbasid times, during the late thirteenth century trade and cultural contacts increased significantly, influencing architectural and urban development along the Swahili coast. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries substantial cities were built in stone and mortar, which the first Portuguese visitors described as being "so beautiful" that they thought they were entering some port in Spain. These cities formed an urban and architectural tradition which became characteristic of the coast and part of the cultural identity of the Swahili people.

In the past Swahili cities were considered as colonial outposts in the commercial empire of Dar-al-Islam, where architectural and urban traditions were transplanted directly from Arabia and Western Asia. To the contrary, recent archaeological work has firmly established African cultural roots in the genesis of settlements and urban patterns. Yet either view is insufficient in understanding the Swahili urban environment of the late Middle Ages. Although theories of colonization are no longer tenable, emphasis on the African origin of forms underrates the impact of influences from the larger Islamic world on Swahili society and their built environment during a time of extensive commercial and cultural contacts.

The invention of Swahili architectural and urban traditions served to create a separate identity for the communities of the coast which differentiated them from other African societies. Islam formed a significant part of this identity and supported the tendency of Swahili builders to turn to the centers of culture within the Islamic world as urban institutions developed. However, rarely did building forms represent the wholesale adoption of foreign designs; rather, they involved the active adaptation of foreign ideas to accommodate the particular social circumstances and cultural precedents of the East African coast. In this way, the Swahili urban tradition was distinctive and did not isolate coastal society from other African cultures or from their indigenous cultural roots, but rather functioned to create a unified society from the diversity of ethnic groups, both foreign and African, who came to exploit the economic opportunities of the medieval East African coast.
DECOLONIZING THE CITY: THE CHANGING CULTURE OF PUBLIC SPACES IN LATINO LOS ANGELES

Liette Gilbert

Subjugated groups are challenging the veil of invisibility imposed during centuries by the hegemonic culture through its institutionalized norms of difference. As these groups are engaging in the reassertion of social and spatial subjectivity, the representation of a homogeneous population sharing the same values and spaces is being debunked by the reality of heterogeneous experiences. Multicultural practices engage in a political and epistemological critique of the hegemonic social order, challenging normative and taken-for-granted power relations and legitimizing an alternative social order. Examining anew the social order and theorizing social reality is particularly timely with the demographic resurgence of Latinos in Los Angeles. The Latinization of the City of Angels details the production of a new economy of power relations (following Foucault) which itself generates its own economy of space (following De Certeau).

Implicit to the construction of a new economy of power relations is the dialectic between political urbanism (conceived by institutional ideologies) and popular urbanism (produced by everyday practices). At the interface between alternative subjective practices and existing objective conditions, colonized people become producers of “differential space” (Lefebvre, 1970). Colonized groups are claiming “their rights to the city — their rights to difference,” and in doing so, they are (re)negotiating their participation to society, restructuring, transforming, and decolonizing the city.

This paper examines the relationships between social and spatial consciousness through the genealogy of three different public spaces that play a significant role in the construction of Mexican society in Los Angeles. The selected spaces are the Pueblo Plaza, Broadway Street, and the vernacular landscape of East Los Angeles. Each space, respectively, tells stories of cultural and spatial domination, diversion and appropriation.

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2. DESIGN PRACTICES: (RE)CONSTRUCTING TRADITIONS

PLACE-MAKING: RECONCILING CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

Nadia M. Alhasani
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

BUILDING WITH TIMBER: A TRADITION WITH A FUTURE

John Webster
University of Tasmania, Launceston, Australia

TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SONORAN ARCHITECTURE

Dominique Bonnamour-Lloyd
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, U.S.A.

CREATING A FORMAL TRADITION

Michael Alcorn
University of Nevada, Las Vegas, U.S.A.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY: PROCESS VERSUS PRODUCT

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

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PLACE-MAKING: RECONCILING CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

Nadia M. Alhasani

Architecture belongs to poetry, and its purpose is to help man to dwell. But architecture is a difficult art. To make practical towns and buildings is not enough. Architecture comes into being when a “total environment is made visible” to quote the definition of Susanne Langer. In general this means to concretize the genius loci. We have seen that this is done by means of buildings which gather the properties of the place and bring them close to man.

—Christian Norberg-Schulz

In his essay “The Unsentimental Sentiment,” Richard Weaver writes that every human participating in a culture has three levels of conscious reflection, arguing for a progression in conscious transformation from reason to wonder. Our immediate attention is focused on day-to-day activities essential to sustain our living conditions. The direction of these ideas will hold one’s attention for a limited period of time leading to disharmony and conflict. These thoughts are exceeded by one’s beliefs, whether inherited or acquired, defining a higher
yet nevertheless general conception of the world. Both our body of ideas and beliefs are surpassed by our intuitive feelings in regard to what constitutes reality. This act lends itself to the acceptance of others over time. It is a metaphysical dream that establishes "the bond of spiritual community."

Abdul Wahid El-Wakil, the renowned Egyptian architect, adopts a challenging experiment in the fusion of culture and technology in an effort to capture architecturally the spirit of a community and its place. El-Wakil's process of design and implementation displays effectively the conscious application of technology, both low and high, to the various phases of design and construction. From the use of computers in the design phase to the utilization of local crafts in its construction, the project is a working example for many to follow. His projects demonstrate the possible integration between internationalism and regionalism in architecture, a case in which the adoption of culture and the adaptation of technology are appropriated to conceive a sense of "place-making."

The advancement of technology is usually accepted as the primary reason behind the slow destruction of culture and the rapid disintegration of the essence of place-making. Technology is wrongly accused for accelerating the disappearance of the sense of place. The thesis of this work suggests that the reality of place-making has always survived when engaging technology appropriately in a dialogue with the culture of the place. In a systematic way, El-Wakil's built work is analyzed and evaluated against the works of other contemporary architects to establish similarities and differences in methodology of design and execution. The result is the establishment of a working model that can be utilized as a teaching tool for others to adopt and adapt to various cultures.

In an age where universalization can be a threat to the unity and identity of various societies, it becomes significant to accomplish harmony yet maintain independence within a context; thus the reconciliation of culture and technology brings forth the rebirth of the notion of "Place-Making."

BUILDING WITH TIMBER: A TRADITION WITH A FUTURE

John Webster

The tradition of building a sustainable environment in wood has a long history. In the use of wood much prejudice and ignorance exists. This ignorance results in attitudes that condemn timber as a second-rate, "primitive" building material used for cheap and temporary, nondurable settlements. This does not reflect reality.

Large numbers of traditional timber structures still provide valuable support to human settlement. Limited design development has been undertaken with this "primitive" material, despite exciting examples of past innovation which provide the possibility for continuing adaptation to current practice.

As society faces up to the issues of ecologically sustainable development, wood offers many positive benefits as a renewable resource, and deserves serious consideration as a building material for the future.

Wood grows as trees; timber is sawn wood. Timber is a remarkable natural product, unsurpassed in its benefits as a material for the development of culture and settlement. Wood, "the perfect building material," is strong in compression and tension; it is elastic, light, clean, nontoxic, nonconducting, and has good insulating properties. It also smells good, feels good, and is a pleasure to work with.

In addition to its physical properties, which can be used to build structures, wood has further desirable qualities as a building material. It does not give off harmful substances during manufacture, its use, or when being disposed of. It is possible to continuously renew the material. It also has an added utopian property as a building material with no ecological damage during production, which actually cleans the air and provides oxygen necessary for life during the growing cycle. The more timber incorporated into long-life structures, the more carbon is permanently sequestered. These qualities have been used for centuries to support ecological and sustainable traditional environments.

Timber has its weak points, and special skills are necessary to make full use of its potential, but it is a fantastic material — a material for the future. In the appropriation of tradition in the built environment, timber has many attributes that give importance to the study of the past use of wood.

This paper will draw upon the research being undertaken in the Department of Architecture, Centre for Building with Wood, at the University of Tasmania, Australia. Areas to be explored will include the following: examples of the traditions of building with wood; the reasons for the declining tradition of building with wood; and ideas for the renaissance of a "new tradition" in timber as a building material.
TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SONORAN ARCHITECTURE
Dominique Bonnamour-Lloyd

Few regions confront architects with the conflicts between tradition and modernity as markedly as the Sonoran Desert. Historically remote from centers of power, the area resisted most international trends that shaped other cities and buildings of the Western world. However, the recent Southwest expansion has led to the importation of the principles of commodification and universalization. The eclectic built landscape manifests a trilateral cultural heritage rooted in the land — Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo — in contrast to an international culture remote from local conditions and identity. Surviving in an arid land still elicits specific responses to regional conditions, while joining in the post-industrial world introduces global concepts of space, site occupation, and construction methods. As a result of this dichotomy, the Sonoran Desert is significant for studying the paradigm tradition (here understood as characteristics specific to a region resulting from conventions and conditions that constitute its identity), versus modernity (linked to the globalization phenomenon that is determined by or has value for a larger cultural, political and economic context).

While such polarity is evident at the urban scale, the study of architectural artifacts brings a more subtle insight into cultural settings in which design occurs. The technological and theoretical developments of the last hundred years have metamorphosed building design and transformed the relationship between the four elements of architecture proposed by Gottfried Semper: the hearth (or raison d'être of a project), the mound (or site), the enclosure (or envelope of the building), and the structure. Three major architectural movements have induced divergent attitudes towards tradition: modernism, post-modernism, and critical regionalism — respectively defined by critics Bruno Zevi, Charles Jencks, and Kenneth Frampton. Focusing on enclosure design, this paper examines, first, how architects mediate tradition (as defined in relation to the Sonoran Desert by Alan Gowans, Nina Veregge, and Nicholas Markovich, et al.) and modernity within these frames of reference; and second, the inferred or underlying assumptions and cultural constructs that support such work.

Case studies have been selected from the works of three architects associated with contemporary desert architecture: 1) the Arizona Sonoran Desert Museum Restaurant, Tucson, by Les Wallach of Line and Space; 2) Will Bruder's Rock Art Center, Deer Valley, and Phoenix Main Library; and 3) Antoine Predock's Ventana Vista Elementary School, Tucson, done in collaboration with Burns/Wald-Hopkins. Through these examples, this paper seeks to address the following questions. With respect to modernity, how do global markets and concepts of space transform typologies? How ambiguous is the quest for myths, identity, or authenticity in the age of consumerism and multiculturalism? Is tradition used as a means to reconnect to surroundings and to the other, to reconnect an architecture of reality? Do architects operate in a universal space or in a local reality? How much does global technology and a multiplicity of means and methods modify traditional craft? Is the belief in technological progress still a driving force? Is tradition a means to resist global dematerialization? Is the use of tradition arrière-garde or avant-garde?

CREATING A FORMAL TRADITION
Michael Alcorn

At the end of the nineteenth century, American communities were besieged by an onslaught of new forces which would change their physical configurations. Community infrastructures of water, sewer, electricity and the telephone were being imposed, as mass-transit systems allowed residents of means to move out from the city to nearby suburbs that were being developed by speculative builders. As the physical face of the city changed, so did its ethnic face, and the cities of the Eastern Seaboard became increasingly populated by immigrant families. These developments caused much concern among the native white Anglo-Saxon population, which became manifest in a reconsideration of popular attitudes toward technology and a romanticization of historical buildings which later became known as the "Colonial Revival."

The Colonial Revival, however, was far from a revival: colonial American buildings, at that time, were generally undocumented and not widely known, and those that were known were found unappealing by most nineteenth-century Americans. The Colonial Revival was a process of searching out new and existing architectural forms which could be interpreted as traditional, and which ultimately became codified around 1920 as "Colonial."

This paper traces the responses and products of Ceo. F. Barber & Co., a very successful house plan catalog firm (20,000 plans of over 800 designs sold between 1888 and 1908) as it reluctantly sought out new residential designs which would satisfy the public's vague but relentless demand for traditional American houses. Barber's catalogs and monthly magazine American Homes provide documentation that architectural tradition at the end of the nineteenth century was an evolving, creative search not independent of the technological and economic realities of the times.
Architecture and urban form have been perceived as products. The process or processes that led to these outcomes have been seen as secondary. Criticism and analysis has focused little on the process behind the outcome, as the product has usually been perceived secluded from its tangible contextual inputs, interpreted as the reflex of the individual (the architect) to the problems and boundaries of the time. The result has been a definition of the process of architecture based on the architect as the sole composer, director and creator of the architectural stage. The effect on the role of the architect has been obvious as he or she has come to be thought of as the sole agent of an outcome that is tied to the context through a one-way relation: how the architect sees and feels, and how he or she interprets the needs and wants of both people and context, adding his or her own idealism and ego.

The intent of this paper is not to criticize the validity of the "architect as sole player" approach, nor to claim its outcomes are inappropriate. It is to investigate parallel views of the role of the architect through a different view of the process of producing architecture. This need for a parallel definition and methodology stems out of the growing trends of multiculturalism and the need to seek local and national identity in contexts with distinct traditions and profound heritage.

An introduction that deals with clarifying some of the terms used in this paper sets the boundaries to my discussion. Tradition, modernity, and cultural plurality are questioned as they are relevant to the notions of local versus national identity and the modes of architectural and urban production. An analysis of the projects of several architects will then draw attention to the potentials and limitations of viewing architecture as a process within a multicultural context, with all its conflicts and contradictions between tradition and modernity. In ending, the paper concludes by presenting a different role the architect may play in producing a unique architecture that addresses cultural pluralism, tradition and heritage.

3. INVOCATIONS OF TRADITION IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

NATURAL FEATURES AND FRONTIERS: VIEWING THE LANDSCAPE FROM OUTLYING CHACOAN STRUCTURES
Anne Lawrason Marshall
University of Idaho, Moscow, U.S.A.

LOMBOK. THE ISLAND OF A THOUSAND ALANGS
Widya Wijayanti
Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia

PRE-CHRISTIAN RITUAL SPACES OF THE ORU-IGBO OF SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA
Georg Jell and Sabine Jell-Bahlansen
Papua New Guinea University of Technology, Papua New Guinea

COMMUNITY: THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF TWO LOUISIANA SMALL TOWNS
Henry V. Stout
Louisiana Tech University, Ruston, U.S.A.

LONELINESS AND THE MIDDLE DISTANCE: BUILDING COMMUNITY ON THE PRAIRIE PLAINS
Dennis Domer
University of Kansas, Lawrence, U.S.A.

NATURAL FEATURES AND FRONTIERS: VIEWING THE LANDSCAPE FROM OUTLYING CHACOAN STRUCTURES
Anne Lawrason Marshall

From the tenth to the twelfth century, Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, was the center of a regional system of buildings and roads that were constructed by the Anasazi, ancestors of modern Pueblo people such as the Hopi or Zuni. In and around Chaco Canyon are the ruins of thousands of prehistoric Anasazi structures including residences, shrines, various other small structures, and two building types unique to the Chacoan culture: great houses and great *kivas*. Great houses were public buildings strikingly distinct in their monumental scale, the rigid geometry of their floor plans, and their well-crafted rubble-core-and-veneer stone walls. Great *kivas* were large, round subterranean rooms, presumably built to hold community-wide ceremonies. Communities of Anasazi structures away from Chaco Canyon are assumed to be linked culturally to Chaco Canyon if they are near a segment of prehistoric road or if they include a great house or a great *kiva*. This paper examines outlying Chacoan structures in...
relation to the surrounding landscape and prehistoric roads, and considers criteria that the Chacoan Anasazi may have used to locate the outlying buildings.

Chacoan building sites may have been chosen for resources such as water for drinking, cooking, watering crops, and preparing mud mortar; sandstone for wall construction; or wood for firewood and roof timbers. Later communities may have been located in relation to existing settlements, perhaps close enough to communicate with signal fires at night, or perhaps spaced so as to be way-stations for people traveling through the region. From carefully located sun-watching stations, modern Pueblo people meticulously observe the path of the sun, and evidence such as the solar marker on top of Fajada Butte suggests that the Anasazi observed celestial bodies as well. Perhaps Chacoan buildings were precisely placed to facilitate solar observation.

Features of the earth such as springs, caves, mountains and rocks are considered by modern Pueblo and Navajo people to be sacred, and were probably considered sacred to the Chacoan Anasazi. Several outlying Chacoan buildings were located adjacent to, or at a viewpoint toward, significant natural features that may have been revered by the Anasazi. Pierre's Ruin, a cluster of buildings to the north of Chaco Canyon, is adjacent to a conical hill, El Faro, the most distinctive natural feature in the area. Kin Bineola, an E-shaped great house to the southwest of Chaco Canyon, is surrounded by peculiar stone-capped earth buttes. Most dramatically, Chimney Rock Pueblo, a distant outlier in southern Colorado, was built at a position that allows one to view a major lunar standstill between two towering pinnacles.

Leading out from Chaco Canyon, like spokes of a wheel, are the faint remains of a network of prehistoric roads that, in some cases, linked outlying communities with Chaco Canyon. In other cases the roads led from an outlying community to a prominent mountain. The roads in this system were engineered and curved and up to thirty feet wide. Flanked by berms, the roads were very straight and passed over steep terrain, incorporating ramps and stairs. Many characteristics of the roads, such as excessive width, absolute linearity over rough, steep terrain, parallel segments, cardinal alignment, and alignment to natural features, suggest that the roads were ceremonial ways rather than transportation routes. Perhaps outlying communities were placed so as to become a part of a regional pattern in which roads linked communities to sacred features of the earth.

LOMBOK: THE ISLAND OF A THOUSAND ALANGS
Widya Wijayanti

The *alang* is a type of rice barn in the traditional Sasak's settlement on the island of Lombok. It is an elevated walled room covered by a bell-shaped thatch roof and supported by four wooden columns (*ticéns*). The local building regulation requires the adoption of its form in the design of public buildings. Today *alang* are mushrooming on the island, including in their developing resort areas. The success of the campaign to maintain the identity, on the other hand, has raised a question: does it have to be an *alang*, or is it the only architectural element that represents the Sasak culture?

This paper is based on my study (supported by LIP — the Indonesian Institute of Science) of the indigenous traditional architecture of the Sasak settlement, conducted in central Lombok. It explores the primary elements of the traditional built environment, including its spatial organization, and examines the ones that are still maintained in the present *dawuns* (villages).

The first section discusses the concept of a house in the Sasak society and how they perceive spaces. A traditional Sasak house consists of a group of buildings, each serving particular activities. The *bále* (living and sleeping rooms) and *pawon* (kitchen) seem to be the primary elements, and in many cases they are integrated. Other buildings are the rice barn; the *berugaq* (an unwalled multipurpose pavilion mainly for social activities), which is either *bálé sike pat* (having four poles) or *bálé sikenam* (having six poles); and the *báré* (domestic stall). There are three different types of rice barns — *alang*, *sam bì*, and *pundétan* — and they all still can be found in the Sasak villages. Unlike the former, the latter two have hipped thatched roofs. It is common to set a platform beneath the rice storage for resting, weaving, and other social activities. In the evening some men make it a sleeping area and a guardhouse as well.

Houses are organized in a cluster system (*repáq*) expressing blood ties. No social stratification among the peasants is represented in the settlement pattern. The *báles* and *pawons* are evenly lined along a rectangular inner plaza where rice barns and *berugaq* stand. For Sasak people, Mt. Rinjani is the major element of the macrocosm, and their living spaces should correspond to it. This means that the ridges of all buildings should point toward the *daya* (mountain). Sade is an exception due to its topographical condition.

The subsequent section of the paper analyzes the alterations to the traditional built environment and examines elements or attributes that have been maintained in the newer villages. Within the last decade the increasing number Sasak people working in Malaysia and the implementation of settlement-improvement programs have been the main motivating factors behind changes in Sasak traditional settlements.
PRE-CRISTIAN RITUAL SPACES OF THE ORU-IGBO OF SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA
Georg Jell and Sabine Jell-Bahlsen

The paper examines spatial arrangements created by the Oru-Igbo for pre-Christian religious rites. The Oru-Igbo belong to the riverine Igbo, a subdivision of the Igbo people, an ethnic group of approximately 20 million people in Southeastern Nigeria. While other Igbo towns are more spread out, the Oru-Igbo towns are densely built. An Oru-Igbo town reflects its underlying social organization of kinship. Each town is made up of a distinct number of patrilineages, whose members reside in compounds built in close proximity within their lineage's town quarter. The people’s religious beliefs, their social organization, and gender are reflected in their built and unbuilt spatial arrangements, which are dedicated to religious ritual. These arrangements are multifaceted, complex and decentralized, in contrast to the centralization or power, location and physical structure is evident in the church. Igbo cosmology recognizes a supreme god, Chi-ukwu, and a pantheon of lesser deities. There are multiple deities and, as a result, multiple places of worship and ritual performance. Some of those spaces are private. They are located within a compound or home, as some of the deities are worshipped only by certain individuals and/or exclusive to particular social segments of the town (e.g., patrilineages, secret societies, and cult-groups formed around a priest or priestess). Other ritual spaces are semi-public. They are located in several locations throughout town, but are owned and served by hereditary priests. In addition, there are shrines located outside the town’s confines at distinctive sites within the environment. There, rituals in honor of certain nature spirits and deities are performed. The variety and individual arrangements of all these ritual spaces closely correspond to Igbo culture. Contemporary homes are no longer constructed of mud and thatch, but rather of cement blocks covered with zinc; so are many contemporary public shrines. In addition, modern compounds may still accommodate spaces designated for pre-Christian religious worship and ritual performances within their confines. Some of the shrines that were originally improvised at dedicated locations outside of town, designated as sacred groves, have been transformed. In some of these locations, cement temples were built. Local designers and builders make use of new materials, while at the same time adapting their structures to the customary needs of Igbo culture.

COMMUNITY: THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF TWO LOUISIANA SMALL TOWNS
Henry V. Stout

Louisianians show a strong affinity for small towns, and with the exception of the family and church, the small town is the basic form of social organization experienced by the majority of the state’s citizens. Indeed, the essential function of the small town for Louisianians is community.

Community, that defining element and myth of the small town, is the interplay between physiognomy and social syntax. Examining the interplay with the techniques of dissecting (Lerup, 1976), delayering (Gandelsonas, 1991), and alpha-analysis (Hillier and Hanson, 1984), one is capable of analyzing community in terms of locational relationships between man-made elements (buildings and streets), building form, and land use; and in the relations between inhabitants, and between inhabitants and strangers.

These techniques allow the comparative analysis of community between various built environments. Hombeck and Maurice are comparable examples of the Louisiana small town. Their analysis presents an opportunity for an interpretative understanding of how an industrial-based and an agrarian-based small town culturally define themselves through community.

LONELINESS AND THE MIDDLE DISTANCE: BUILDING COMMUNITY ON THE PRAIRIE PLAINS
Dennis Domer

While it is true that the grid system was an effective device for dividing rural, nineteenth-century eastern Kansas and outlining a future farm landscape on the prairie, the grid also brought significant disadvantages to the people who settled these treeless plains. The pioneers came from the village cultures of central Europe or the woodlands of the eastern United States. They were not used to the oceanic distances they encountered on the tall grasslands. The grid, separated ideally by 160-, 320- and 640-acre farms, required an unfamiliar, dispersed settlement pattern that precluded village life, increased the sense of distance between people, and contributed to the psychology of loneliness that dominated the endless prairie. In the face of loneliness, the pioneers poured enormous efforts into breaking down distances and establishing community life.

Through a study of one township in Douglas County, Kansas, that includes the distillate of many interviews with old people and drawings of towns and buildings, this paper presents an ever-widening circle theory — rather than grid theory — of the prairie landscape. It is a theory of distance that begins with the individual in the near distance, leads to the middle distance, stretches into the far distance, and ends with the imagination of the remote distance.
With this general theory in mind, the presentation focuses on the structures and buildings of the middle-distant landscape and how people developed and restlessly remade it in the structures of public life. This spatial model should not be interpreted on the scale of a grand scheme that explains everything. It does not replace the grid as an ordering device, but reveals "under the grid" another spatial dimension and a significant map of meaning nearly invisible to us today. Though it was foreign to them, the pioneers had to live with the grid; but the grid was only the most superficial overlay on a deeper landscape that would be shaped by the cohesive values of ethnicity, the ingenuity of inventive minds, the ache of strong backs, and the love of many hands.

4. LIVING WITH THE OTHER: HYBRID TRADITIONS

MESTIZO BAROQUE AS CULTURAL IDENTITY IN EAST LOS ANGELES
Geraldine Forbes
Woodbury University, Burbank, U.S.A.

"OUR SPIRIT IS THAT OF HOME": IMMIGRANTS, HOUSING AND COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
Judith T. Kenny and Thomas C. Hubka
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, U.S.A.

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE DIASPORAS AND THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF CHINATOWN
Katharyne Mitchell
University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.A.

FENGSHUI: MEMORY, FOLKLORE, AND IDENTITY IN A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN MANCHESTER, U.K.
Xiaoxin He, Martin Symes, and M.E. Robinson
University of Manchester, Manchester, U.K.

CALIFORNIA CHINATOWNS: BUILT ENVIRONMENTS EXPRESSING THE HYBRIDIZED CULTURE OF CHINESE AMERICANS
Christopher L. Yip
Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, U.S.A.

MESTIZO BAROQUE AS CULTURAL IDENTITY IN EAST LOS ANGELES
Geraldine Forbes

The Spanish conquistadores disembarked to find native cultures in Central and Southern Mexico with sophisticated theories of urban design and a clear understanding of the plasticity of facade equal to or surpassing their own. This served the Spanish well, for once conquered, the native people became the labor force not only for the Spanish soldiers, who were tearing down Indian cities and rebuilding them in the Spanish tradition, and for the Spanish clergy. On this second point, George Kubler and Martin Soria, in *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1968, p.165), have written: "The Mendicant Orders embarked on a vast building program generally executed ... by Indian artists and workmen. ... The Indians were not only admirable craftsmen but had remarkable gifts of imitation."

During this period of intense cultural and environmental
transition these same artisans were introduced to European artistic styles. Of particular significance was the introduction and subsequent development of the Baroque in architecture as well as other arts. The parallels between native art and architecture and Baroque precepts, such as the antagonism between gravity and mass, pictorialism, contrasts of light and shadow, etc., resonated keenly with the Indian and the subsequent mestizo population. The Mexican Baroque not only surpassed its European antecedent but today, according to art historian Angel Garcia-Zambrano, is symbolically entwined with the Mexican national identity.

Migration across the border brought the Mexican Baroque to the American Southwest. However, what happened in Mexico and in the Southwest when there were no more altar-pieces to sculpt or churches to build?

This paper traces the cultural expression of the Mexican Baroque to the Southwest, focusing on East Los Angeles as the nexus of the investigation, and tests the notion that it continues to exist and adapt to contemporary culture and the built environment as an architectural manifestation of the mestizo collective identity.

"OUR SPIRIT IS THAT OF HOMES": IMMIGRANTS, HOUSING AND COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
Judith T. Kenny and Thomas C. Hubka

In 1924 Milwaukee's Mayor Daniel Hoan initiated a new city plan with requirements related to housing which, he stated, insured: "Our spirit is that of homes, not of dives." Arguably, what had been inscribed in the plan did not deal solely with the basic issues of public health and safety, but instead prescribed different cultural values and landscape tastes. In order to address this issue of cultural conflict, our paper examines the built environment of Milwaukee's large Polish community and the city's efforts to control building practices in such ethnic neighborhoods. The major findings of this study challenge some of the dominant approaches to the study of both vernacular architecture and urban reform ideology by emphasizing the role of the immigrant family in the creation and transformation of the residential landscape.

The first part of the paper addresses the meaning and development of the "Polish Flat," a house form common to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Polish neighborhoods of Milwaukee and other Midwest cities. The Polish Flat is actually a common worker's cottage of the late nineteenth century which has been raised upon a basement to produce a two-story living unit. Constructed in great numbers by Polish immigrants from the 1880s to the 1930s, this house form met the families' needs and values, despite their limited income. Because the analysis of American vernacular environments has been dominated by models that emphasize the retention of Old World traditions and techniques, our analysis recommends a fundamental shift to an examination of the hybrid, Americanized aspects of house construction and the changing domestic value systems adopted by European immigrants.

The second part of the paper explores turn-of-the-century dominant society's assumptions about immigrants and their ability to overcome poor environmental conditions, which affected their desire and ability to assimilate into American society. Although Milwaukee's Polish neighborhoods had a high level of homeownership and did not demonstrate the same level of poverty and congestion associated with the immigrant slums of New York and Chicago, domestic reform responses to urban issues were formed in the larger cities and served as the framework for interpreting immigrant environments elsewhere. Cultural difference was the lens through which neighborhood conditions were interpreted, and the Polish Flat and alley houses — common house types in the Polish community — represented congestion and foreign behavior. Defined as a problem by the reformers, the Poles accepted relatively high residential densities as a temporary sacrifice and part of an economic process for acquiring a home. Thus, when efforts to control population densities through lot coverage restrictions became part of the city's plan after 1920, homeownership and the stability and status associated with it became more difficult to acquire. Milwaukee's name for the "raised cottage" — the Polish Flat — still signifies ethnicity and cultural difference rather than a low-income, incremental approach to meeting the valued goal of homeownership. Our analysis suggests the need to focus on the construction of urban housing as process rather than problem.

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE DIASPORAS AND THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF CHINATOWN
Katharyne Mitchell

In the last decade there has been a large-scale exodus of wealthy emigrants from Hong Kong into several urban areas around the world. This new Chinese diaspora constitutes a major migration process that has had important repercussions for cultural landscapes worldwide. In this paper I examine the repercussions of this diaspora on the spatial form and practices of an older Chinatown community in Vancouver, British Columbia. As a result of the rapid influx of capital and people from Hong Kong in the past decade, urban renewal in Vancouver's Chinatown has been explosive. The scale and rapidity of change has engendered the reworking of the literal shape of the community, as well as a renegotiation of many of the community's key institutional spaces. Historically, institutions such as the regional and clan associations and the Chinese Benevolent Association have been the leaders of com-
Community business relations, political affairs, and cultural displays. With the arrival of the new Chinese immigrant group, however, this leadership has been contested, as have the older definitions of “community” and what constitutes “Chinatown.” In this paper I examine struggles over community identity and form within an ethnic group that is fractured by class, generation, and geographical origins. In a period of global restructuring and “fractious identities,” how is space reworked as a place for all?

FENGSHUI: MEMORY, FOLKLORE, AND IDENTITY IN A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN MANCHESTER, U.K.
Xiaoxin He, Martin Symes, and M.E. Robinson

In recent years there has been a considerable growth of interest in Chinese fengshui in some Western communities. Among traditional Chinese societies fengshui fulfilled an important cultural role in harmonizing the relationships of people with nature and the built environment. Little is known, however, of the ways in which fengshui survived the transfer of people to overseas Chinese communities. What adaptations in fengshui practice have accompanied emigration and settlement in overseas environments? This paper examines the understanding and employment of fengshui among Chinese residents in Greater Manchester, U.K. It is based on the information collected during questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews, observation, and group discussions with Chinese residents of different ages in Manchester. The qualitative analysis shows that current fengshui practice is not only related to physical and spatial elements of the environment, but also with nonphysical elements and with things that lie between them. To some extent, fengshui has become a collective memory of these Chinese people. The findings suggest that fengshui does survive as an element of folklore and as a part of religious behavior. It continues to exercise a strong psychological influence on the maintenance of identity in overseas Chinese communities.

CALIFORNIA CHINATOWNS: BUILT ENVIRONMENTS EXPRESSING THE HYBRIDIZED CULTURE OF CHINESE AMERICANS
Christopher L. Yip

The Chinatowns born in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in California were expressions of the needs of Chinese immigrants to create built environments that served their cultural and social needs. They created hybrid communities by transforming common North American building types and environments.

This process of appropriation was necessary because of the social position of the Chinese in America as cheap imported labor at the bottom of the social order, making this case a good example of a traditional culture reshaped by the realities of labor migration under the pressure of Western political and economic expansion. Although Chinese-American settlements made use of the common building types in California, the conditions of daily life generated a separate settlement reality. These communities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not composed of structures and types from the immigrants’ native places. Rather, the physical aspects of Chinese-American communities were shaped by other factors: first, the immigrants’ cultural framework; second, the demographic structure of the Chinese-American community; and third, discrimination and legal barriers raised against the Chinese in the United States. The paper will examine these elements and their relationship to the resulting Chinatowns.

The structure and location of Chinatowns will be examined to show how these elements were directly related to social needs and cultural requirements of the inhabitants.

Similarly, the range of building types and uses found in these communities was specifically related to the cultural patterns that dominated them. Mixed-use structures with residential hotels, association buildings, and temples will be examined.

In conclusion, the paper emphasizes two points. First, the Chinatowns of California (or the United States, in general) were neither composed of direct importations from Asia nor standard building types left unchanged. Rather, they featured the transformation of existing U.S. building types to the particular requirements of a particular immigrant group. Second, although Chinatowns had a particularly strong visual identity, the processes of cultural adaptation were just a more pronounced variation of what many immigrant groups to the United States experienced.
5. PLANNING PROJECTS: CAPITALIZING ON TRADITION

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SPIRITUAL SURVIVAL: THREE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ACROSS THE HIMALAYAN RANGE
Tara Michele Cahn
Sausalito, U.S.A.

CASE STUDY OF THE HANAO-HANAO PROJECT, NEGROS, THE PHILIPPINES
Mary A. Padua
Planning and Design Services, Hong Kong

PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE LAGOINHA PROJECT
Leonardo Barci Castriota and
Maria de Lourdes Dolabela Pereira
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

TERRITORIES, POWERS AND CONTROLS: AN ACCURATE SURVEY OF THE BEIJING COURT YARD HOUSE TODAY
André Casault and David Covo
Laval University, Quebec, Canada; and McGill University, Montreal, Canada

THE RELOCATION OF ITÁ
Maria Elisabeth Pereira Rego
ELETROSUL, Florianopolis, Brazil

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SPIRITUAL SURVIVAL: THREE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ACROSS THE HIMALAYAN RANGE
Tara Michele Cahn

Spanning Pakistan, Northern India, Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet, the Himalayan Range is home to cultural groups of Tibeto-Burmese and Indo-Tibetan origin who have developed distinct indigenous identities in the past six to ten centuries. They share characteristics which embrace spirituality in their built environment, and they have maintained cultural diversity due to their remoteness. In the past forty years tourism has opened remote Himalayan regions to similar opportunities for globalization that the rest of the developing world currently faces. What is the emerging result in the built environment?

This paper will examine three active, independent, small-scale building-development projects across the Himalayan Range, which were instigated in joint partnership by individual Westerners and local counterparts in an effort to maintain the unique cultural diversity and spirituality in the built environment of each region. It will identify shared characteristics that distinguish Himalayan mountain communities from other regions, and it will examine characteristics common to the three projects which express cultural diversity and spirituality in contemporary built form.

In the Pakistan Karakoram a school is currently being built by an American climber/registered nurse and the villagers of Korfi. Funded by donations from Westerners, villagers have collectively raised additional support and initiated an additional bridge-building project in order to facilitate access to the school. The school project combines Western building technologies with local tradition and craft.

In the Solu region of eastern Nepal housing for a Tibetan Buddhist nunnery is being built jointly by a Swiss economist and local villagers in an effort to provide living and study accommodations commensurate with those of other more privileged monasteries in the region. The project engages Western building practices with spiritual rites and symbolism inherent to the Tibetan building tradition.

In the Khumbu region of eastern Nepal a Sherpa cultural museum and lodge have been built over the course of the past ten years through a joint partnership between a young deaf Sherpa and a Swiss photographer/climber. Using new building traditions for the lodge and traditional building systems for the museum, the project addresses concerns of spirituality and conservation of Sherpa culture.

Each project has emerged from friendships formed, and with an underlying deep respect for and understanding of each culture. This paper suggests that these independent development projects exhibit a high degree of success due to the cultural understanding that has evolved through joint partnership, and that for cultural diversity and spiritual traditions to be maintained in regions not yet faced with large-scale issues of globalization, these projects provide typologies and a model for future building-development work.

CASE STUDY OF THE HANAO-HANAO PROJECT, NEGROS, THE PHILIPPINES
Mary A. Padua

Hanao-Hanao is a hacienda located on the island of Negros in the Visayas region of the Philippines. The hacienda covers fifty hectares that have been planted in sugarcane and rice for three generations. During that time Hanao-Hanao has been owned by absentee landlords and farmed by tenant farmers. The tenant farmers have been locked in the cycle of debt typical of the agricultural system of the region, borrowing money from the landlord to survive the off-season and accumulating a debt that can never be repaid. Tenants have been bound to the land for genera-
tions, working for landlords in Manila who own their crops even before they are planted.

In 1992 the cycle was broken when Hanao-Hanao was inherited by a new generation of the land-owning family. The current owners of the hacienda introduced a program of community development aimed at helping tenant farmers develop an economic base that can lead to autonomy from the entrenched system of dependence. The heart of the community development program is the creation of by-employment that can provide income for farmers in the off-season of the agricultural cycle. The project also involves the creation of communal physical facilities, including sanitary facilities, artesian wells, a day-care center, and a community social center. Longer-term goals include the conversion of land currently in sugar production to diversified agriculture using organic techniques.

One of the distinctive features of the project at Hanao-Hanao has been the effort to build economic and social development around traditional features of local and regional culture. The development of by-employment has focused on the adaptation of traditional fabric-making and woodcraft to the production of modern goods for commercial markets. Workshops on traditional regional dance are carried out alongside sessions on basic public health and sanitation. New structures are being built using local materials and techniques, combined into designs that draw upon architectural traditions that span Southeast Asia.

In very fundamental ways, the project at Hanao-Hanao represents an effort to create an opportunity for people to recapture their collective identity as a local community. One of the basic premises of the project is that cultural identity and economic independence are not separable. After three generations of dependency, a new culture of autonomy — rooted in local tradition — is vital to the movement to economic autonomy.

Hanao-Hanao is a purely private initiative that has had no support from government and that has attracted support from nongovernmental organizations only recently. In many ways it is a radical undertaking, and there are few comparable projects to be found in Asia or the Third World. At the same time, it also represents a gradual approach to change, aimed at the development of a local community that can be sustained in the face of entrenched social, political and economic systems that are antithetical to this type of autonomy.

This paper describes the development of the Hanao-Hanao project to date. It focuses on ways that the project uses traditional elements of local and regional culture as building blocks for economic and social change. Hanao-Hanao is virtually unique in the degree to which it integrates social and economic initiatives in a practical effort to respond to problems of community development in the Third World.

PRESEVATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE LAGOINHA PROJECT
Leonardo Barci Castriota and Maria de Lourdes Dolabela Pereira

Large-scale intervention in urban areas, which deeply affect local economic, social and cultural relations, tend to ignore the intricate web of relations formed in such areas. Projects are guided by unilateral views, in which conditioning factors associated with road traffic usually prevail. Such interventions, generally aimed at improving a city's living conditions, wind up producing a disastrous impact on the areas affected, with no gain in terms of quality of life.

The traditional district of Lagoinha, in Belo Horizonte, Brazil's third largest city, is a good example. First inhabited mostly by Italian immigrants engaged in the construction of the new capital of Belo Horizonte in the late nineteenth century, Lagoinha soon became one of the most vigorous social and cultural poles of the new city. Yet, having always been viewed as a corridor connecting the northern and the southern districts of Belo Horizonte, it has fallen victim to a number of disfiguring interventions which have degraded the area.

Based on studies intended to understand in a comprehensive fashion the local cultural assets, and aimed at getting the involvement of the local community, the Lagoinha Project, developed by local government and the Federal University, proposes that the logic underlying large urban interventions be reversed: the starting point must be the reality of the Lagoinha district as it is experienced by its inhabitants. To this aim, an integrated rehabilitation approach has been followed which involves understanding the reality upon which we intend to act and dealing with the different problems encountered in an articulate and simultaneous manner. Thus, while maintaining a permanent dialogue with the local community, an attempt is made to interweave different steps, ranging from physical interventions to cultural projects, stimulating also projects in community economic development, in order to promote what we would call a "careful renovation."

TERRITORIES, POWERS AND CONTROLS: AN ACCURATE SURVEY OF THE BEIJING COURTYARD HOUSE TODAY
André Casault and David Covo

In 1990 the People's Municipal Government of Beijing initiated an ambitious housing regeneration program to revitalize the historic quarter of the city. To this end, the Beijing City Planning Bureau developed a master plan which called for a program of interventions to be carried out in four phases starting with the most dilapidated and dangerous structures. By late 1992, with the Beijing Housing Renewal Program (BHHP), 1.5 million square meters of new housing were under construction and 500,000 square meters were already completed.
rehousing 16,000 families. Unfortunately, the BHRP has also accelerated the physical transformation of Beijing in terms of its traditional character and its residential typology. Present redevelopment approaches rely on the complete demolition of the existing structures and the construction of new multistory buildings to replace them. The most characteristic residential typology of Beijing, its traditional courtyard house (siheyuan), and its residential lanes (hutongs) are being particularly affected, to the point that they are actually becoming threatened.

These siheyuans, which have in many cases been occupied by the same families for decades, have been extensively modified over the years by the occupants themselves in a variety of ways to satisfy their spatial needs. And courtyards originally occupied by a single extended family now accommodate three, four, and often more households. But decades of "illegal" construction and many layers of occupation have failed to conceal completely the character and architectural qualities of the original courtyards.

However, these houses are inadequately serviced, and the lack of adequate facilities, combined with inappropriate regulations and economic pressures on development companies to maximize revenues have led to the demolition of entire neighborhoods. This represents a serious loss of valuable architectural heritage. Furthermore, people living in these neighborhoods are usually replaced by foreign investors and employees of richer work units, as the original residents are relocated to new suburban housing developments composed of culturally insensitive high-rise towers.

It was in this context that a group of six Canadian students went to Beijing during the summer of 1995, under the supervision of Prof. David Covo from McGill University and Prof. André Casault from Laval University. For two months the teams, assisted on-site by teachers from Qing Hua University in Beijing, extensively and accurately surveyed three large courtyard houses and two adjacent hutongs in Beijing’s west district. Their hope was that systematic studies of dwelling culture could help promote its continuity in the face of rapid socioeconomic development, and that documentation of neighborhoods could provide a comprehensive record of valuable architectural heritage being lost.

This paper will begin by presenting the dynamics of the research project. Then, using the survey material, it will look at the creation of a complex environment through the formation of territories, the expressions of control with implicit or explicit boundaries, etc. Finally, the paper will show how people manage to create a “contemporary” living space within this always-changing tradition.

THE RELOCATION OF ITÁ
Maria Elisabeth Pereira Rego

Itá is a small town of 2,000 inhabitants in the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil, which had to be relocated to a new area five kilometers away due to the flooding of the original town following construction of a hydroelectric plant on the Uruguay River. The new-town project was designed by a technical team of the ELETROSUL (Centrais Elétricas do Sul do Brasil, S.A.), a governmental agency responsible for energy supply in the southern region of Brazil, and also the construction of the Itá Hydroelectric Plant.

The marks of a colonial past are still very strong in a region which was colonized in the 1920s by the descendants of German and Italian immigrants. This feature was taken in consideration during the elaboration of the new-town project, which included urban and landscape design and architectural plans for 200 houses, 15 community structures, and several commercial buildings. A great effort was made to conciliate the preservation of the original urban spatial qualities, such as superposition of urban functions and richness of vernacular architecture, within a contemporary proposal. Hence, the urban space created is the result of a close relationship between urban design and architecture.

A new architectural system was designed in order to allow the simultaneous construction of the 200 houses and also the possibility of variation according to a building-lot characteristics and user needs and aspirations, making it possible to maintain each family’s identity.

In brief, the main ideas that guided the new-town project of Itá were the following: to respect local culture and tradition, and to include the participation of the population in the relocation process.
6. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF IDENTITY

PORT SAID: INVOKED STYLE AND CONTEMPORARY DENIAL
Dalila Elkerdany
Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt

ALGIERS, 1830-1930: TOWARD A TYPOLOGICAL READING OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS
Attilio Petruccioi
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, U.S.A.

REBUILDING CULTURAL HERITAGE TO BUILT ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF SEOUL
Marie-Hélène Fabre
University of Paris VIII, Paris, France

THE CONTINUITY OF THE URBAN GRID IN OUR TOWNS
Claudia Fernanda R. de Magalhães
Instituto Superior Tecnico, Portugal

SEVEN PORTUGUESE CROSS-CULTURAL URBAN/ARCHITECTURAL EXAMPLES
José Manuel Fernandes
Lisbon, Portugal

PORT SAID: INVOKED STYLE AND CONTEMPORARY DENIAL
Dalila Elkerdany

Port Said is a Mediterranean city that lies on the entrance of the Suez Canal, a major route for international trade. The Suez Canal Company, an International Corporation that is mainly English, French and Italian, established the planning and the architecture style for the city. The planning and architectural concept is an outsider’s interpretation of what would fit the Egyptian as well as the foreign inhabitants. Present architecture claims different orientations.

This paper is a qualitative research that discusses the original planning concept and its impact on the inhabitants of that time as well as on contemporary practices.

The research starts by analyzing the original planning concept and its relation to the general morphology and architectural expression of the city buildings. The study analyzes the impact of such planning and architecture on people’s livelihood and their social and economic activities. This is done through a brief demonstration of senior inhabitants’ memories about the life of the city in former times. It also depicts the effect of the city’s significant socio-political history on building forms. Finally, it sheds light on the contemporary and future practice of the city’s architecture.

The paper emphasizes that both the historic segregation of the city’s neighborhoods and the native’s hatred of foreign colonization are affecting contemporary architectural expression. It also tries to introduce a vision for the city’s future urbanism.

ALGIERS, 1830-1930: TOWARD A TYPOLOGICAL READING OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS
Attilio Petruccioi

This paper will deal with French residential architecture in Algiers. This type of building includes a considerable amount of real estate where both the architecture and the decoration are of a very high quality. The French bourgeois architectural tradition has been inherited as a cultural patrimony by the Algerians, and, interestingly, this tradition is now considered their own architectural heritage.

Typological questions will be addressed in this paper, and the evolution of various types from 1830 to 1900 will be shown in relation to the transformation of the urban context. Another important issue will be that, in spite of the overt appearance of an architecture directly influenced by Paris and Marseilles, distinct features such as the size of the early urban plots and the span of the ceilings, etc., show a surprising attention to and consideration of indigenous Algerian tradition.

All the materials to be shown come from original survey work done by the author during ten years of research in the field and represent a unique viewing opportunity in consideration of the present political situation.

REBUILDING CULTURAL HERITAGE TO BUILT ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF SEOUL
Marie-Hélène Fabre

South Korea, and especially Seoul, has been engaged in rapid growth since the 1960s. This development has not only been economic, but also urban, as planning appeared as one of the main tools of the development policy. Seoul, indeed, has completely been transformed, changing in thirty years from a city of traditional forms to a modern metropolis. This transformation carried by modernization has only been possible with foreign assistance (mainly American), and, therefore, according to foreign models. Now that the country and its capital city have gained economic power and political autonomy, this past process of development has tended to be seen as a model in its own right. Besides, one may notice the rise of national pride and a heightened sense of the legitimacy of Korean culture.
Two public projects express this trend at the architectural and urban scale: one related to the national museum, and the other to Seoul’s urban image.

The first project relies on two different kinds of actions, demolition of the present museum and construction of a new one via an international competition. This action of destruction is highly symbolic, as the present museum building was constructed by the Japanese during the colonization period (1910-1945) and used as their headquarters. Besides, standing in front of Kyongbok royal palace, it was hiding the palace and usurping all its good energies according to Chinese principles of geomancy. As such, it emphasized Japanese supremacy on Korea, weakening Korean power in a metaphorical, but accurate way. Though the constitution of the Republic of Korea was signed in 1948 in this building, which became later the national museum, the question of its destruction has always been debated, and was finally committed to as a main feature of Kim Young Sam’s presidential campaign in 1992. It is a means to symbolize Korea’s power today and free the Koreans from their history.

The second project is the implementation of a symbolic street within Seoul, linking historical constructions from north to south and east to west. This project is not only intended for touristic purposes, but it is also seen as a way to give cultural legitimacy to the urban environment. As explained in a 1994 booklet on housing and architecture, published by the Seoul Metropolitan Government for foreigners: “Urban design — Kyongbok Palace — Namsan: Seoul to be looked once more. Preserving historical aspects of a 600 year old Seoul at the same time strengthening her central and symbolic functions” (my emphasis). But one may wonder what such “historical aspects” are, except for a few points in a city formed with high-rise buildings, apartment complexes, and inner-city highways? Does the rehabilitation of the Kyongbok palace along with the erasing of a part of Korean history (demolition of the national museum) stand as a historical witness?

These two projects try to build a new urban environment by re-building a cultural heritage that is supposed to express national identity and the legitimacy of Korean culture. But are they not actually the expression of a political unrest, if not the uneasiness of Korean society after a period of deep transformation? That is what we shall try to develop in our full paper.

THE CONTINUITY OF THE URBAN GRID IN OUR TOWNS
Claudia Fernanda R. de Magalhães

Recent developments (legal or illegal) in our towns of both developed and developing countries seem to be threatening the continuity of the urban grid. Massive urbanization with high concentration of migrants and immigrants in metropolitan capitals have led to an urban pattern characterized by

the occupation of vacant spaces within the traditional areas of cities or the development of large pieces of land in the periphery. In many of these cases the articulation and integration with the existing grid is poor. These new urban forms appear to have little to do with the nature and morphology of the traditional cities of our past, places of congregation, where the easy mobility within the grid was essential, and centrality was the foremost characteristic.

This paper looks at two capital cities which have experienced fast population growth in the last three decades, namely, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, and it argues that this discontinuity may be positive only in some exceptional cases. The discontinuity of the grid can be instrumental to some groups, if they need to make themselves visible, and might be used as a means of maintaining the community apart, reinforcing their identity. In many cases, though, it will probably work otherwise, making the city a collection of segregated neighborhoods or even ghettos. The effects on the built environment can be far from the multicultural, integrated society we all seem to look for.

SEVEN PORTUGUESE CROSS-CULTURAL URBAN/ARCHITECTURAL EXAMPLES
José Manuel Fernandes

The theme concerns the presentation and discussion of seven specific built territories, placed throughout the world: places where Portuguese culture was globally active (and still is, in some of them). Such aspects as location, history, urban structure, architectural materials, and typologies will be mentioned.

We have, first of all, to define and characterize some aspects of Portuguese idiosyncratic behavior within Iberian cultures since its beginnings in the Middle Ages. Among these are the ability to trade and to mix, a tradition of vernacular sensibility in the built and urban production, and an attraction by the “other.”

We intend to show the different situations created in each of seven locations, mainly since the overseas expansion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as responses to different cultural, ethnic, and religious contexts. Comparative analysis will be tried, and some conclusions will be arrived at concerning the present historic context and moment.

The seven mentioned places will be Macao (South China), Goa (India), Daman (Bombay, India), Olinda-Recife (Brazil), Colonia (Uruguay), Mozambique Island (East Africa), and East Timor (Oceania). Other areas can also be mentioned: Praia (Cape Verde), Luanda (Angola), Diu (Guzarat, India), and Cochin (Kerala, India).
7. MULTIPLE VOICES / CONTESTED REPRESENTATIONS: IMAGERY AND IDENTITY

REPRESENTATION OF THE CULTURAL PALIMPSEST: THE CASE OF MANH IN INNER OMAN
Soumyen Bandyopadhyay
University of Liverpool, Liverpool, U.K.

AT THE ROOT OF THE MULTICULTURAL CITY: THE OTHER AND THE SHADOW IN RIIS'S PHOTOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF NEW YORK
Antonello Frongia
Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice, Italy

THE POLITICS OF SPATIAL IMAGERY: SWEDISH INTERNMENT CAMPS IN WORLD WAR II
Michael Landzelius
Göteborg University, Sweden

THE STATE OF THE ART AND THE ART OF THE STATE: AKBAR'S AMBITION TO BRIDGE "REALM AND RELIGION"
Samia Rab
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, U.S.A.

FRENCH ARCHITECTURAL TRAVEL IN EGYPT AND ALGERIA: RESISTANCE/ACCEPTANCE OF ORIENTAL INFLUENCES
Sadri Bensmail
École d'Architecture de Paris, La Villette, France

ARCHITECTURAL AND CULTURAL RESEARCH HAS OVER RECENT YEARS MADE A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT FROM THE NAIVETÉ OF A HOMOGENEOUS AND TIME-FROZEN, AND THEREBY A NOSTALGIC, NOTION OF TRADITION, TO A MUCH MORE COMPLEX AND PLURALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE PHENOMENON. TO A LARGE EXTENT THIS HAS RENDERED THE IDEAS OF CULTURE AND AN "EVOLVING TRADITION" ALMOST INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM EACH OTHER. LIKE CULTURE, TRADITION COULD BE CONCEPTUALIZED AS A SPATIO-TEMPORAL PALIMPSEST COMPRISING LAYERS POSSESSING INDEPENDENT ORGANIC IDENTITY, AND THUS LIKE ANY OTHER NATURAL ENTITY, SUSCEPTIBLE TO CONJUNCTION, DEFUNCTION AND EROSION. LAYERS WOULD OFTEN BECOME CONJOINED TO ENGENDER A FRESH IDENTITY, WHILE ELEMENTS COULD BECOME STRIPPED OFF ITS INNER CONTENT AND BECOME RELICS, OR COULD ASSUME NEW MEANING IN THE PROCESS. OFTEN OLDER MEANINGS (AND THEREBY, TRADITION) ARE REINIGORVATED OR "REINVENTED" TO CELEBRATE AND VALIDATE A NEW AND EVOLVING TRADITION, WHICH IN TURN, COULD BE INVESTED ON AN EXISTING OBJECT OF CULTURE. THUS, PLURI-SIGNIFICATION AND CONTESTED REPRESENTATION BECOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE CULTURAL PALIMPSEST, GIVING RISE TO MULTIPLE READINGS OF A TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT. MULTIPLE READINGS MAY ALSO RESULT EITHER FROM THE DIFFERENTIAL REASSEMBLY OF A DECONSTRUCTED CULTURAL PALIMPSEST, OR FROM A SHIFT IN SPATIO-TEMPORAL OBSERVATIONAL STANDPOINT.


Symptoms of the multicultural city can be traced back to turn-of-the-century New York, when the bulk of immigrants coming from East and South Europe subverted the regularity of the gridiron plan of the city, transforming its apparently ordered built environment into a maze of nonplaces defined by ethnic uses and fragmented projections. How did the dominant classes react to such a menace to the unity of the rising metropolis in a period when city planning was yet to come and no comprehensive instrument could afford to treat the problem as a whole?

Much has still to be said about the regulating power of seeing and the incorporation of the Other through the observation of the modern city. Well before the Zoning Ordinance of 1916, which established the synoptical power of scientific observation, many individuals were using their sight and their words to describe the otherwise incomprehensible variety of the city cultures. Jacob A. Riis's investigations of the city slums in the 1870s and 1880s are a case in point. Himself a Danish immigrant, Riis became a police reporter, a reformer, and an activist of the Little Parks Movement, counseling several city and state commissions on housing and city planning. But Riis is also known for being the first photographer to show the slum interiors of New York's Lower East Side by flashlight. Riis's seminal book *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (1890) deals with the urban, social and familiar spaces of the ethnic groups living in the slum. Far from being a classification of exotic features or a simple illustration of city "types," Riis's elaborated text tries to redeem the identity of every urban community from the shadow where it has burrowed. Its narrative becomes then a symbolic discourse, embodying both the plain description of "facts" — the physical and social space of New York — and a deeper preoccupation with the obscurity of the slum as evil. Riis engages a fight "with" the Shadow, and this attempt to build a new community of the Other reveals what M. Christine Boyer has called "the dream of a rational city" — the contradiction of a ruling class trying to rationalize its own fears before the complete professionalization of the planning discipline in the 1910s and 1920s.
THE STATE OF THE ART AND THE ART OF THE STATE: AKBAR'S AMBITION TO BRIDGE “REALM AND RELIGION”

Samia Rab

The fundamentals of the legal mechanism by which traditional kingship prevailed in most Islamic monarchies, ever since the death of the Prophet Mohammed, was not really questioned by the first and the second Mughal shahinshahs, Babur and Humayun. What sets Akbar apart from his predecessors is that he was receptive to the ideas of modernity, and he attempted to bridge the gap between “realm and religion.” This paper argues that the architecture of Diwan-i-Khas, Akbar’s private audience hall at Fatehpur Sikri, represents his attempt to bridge the gap between the realm of the state and that of religion.

This building, appearing as two stories, is actually a single space. A massive octagonal column, elaborately carved, is uniquely suspended between the lower hall and the upper gallery; it is in effect the throne of the shahinshah. Historians have argued that Akbar occupied this central space, while a minister stood at each corner of the room awaiting his orders. In a private audience hall direct visual contact was usually maintained, as we can see in almost all the fortress-palaces constructed by Mughal shahinshahs across India. In the Diwan-i-Khas the lower section of the hall was meant for dignitaries and scholars of the court who could not directly observe the shahinshah but could feel his presence. This was Akbar’s way of insuring that scholars could debate issues related to the affairs of the state and argue among themselves without direct visual contact with the shahinshah. By suspending the throne in the middle of the space, the architect seems to have created a metaphorical link between the realm of the kingdom on earth and the roof of the heaven above. These two realms are linked by the mediating body of the shahinshah, who is now the peshwa of the kingdom on matters of state as well as of religion.

Bridging the gap between “realm and religion” was one of the key issues that concerned Akbar throughout his life. The simultaneous and sometimes metaphorical discussion of “realm and religion” appears frequently in the writings of his court biographer Abu Fazl (Akbarnama, 1560-1590), and court historian Badauni (Tarikh-i-Badawani, 1575-1605). During the period 1556-1569 Akbar was busy expanding the territories of the empire, along with experimenting with various ways to provide a workable revenue system and an administrative framework for the portions of the empire. The resulting standard, or “regulations,” have been regarded by many economic theorists as well ahead of their time (e.g., Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Akbar the Great: Political History, 1542-1605 AD, Vol. 1, Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Delhi, 1962). Some of these standards were even retained by the British while they ruled India, and they still form the basis for the provincial division of India and Pakistan. Akbar started to transform the legal mechanism of the empire that he had inherited from his forefathers. This transformation finally resulted in Akbar’s historic attempt to merge the “true” principles of all religions practiced in his empire into a form of a divine monotheism, the Din-i-Llahi.

There could have been several influences on Akbar’s quest for bridging the gap between “realm and religion.” This paper touches upon four: 1) the dialectic of religion in his life; 2) his early learning of the Sufi order; 3) his literary exposure to the reign of Ashoka; and 4) his contacts with the Portuguese ambassador and the Jesuit missions.

The influence of these thoughts and practices on the architecture of Akbar’s reign cannot be fully explored within this paper. Therefore, I have chosen one building which has raised several historical interpretations in terms of its meaning. The Diwan-i-Khas, being the shahinshah’s private audience chamber, was meant for private meetings between the emperor and his ministers and other affiliates who assisted him in running the affairs of his empire’s “realm and religion.”

FRENCH ARCHITECTURAL TRAVEL IN EGYPT AND ALGERIA: RESISTANCE/ACCEPTANCE OF ORIENTAL INFLUENCES

Sadri Bensmail

In the actual reality of cultural clashes and obstacles to a dialogue between national/local cultures and peoples, it seems important to talk about historical situations of crossing and mediation, including their anthropological and architectural dimensions and a reminder of their importance and possibilities. Indeed, the dialogue is all the more important since it means an enlargement of the sphere in which the codes, values, and common features of man’s language of tolerance are spoken. Our purpose here is not to reiterate reflections on the negative aspects of cultural domination and colonization, but to seek the “positive” through the experiences of explorers or cultural renegades, interpretations or translations, adoption or adaptation of more or less infused traditional forms (J. Abu-Lughod).

Among the mediators between two cultures, quite conscious of each one’s specificities, the artist appears as the most emblematic figure of the encounter, the intermediary between identities and belongings. As a social and cultural practitioner representing collective ideas and ideals rooted in life, the architect can also be a smuggler, a “translator” from one singular “language” to another. Both artist and architect represent the double human figure of tradere-traducere, associating the act of betraying to that of translating.

It is through the study of this figure in action that we would like to discuss the architectural question of influences between Europe and the Orient, focusing on one of its forms: architectural artistic travel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We shall present the Oriental experiences of French architects: P.-X. Coste and Picq in Egypt, G. Guiauchain in Algeria, see in what degree they had or not played — compared
with the Asiatic production of Alexandre Marcel — the role of “import/export” agents between an expansionist Metropole and local elites seeking modernization.

With a critical analysis of some of their discourses and writings, drawings and projects, we shall try to clarify the ideas and themes which characterized, from the European dox, the emerging French colonial episteme towards preexisting cities and architectures. Such a “reading” will help not only to identify basic cultural themes and collective representations (of the idea of death, the other, the insane, the past, reason, etc.), but to grasp as well the fundamentals and the evolution of Orientalism (E. Said) and its relation with the architectural projects.

Examination of the trips, the careers, and the architectural works of the selected architects in Egypt revealed that they were architects of the technique, promoters of the “progrès” seeking to export their know-how to countries judged vacant and propitious to their projects and success. Meanwhile, if some of the French architects, like P.-X. Coste, took away nothing from local models they observed, others were inspired more or less largely from them, recognizing and showing their architectural, aesthetic and plastic influences and traductions in their metropolitan projects. It is in the refusal or acceptance of the Oriental influences, in this problematical gap between the analysis and the project, the sensible experience of the travel and the lessons that are consciously and formally extracted or learned from it, that we would like to bring our first elements of reflection. Such study could lead to a theoretical development concerning the figures of the “ruin” and the “monument” (in the Western point of view) in the Oriental city, their influences on the French architects and on their (romantic and neoclassical) representations. It also could be extended to Modern Architecture and its (eluded or denied) Oriental references, with some criticism of the dominant historiography of architecture and urban planning.

We shall end with the necessity to reevaluate the contribution of the “exotic” sources to the modern expressions and “movements,” within the questions of the architectural exchange between the Christian world and the Arab-Islamic one, and the renewing of the cultural codes and values embodied in Western architecture. The critical project we call for, from the point of view of influences and reception, would aim to see the cultural exchange (and particularly, architectural travel) as a vivifying liberation of the Self and the Other’s codes, and to compare the urban cultures in their forms and meanings within their interdependence; to see with which manner a specific culture not only assimilates and interprets the “exotic/exogens inputs, but also takes a critical distance from itself and questions its collective narcissism. Such “internal” criticism should lead to a restudying of concepts and notions which seem able to explain the intercultural exchange phenomena (like “influence,” “cultural exchange,” and “hybridity”). Indeed, the themes of alterity, exoticism, Orientalism, and cultural crossing are becoming more and more essential and now define a challenging new field of investigation.

8. REINVENTING TRADITION: PARADIGMS IN PRACTICE

MODERNISM IS TEMPORARY: FARMHOUSE ROOFS, CHAIR BACKS, AND GRAVE MARKERS AS PURE SOURCES
Jeffrey Cook
Arizona State University, Tempe, U.S.A.

THE STRUGGLE OF MORTAL OVER MATTER: TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN THE CONTINUITY OF CULTURE
Clive R. Knights
Portland State University, Portland, U.S.A.

CULTURES AND SETTINGS: SUPPORTING VARIATIONS IN RESIDENTIAL DESIGN
Renee Chow
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

FIRES OF BACA VI: RESURRECTING THE SPIRIT OF TRADITIONAL HOPI ARCHITECTURE
James R. Lewis
Chicago, U.S.A.

A CHANGING TRADITION: INVENTION AND SELECTION OF TRADITION IN THE COURTYARD HOUSE OF BEIJING
Jiang Lu and Jin Feng
Indiana University, Bloomington, U.S.A.

MODERNISM IS TEMPORARY: FARMHOUSE ROOFS, CHAIR BACKS, AND GRAVE MARKERS AS PURE SOURCES
Jeffrey Cook

In Budapest the 1973 exhibition and published manifesto “ONLY FROM PURE SOURCES” raised the question of anonymity and lost identity in the built environment of communist Hungary. “How could our architectural heritage with its mass of physical material perish, while our musical heritage thrives?” the Young Studio of Pecs, who became known as the Pecs Group, asked. “Can one create a synthesis of architectural experiments based on foreign principles and assumptions which are alien to native art? Is there a filter that can separate the useful from the many alien influences?”

With few words but memorable black-and-white graphics, they used elements of traditional folk culture as paradigms to root an ancient people with a cosmic conscience in the late twentieth century. Now, a generation later, hundreds of buildings identified as part of the new Organic Architecture movement owe their conception to the ideas of that manifesto. Traditional carved chair backs inspired infinite variations of
interchangeable elements for panelized housing first seen in the 1975 Housing Blocks at Paks. “You carved your humanness in wood: order, beauty, and the principles of law; it is communal law and individual law, general and individual, many-foldedness and singularity that create harmony in your works. Can this concept perish?”

In wooden traditional grave markers they sought “ANCIENT CALLINGS: Messages, signs, wood notched carvings, wood grave markers, wood bell towers: Do they still have anything to say to us, when we are searching for a new harmony for ourselves?”

And from traditional farmhouses and their land: “COSMIC AXES in a house are tailored for man. The infinite horizontal and vertical axes of the cosmos are controlled within the sheltering concept of house where man then can blossom.”

“THE EARTH: The ground grows into buildings. The houses, the haystacks, the hills, the mountains are a uniform and organic formation of nature. MAN is one with nature. The formula of man’s house equals gradually rising up out of nature, and then returning back to be part of it.”

The paper is illustrated with graphics from the manifesto “ONLY FROM PURE SOURCES” and recent organic architecture inspired by this selective reading of folk culture. In Hungary, modernism has already been displaced.

THE STRUGGLE OF MORTAL OVER MATTER: TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN THE CONTINUITY OF CULTURE
Clive R. Knights

The moment of direct perception of objects, surfaces and natural or constructed volumes gives way to the indirect and mediatized reception, an interface that avoids day-to-day duration, as well as the calendar of everyday living. . . . (W)e are living in a system of technological temporality, in which duration and material support have been supplanted as criteria by individual retinal and auditory instants.
— Virilio

The inhabitants of Western technological culture may now be afflicted with a pathological impatience such that the friction of everyday duration — that is, the relative slowness of corporeal existence — is an annoying hindrance to the continued project of emancipation of post-Enlightenment individuals as they crane their necks into cyberspace. It is as if a tardiness afflicts history in the natural course of its unfolding which can no longer be reconciled with the “utter availability and sheer manipulability” of the “play-back” (Krell).

The implied compression of time in acts of instantaneous reception, fueled by the power and ubiquity of television experience, has perhaps engendered a crisis of expectation, between an active, participatory expectation to create culture, and a passive nonparticipatory expectation to receive culture. There are two facets at work in this compression of time: on the one hand, a collapsing of the free emanation of cultural memory into the rigid linearity of sequential fact, where tidy chronology overcomes ragged recollection; and, on the other, a collapsing of the duration of corporeal encounter, whereby the cohabitation of body and artifact in the dramatic time of ongoing situations is reduced to an instantaneous, one-dimensional, gratifying fix. Here, the personal or collective sense of continuity offered by being taken up, at one level by the unrelenting cycles of nature, and at another by the persistence of cultural traditions, is stalled as we are released into the stomach-fluttering free-fall of immediate stimulation.

The paper will investigate how our relation to tradition and the question of cultural continuity must be taken up as a challenge that demands “invention” in the sense of a metamorphosis of existing communal situations through persistent, creative acts of reaffirmation. How can we find appropriate ways to ensure a meaningful engagement with our cultural history; weave the story of human involvement into the fabric of creative works; take up the contest of mortal finitude against material resoluteness played out in the making of cultural products? For Gadamer, understanding the past cannot be divorced from the project of understanding the present, which after all is laid over the past, since we are historical beings, always already involved at the same time that we are temporally disposed towards future possibilities. We cannot shirk the responsibility of being heirs at the same time that we are innovators. To deny the former is to sever continuity; to deny the latter is to annul our contribution to its course.

The paper will discuss Ricoeur’s concept of “traditionality,” where to inhabit the present is to inhabit a dialectic of sedimentation and innovation; it is to sit astride the tension between “a past that we undergo” and “a past that we bring about”; it is to recognize that as much as our traditions unavoidably carry us along, these traditions are carried along by us. That architecture must be recovered as the primary site of such an enterprise will be the premise of this paper.

CULTURES AND SETTINGS: SUPPORTING VARIATIONS IN RESIDENTIAL DESIGN
Renee Chow

Current housing production revolves around designing for markets that identify with particular lifestyles. This practice designs housing according to a particular residential pattern as a prototype that is typically marketed as a model home. Prototypes fix housing to a cultural program. This research argues against such prototypes and seeks alternatives through an examination of the relationships between design and cultural values.
California cultures — renewed and redefined by diverse traditions — continually evolve. Current means of housing production do not support either cultural variation or cultural change. Lifestyle-based prototypes limit the ways in which people can choose to live. People select the “model” most appropriate to their current lifestyle. When lifestyles change, people “move up” from a “starter home” to a “family home” to a “retirement home.” In these transitions, the associations to place and community are weighed against the limitations of a house. Community is given up for the convenience of a more appropriate dwelling. Is this loss of community and choice the result of architecture or of its conceptualization? What are the alternatives that support the making of collective ways of living in a particular place over time which recognize the uniqueness of individuals?

In San Francisco there exists a distinct and relatively homogeneous housing stock that is home to a richly diverse set of cultures that are distributed somewhat evenly throughout the city. While the properties of the housing stock have been described as changing physically (see, for example, Anne Vernez Moudon, Built for Change: Neighborhood Architecture in San Francisco, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1986), this paper examines the housing by looking at how the habitation of the structure varies in response to culture. Three cultural groups, ethnicity-based as defined by the University of California at Berkeley, and their patterns of habitation are compared through field surveys, including photo, plan and habitation documentation. Patterns of activities and spatial interpretations of the architectural forms are analyzed, both inter- and intra-culturally, for similarities and differences in ways of inhabiting the houses.

This paper describes the systems and their attributes that contribute to supporting cultural variation and change. These attributes include the degrees of nonspecificity of function, dimensional capacity, formal multivalence, multiplicity of access, and the ranges of territorial claims and territorial sizes. The qualities of these attributes, deployed within a residential fabric, influence the range of habitation open to residents and support collective ways of living. These attributes, made as explicit design concerns, propose an alternative conceptualization for the design and production of housing.

Fires of Bacavi: Resurrecting the Spirit of Traditional Hopi Architecture
James R. Lewis

Of the 21 Native American tribes residing on Federally protected lands in Arizona today, the Hopi tribe is recognized as among the most traditional and distinct. For hundreds of years, from before the arrival of the first Europeans up to the present, the Hopi have lived in villages perched high on mesas overlooking the lands on which they have grown corn, beans and squash.

Despite the conservative nature of the Hopi lifestyle, the emphasis placed on respect for ancestral spiritual traditions, and the relatively isolated location of Hopi lands, the tribe’s cultural identity is being seriously threatened by changes from within and without the tribe. Among the greatest challenges facing the Hopi in their campaign for identity preservation are those involving the protection and continued use of revered spiritual sites, the people’s language, traditional farming practices, and the pueblo-style architecture now represented in fewer than a dozen historic villages.

Regarding the ongoing occupation and care of historic dwellings, ceremonial plazas, and buildings of spiritual significance that make up the villages, the Hopi people have in recent years initiated programs to document, stabilize and rehabilitate significant architectural examples and agricultural settings. Given the promise of perhaps contributing to the broader rejuvenation of Hopi cultural values, this paper will examine a recent effort to restore respectfully four long-neglected clan houses in the Village of Bacavi as perhaps the most ambitious architectural conservation effort undertaking by the Hopi in decades.

In addition to serving as a catalyst toward rekindling a tribal sense of identity and pride in a meaningful architectural heritage, the recently completed housing rehabilitation project at Bacavi was conceived as a teaching laboratory for the purpose of training a new generation of Hopi craftspeople. By adhering to the conventions of traditional Hopi building forms, communal spatial arrangements, and fundamental construction practices, the first phase of what is intended to be an ongoing plaza revitalization project has demonstrated that Hopi craftspeople possess both the skill and will to accomplish successful preservation work free from the interventions of Federal agencies. This is an important step to true Hopi autonomy after generations of being “managed” by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

As a proud, yet disenfranchised people, the Hopi struggle to survive between the world of their forefathers and that of today’s greater American society. By considering the meaning of Hopi architecture’s traditional role in bridging both past and present, it is hoped that the fires of Bacavi will once again burn bright in a village blessed by constant ritual and rains of plenty.
A CHANGING TRADITION: INVENTION AND SELECTION OF TRADITION IN THE COURTYARD HOUSE OF BEIJING
Jiang Lu and Jin Feng

In the last decade China has experienced drastic social and economic transformations toward modernization. The “opening door” policy has allowed foreign investment to pour into China, stimulating an unprecedented building boom all over the country. Development of private business has prospered like “bamboo shoots sprouting after a spring rain.” Western ideology and life-styles, along with the importation of Western technology and products, have become goals and ideals of life for many Chinese. In relation to such rapid, large-scale economic and ideological globalization, what has happened to traditional Chinese architecture?

To answer this question, the authors of this paper spent the summer of 1994 in the city of Beijing studying the situation of the traditional housing form, si-he-yuan (the courtyard house). This paper is a report of this field study. It is based on the theory of invention and selection of tradition, developed in recent folklore studies. According to this theory, traditions have been, and will continue to be, very important for people’s lives; therefore, they will have to change in ways that will satisfy changing and developing circumstances. The term change in relation to tradition can be explained as invention and selection. Therefore, instead of studying the ancient traditional architectural forms, this study focuses on the invention and selection of this architectural tradition in recent housing development in Beijing.

The findings of this study indicate that the traditional housing form, si-he-yuan, is, surprisingly, enjoying a growing popularity and inflation in value. It has emerged from a dormant period of several decades and has entered a period of vigorous re-creation and regeneration under the current circumstances. The new development of this traditional housing form has involved different groups of people, and therefore created a greater diversity in many aspects than ever before. Professional architects have made significant progress in renovating old neighborhoods with designs that reconstruct the old tradition and convincingly create a new sense of tradition. Real estate developers are building new luxury versions of courtyard houses for both newly rich native Chinese and overseas Chinese businessmen. And these houses have formed a new tradition by adding modern utilities such as skylights and garages, and by grafting styles selected from imperial palace architecture to the old residential tradition in order to satisfy the rich buyers. Although this type of development has disrupted the old community lives and caused gentrification, it has promoted the value of the courtyard house tradition in Beijing. Meanwhile, the old tradition of courtyard housing has been evolving in the courtyard dwellings of farmers in the suburban areas. In these houses the tradition has been regenerating itself by innovative improvements based on the dweller’s needs under changing social and economic circumstances. All these activities have contributed to the new vitality of courtyard housing in Beijing. In these new developments the value of courtyard housing has increased to all groups of people: architects, government officials, developers and local residents.

This study demonstrates that the methodology and perspective of folklore studies employed in this research aided the researchers in the discovery of the dynamic, ongoing development of the housing tradition in Beijing, which has been largely ignored by academic architectural historians in their studies of the courtyard house in Beijing. This study concludes that the value of cultural tradition will not decrease with the development of a global economy; on the contrary, the development of cultural tradition will be stimulated by social and economic growth. If we see cultural tradition as an ever-growing and ever-changing entity, and as long as people are empowered to create and recreate it, it will never die.
9. MAINTAINING TRADITION: PLANNING IN THE FACE OF EXTERNAL FACTORS

PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL URBAN AND RURAL SETTLEMENTS: THE CHALLENGE AND GOAL IN POST-WAR PLANNING IN CROATIA

Nenad Lipovac
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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BASED PLANNING FOR DISASTER-SENSITIVE TRADITIONAL DISTRICTS: THE CASE OF FLORES, INDONESIA

Gunawan Tjahjono
University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

THE "PONT" AND THE "VUE" AT PONT EN ROYENS: CHANGING TRADITIONS

Keith Loftin III and Jacqueline Victor
University of Colorado, Denver, U.S.A.

ON CONVERSION OF TRADITIONAL HOUSES INTO COMMUNITY SPACE AND LODGING ACTIVITIES IN KURIYAMA, A JAPANESE VILLAGE

Nobuo Mitsuhashi and Nobuyoshi Fujimoto
Utsunomiya University, Utsunomiya, Japan

TOURISM AS A FACTOR OF CHANGE

Perver Korça
Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey

A very important role in this preliminary research has been played by old “cadastre maps” (some of which are more than 130 years old) which help planners by revealing the previous outlook of a settlement and a site in order to restore its traditional dwellings and settlements, now of critical importance as a part of the post-war planning process.

Identification and analysis of the structural elements of a settlement consist of evaluation of the environment, the inhabited settlement, and building structures. The elements (urban and architectural) of cultural heritage that need to be examined in order to create a preservation policy for traditional and rural settlements can be determined through consideration of the following: the existing relation between natural and topographic characteristics of the site; the size of the settlement and the relationship between its historic nucleus and the rest of the built fabric; the spatial concept and historic pattern of the settlement; its structure, scale, shape and the material of its built form; the quality of culturally and historically evaluated buildings; and the continuity and preserved condition of the historical functions of the settlement.

Following this factual and scientific evaluation of traditional dwellings and their surroundings, another, more challenging task of policy-making has to be developed. The planner has to engage the residents in the process and try to teach and assure them to appreciate their environment and settlement in order to preserve it as a part of their cultural identity. Today, with the growth of industry and private economy in post-war Croatia, this is one of the biggest tasks that planners have to go through.

SOCIAL- AND CULTURAL-BASED PLANNING FOR DISASTER-SENSITIVE TRADITIONAL DISTRICTS: THE CASE OF FLORES, INDONESIA

Gunawan Tjahjono

Natural disaster causes death, injury, and damage to public and private properties. It sparks enduring trauma for survivors. In most cases, the government responds as fast as possible to mend the physical damage, to bring in social and economic order. The central government may call for a resettlement program to replace some wrecked original sites which are so risky to revive. This program may temporarily liberate the social and economic life of the victims. Yet, in the long term such efforts have not always been successful, especially when they attempt to apply typical site planning and building in communities whose traditions are strong. As a result, social disorder often appears in the new sites, and many former victims may return to their original homes, despite the fact that these places have been declared risky to repair or rebuild. In doing so, they return to the rhythm of the original economic order.

This paper attempts to examine the case of resettlement sites in Flores, where a strong earthquake and tsunami struck in December 1992. The catastrophe caused extensive damage and the deaths of thousands. It also brought social and physical change, as a government resettlement program replaced the original settlement. Some groups benefited from the change, but some rejected it. Those who could profit from the new environment were the younger generations, especially singles, children, and some housewives or widows. Those who resisted it appeared to be older generations who had mostly enjoyed higher economic and social status. This group found the new habitat a threat to their former status and wealth. Some felt unsafe in their new houses, because in the new condition they had no way to know the directions of building materials — bamboo or timber — which formed the house parts. Tradition
prohibited them from living in a house whose processes could not be detected, and whose values were doubted. Disorientation emerged, as the community could not identify a center, and thus stopped performing many rites.

Past experience where a strong sense of place prevails may condition one's view of one's habitat. In a new place one can easily feel lost, especially after a trauma, and one may feel that one has no option but to accept an uncontrollable condition. Changes created through disaster-recovery process are inevitable. Yet, such changes can be predicted to a certain extent by a careful planning process. After evaluating closely various causes that generated troubles for some of the residents of Flores, and some factors which benefited many others, this paper tries to propose a framework to improve the existing natural-calamity mitigation program, which focuses on physical easement, by adding social and cultural aspects to prevent or reduce possible social disorder after a resettlement effort.

This paper presents the results of a two-year field-research effort. The effort employed an interdisciplinary process in which an anthropologist, an (ethno)architect, a psychologist, and a human-settlement expert worked closely to discover underlying issues. The architect then formulated a model. The paper suggests that such a socially and culturally sensitive model is possible for traditional communities in calamity-sensitive zones.

THE "PONT" AND THE "VUE" AT PONT EN ROYENS: CHANGING TRADITIONS
Keith Loftin III and Jacqueline Victor

This paper discusses the identity and the radical shift in identity of a medieval bourg in southeastern France and the possible consequences for a "theory of tradition."

The small medieval bourg of Pont en Royens is found at the base of The Gorge de la Bourne in the southern French Alps. This steep and treacherous gorge connects the high plateau of the Vercors to lower valleys of Provence. The area around Pont en Royens has been settled since Neolithic times, but the specific bourg seems to have appeared in its present form in the Middle Ages.

Although the bourg has managed to retain much of its physical character and siting, it has gradually changed from a medieval entity to its current appearance, in this particular place. (The past is present to the discerning eye.) The second will trace the shift from the visceral to the visual experience of the town, illustrating significant planning repercussions, and discussing the resultant changes in the concept of "tradition" itself: from cultural narrative to consumer commodity.

The conclusions of the two sections taken together indicate possibilities for an ethnographic methodology in the study of traditional environments and culture.

ON CONVERSION OF TRADITIONAL HOUSES INTO COMMUNITY SPACE AND LODGING ACTIVITIES IN KURIYAMA, A JAPANESE VILLAGE
Nobuo Mitsuhashi and Nobuyoshi Fujimoto

Activating rural mountain villages which suffer from depopulation and aging is one of the most important and urgent issues in contemporary Japan. Making better use of natural and traditional environments as local resources should be one solution to this problem. In this paper we attempt to make clear the required conditions concerning improvement and creation of minshuku as a practical use of the built environment in Kuriyama village.

Kuriyama, having approximately 477 square kilometers of area and a population of 2,800, was once a self-sufficient mountain village with remote hot spas. However, in the 1970s many modern hotels were constructed as the result of a flourishing tourist economy. At the same time, local industries such as forestry began to decline. To make a living, many private houses were converted into lodgings known as minshuku, in which the owner and his family also lives.

Thirty out of 63 minshuku houses that are now in business in the village were randomly chosen for this investigation. Each of these had a different capacity and period of lodging. The investigation aimed to understand actual conditions of minshuku, and consisted of a building survey, a questionnaire to the owners about the living style of their families and the management of their lodgings, and a questionnaire to lodgers about their impressions and requests.

The results of the study are summarized as follows.

1) The greater part of buildings were exclusively constructed as private residential dwellings and were converted in the 1970s and 1980s. 2) Lodging space is typically separated from the space of an owner and his family by stairs (the former is situated on the second floor; the latter on the first). 3) The irori, a traditional Japanese fireplace, usually located in the center of the living room to warm people and provide charcoal heat for cooking, was revived in common dining rooms because of lodgers' requests and the convenience of meal service.

The important problems awaiting solution were shown to be as follows: 1) the reconciliation of the traditional built environment with various "modern" requests of lodgers, such as preserving privacy; 2) enabling long-term stays and even
stays at all seasons to make sure of the management; and
3) facilitating cooperative activities in each settlement as well
as the particular characteristics of each minshuku management.

In view of the above findings we attempted a community-
design approach at a settlement called Nokado, where there are
eleven minshuku houses out of sixteen households. In the set-
ment we designed a common spa house and its surroundings
with community participation, spending two years (1994-1995)
at the task. Many workshops were held to build and plan this
communal spa house. The design process produced various
activities for the residents.

Both private improvements like the conversion of individ-
ual traditional houses and cooperative creations such as a com-
mon spa house are necessary to activate a rural village.
Community participation in designing and planning must be
suggested and promoted to facilitate community activities that
will offer self-help opportunities in difficult circumstances.

TOURISM AS A FACTOR OF CHANGE
Perver Korça

The usual approaches to planning and development of
tourism have been driven by economic concerns, with little
thought to the socio-cultural and environmental impacts on
local communities. However, experiences in tourism destina-
tions have also demonstrated that the economic benefits of
tourism are followed by various positive and negative impacts
on socio-cultural and physical (natural and built) environments.

There are two phases to tourism-impact consideration: the
scientific monitoring of actual changes in the total environ-
ment, and what perceivers believe to be the case. It has been
pointed out that the scientific monitoring of tourism impacts
relies on long-term monitoring and detailed measurement of
the environment which imposes major restrictions in use
because of time, cost, and uncertainties of measurement
methodology. On the other hand, the monitoring of public
opinion on the various effects of tourism is an important
means of incorporating community reaction into planning for
tourism development. Besides, it provides valuable informa-
tion for measurement of the concept of carrying capacity,
which has received wide attention in tourism planning and
development. In general, evaluation of community carrying
capacity is seen as a means of determining the stability of a
tourism site to accommodate people, local residents, and
tourists. There is increasing evidence that the appropriate level
for analyzing tourism impacts is the community, since the
greatest impacts of the industry are felt within this host system.

This paper gives a partial report of research conducted in
Antalya, Turkey, the aim of which was to investigate residents'
perceptions of the economic, social and environmental impacts
of tourism. This study was successful in locating those aspects
CARIBBEAN CITIES ON DOMAIN: DISMANTLING THE HIDDEN TRANSACTION
Angel Francisco Cocero-Cordero
University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, U.S.A.

CULTURAL POLITICS AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION: THE CASE OF OLD SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
Tomás A. López-Pumarejo
City University of New York, Flushing, U.S.A.

FORMS OF DOMINANCE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTEMPORARY ALEPPO
Fred H. Lawson
Mills College, Oakland, U.S.A.

FROM MYTHS TO BIG MACS: HEGEMONY AND THE ESTONIAN ETHNIC IDENTITY
John Herbert Teetsov
Alameda, U.S.A.

VIOLATION OF SYMBOLS: THE “HOUSE OF THE REPUBLIC”
Anca C. Lipan
University of Illinois, Chicago, U.S.A.

10. FORMS OF DOMINANCE:
POWER OF/IN PLACE

CARIBBEAN CITIES ON DOMAIN: DISMANTLING THE HIDDEN TRANSACTION
Angel Francisco Cocero-Cordero
University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, U.S.A.

In the Caribbean, more than five hundred years of persistent imposition of urban developments have brought many cities to introspect on their history. Most of these conditions were raised by the false interpretation and literal acquisitions of external urban theories. In the Caribbean, the layering of cultures and the subsequent transformation or obliteration of previous ones can be traced from early colonization to the present day. In the earliest colonial efforts, one way to claim control of land, following the Iberian tradition of municipal authority, was by founding as many cities as possible and by erasing any previous establishments. That same transformation and superimposition still happens today with the individualistic interest of the capitalist and the international interest of imperialism from other countries. Land exploitation has resulted from developers misunderstanding or snatch concepts of modernity, which are now used for individualistic interests instead of for the needs of the people and the city.

This thesis proposes a conceptual systematizing of urbanism within a particular culture as a method to surpass the idea of external forces as strong influential parameters. The main Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands — Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico — will act as case studies on installment of the islands particular historical tradition of recurrent establishment of domination. The three divergent cases, when isolated, dismantled, transformed and extracted from within, will serve for the later intensification of the urban cultural identity. The character of the Caribbean has been historically assembled through a series of imposed attachments. The additive resultant is the fragmented memory of an interrupted culture. The attached fragments have relied on the imagery of their represented domain. The imposition of these external images has controlled the social recognition in which people find their identification, thus enforcing an alien cultural identity.

This thesis will survey urban moments of time and space in which an external authoritarian domain has been imposed since European colonialism. The level of external imposition has been overloading and unavoidable. The adaptation for many of these external fragments to the city realm have been disregarded. The side effects of this fragmentation have been the cultural shell shock of these interventions. Time has been the only remedy for some of these fragments to be assimilated and as a consequence appropriated. The long experience in digesting colonialism and the present struggle in digesting imperialism and sovietization should be enough to evolve from; thus, growing from within rather than adding upon. This long cultural transformation by external imposition exposes the drawback of the urban pattern which composes the image of the present cities.

CULTURAL POLITICS AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION: THE CASE OF OLD SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
Tomás A. López-Pumarejo

The purpose of this paper is to explore how cultural politics — rather than corporate interests — can organize the restoration and development of historic zones. From the perspective of “new cultural geography” theory (as represented by the work of David Harvey, Megan Morris, and Doreen Morsey), I will look at how old architecture gains an iconic role in the construction of new social subjects, while it preserves traditional accounts of national patrimony that vaguely represent the social fabric of a country.

A $40 million restoration and development project inspired by the 500th anniversary of the “discovery” of America celebrates an urban site that — along with Quebec City — is one of the two best-preserved colonial cities of the New World: Old San Juan, Puerto Rico. Such a project coincided not only with the anniversary’s events, but also with those that turned around the Central American and Caribbean Olympic Games (a pilot project to attract the 2001 Olympic Games to the
wealth of Puerto Rico and the power in March 1963 took steps to eradicate the government's same buildings that had served as administrative centers during the Mandate period. During the years of the French Mandate (1920-1946), the overtly nationalist regime that seized control of the island's political subordination, the second refers to its distinct culture. But it defines such culture through architectural icons that conceal its African and aboriginal roots. The economic determinism that seems to characterize most studies on the built environment gains even more strength in this age where corporations rule the world, an age when transnational investment and information capital builds the sad future of a planet run by an indolent, nationless elite. However, the case of San Juan demonstrates that cultural politics may often determine how corporations affect traditional environments, rather than the other way around.

FORMS OF DOMINANCE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTEMPORARY ALEPPO
Fred H. Lawson

Changes in the built environment of Aleppo signal important shifts in dominance in Syrian society over the last half century. During the years of the French Mandate (1920-1946), commercial and administrative structures in the city reproduced forms common throughout Mediterranean Europe. The national bourgeoisie that emerged following the withdrawal of the French in April 1946 expressed their rejection of imperial dominance by constructing a new generation of shops located in new parts of town. Government officials, by contrast, tended to occupy the same buildings that had served as administrative centers during the Mandate period. The overtly nationalist regime that seized power in March 1963 took steps to eradicate the government's connections to the Mandate era by designing a new set of administrative centers and constructing a collection of monuments to commemorate heroes of the struggle against French rule. Such buildings are currently being overshadowed from two different directions: by commercial and administrative structures that reflect the rapid rise of a class of nouveaux riches entrepreneurs, and by the resurgence of economic activity in districts associated with the pre-1963 bourgeoisie. Aleppo, therefore, illustrates a marked bimodal pattern of urban expansion, with a proliferation of suburbs accompanying a revitalization of the historic Old City.

FROM MYTHS TO BIG MACS: HEGEMONY AND THE ESTONIAN ETHNIC IDENTITY
John Herbert Teetsov

Estonian ethnic identity has emerged from a small population differentiated predominantly by its language and literary tradition. However, because of its position on strategic trade routes and the fault line between western and eastern European political power, hegemony has shaped Estonian eclectic ethnic identity in built forms. One finds a diverse inventory of notable borrowed built forms in Estonia that are attributable to broader economic and political change and, in turn, ethnic remaking. This paper outlines the enigmatic Estonian built tradition that is inclusive of Scandinavian, Germanic and Russian traditions. It is from these traditions that an ethnic identity emerges distinct from the identity of those traditions representing those people who sought to influence and dominate the region. Specifically, the transience of living in the "cross-roads" has engendered an identity in dwellings and settlements that can be read as architectural symbol and text. These "readings" yield rich insights into issues of positionality, change, discontinuity, multiplicity, invention and acquisition of values. In that sense, this exploration poses "literary" questions. What is Estonian ethnic identity built form, almost? What is it not? These questions eventually lead to what it might be.

VIOLATION OF SYMBOLS: THE "HOUSE OF THE REPUBLIC"
Anca C. Lipan

My paper explores the replacement of a historical part of the center of Bucharest by the House of the Republic and its additional buildings. In the full text the intention, the result, and the possible rectification of the loss will be discussed. The gargantuan artifact inherited from the collapsed dictatorship, the House of the Republic, has become obsolete. It was
projected to house communist festivities. The participants were to march along the huge “Victory of Socialism” boulevard that was to split Bucharest in half. Their destination, an out-of-scale display of banal architecture, eventually resembling Albert Speer’s execrable architecture, was an ensemble of government buildings and apartment blocks for the top communist leadership. The construction was from the very beginning directly supervised by Nicolae Ceausescu, then president of Romania. It was built on a historical site some hundred years old, after the sudden demolition of all the buildings there.

The area is mentioned in chronicles of the eighth century as a place of springs and hills, a picturesque landscape chosen by many to build their homes and churches. The neighborhood which developed was wealthy, many of its settlers being traders and craftsmen. The architecture was characteristic of the cities in southern Romania but had special regional touches: Balkan influences were combined with Classical, French and “neo-Romanian.” The vegetation was surprising for an area situated in the heart of the city: the majority of houses had large gardens with flowers, trees and vegetables. The area was most famous for its churches, each one a page of living history, starting with the sixteenth century. Most of them replaced, when built, preexisting wood churches.

In its attempt to legitimate itself, the communist regime threatened, and thereafter suppressed, the profound values of Romanian identity: history and religion. It was not enough to demolish churches all over Bucharest or to hide them behind huge apartment blocks (eventually an accepted typology throughout the country); it was necessary to build the greatest possible palace, second largest in the world, on this historical place that intertwined sacred and profane.

Twelve churches and ensembles were destroyed by being demolished, moved or changed. Ceausescu indicated on site what was to go and what to remain. There was no initial planning: the odds often depended on his mood.

Bucharest has been crippled by the communist thirst for power. The loss cannot be resolved now, although there are plans to rebuild the Vacaresti Monastery, the greatest monastic ensemble of Romania. There are also architecture competitions; one recently addressed specifically what is to be done with the House of the Republic. The problem remains unsolved. Some critics praise its finality; some consider its criticism as being disrespectful to the increasing hunger and cold endured by people during its construction. In spite of all these, the House of the Republic remains a communist symbol and an example of the symbolic use of architecture. The proposals for its use in this post-communist period, and their ultimate resolution, serve as a valuable lens on trends today.

11. MODERN PRACTICES: INTERPRETATIONS OF TRADITION

THE SEARCH FOR MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN CHILE: LEARNING FROM CREATIVE ISOLATION
René Davids
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

ARCHITECTURE AND AMBIENT SYNECRESTISM
Bruno Stagno
Institute for Tropical Architecture, San Jose, Costa Rica

CRAFT IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF TEAM ZOO
Mira A. Locher
Team Zoo, Japan

CAIREE NEO-PHARAOIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A RECURRENT EXTERNAL WESTERN INFLUENCE
Aly H. Gabr
Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt

Isolation, a colonial past, a weak indigenous building tradition compared to that of Mexico or Peru, and an ambition to be part of the developed world have made Chile's architecture particularly susceptible to foreign influence.

Although initially based on Spanish precedents, Chilean architecture came under French influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and as the century progressed, buildings came to reflect other European trends as well, including Art Nouveau, the Gothic Revival, eclecticism, and from the 1930s onward, modernism.

To the chagrin of its intellectuals and as a consequence of its perennial intellectual dependency, Chile's architecture has often been described as uninspired, uncreative or unremarkable, not equal in quality to its source of inspiration.

Although initially based on Spanish precedents, Chilean architecture came under French influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and as the century progressed, buildings came to reflect other European trends as well, including Art Nouveau, the Gothic Revival, eclecticism, and from the 1930s onward, modernism.

The increasing interdependence of national economies and access to information from all over the world through cyberspace, global television networks, faxes, and cheaper travel have multiplied the cultural influence to which the country has been subjected. But to regard Chilean architecture as exclusively a series of imitations or variations on European, American, and (lately) Japanese themes is misleading.

Near copies of foreign architectural models do exist, and
copying may well be a necessary step, not unlike children’s
learning processes, in the search for creative expression.
However, I would like to suggest that often when architects
from one country appear to be designing in the manner and
style of another they may be engaged in a creative reinterpretation
of their own culture.

This condition of being apart from the major forces of the
world but strongly influenced by them makes Chile an inter­
esting case study. The disappearing distinctions between the
First, Second and Third World and the universal dissemina­
tion of words and images is making architecture everywhere less
unique, more homogeneous, more unremarkable. It is precisely
this “unremarkable” condition, I propose to analyze.

ARCHITECTURE AND AMBIENT SYNCRETISM
Bruno Stagna

In past decades, the universal values of Modern
Architecture prevailed over regional and local environments to
such an extent that what did not belong to these universal
values was pejoratively catalogued as “provincialism” or “folk­
lorism.” Later, upon turning away from the orthodoxy of
modernity, society turned upon itself to what is proper and
interior. This change in attitude matured rapidly and became
evident not only in architecture but in all cultural manifesta­
tions. Thus was born a stance that seeks a balanced dialogue
between rationalism and subjectivism and pursues a more
poetic modern lifestyle, one that recaptures modernity while
downgrading its excessive functionalism and overcoming its
disenchantment. This inward-looking attitude, with all its
implied subjective weight, paradoxically entails an opening
to the outside if it is seen as an attempt toward rational
internationalism.

The rescue of local values is a valid expression of cultural
know-how that is ever more necessary and appropriate for the
strengthening of identity. The theme of identity has haunted
me for the last twenty years. In 1973 we moved from Chile to
Costa Rica, generating an identity crisis that had profound
consequences in our architectural practice. We arrived in a
country of peace that boasts a tropical climate with mild tem­
peratures and an eight-month rainy season. We moved from a
country with four seasons to a tropical country in which
the first school of architecture was founded as recently as 1970.

Faced with a new reality, it was necessary to abandon an archi­
tectural practice based on basic volumes, flat roofs, and pure
Mediterranean forms, and search for a new expression more in
touch with the new latitudes. To arrive at a new architectural
expression, however, it was vital to overcome a crisis of identity
by adapting theory to reality.

One of my first decisions was to visit every site that
seemed relevant or important to an architect. But, upon
observing and discovering the country, I realized that the real
patrimony of Costa Rica is its dense vegetation and its awes­
some views — not in vain has Costa Rica protected over 25
percent of its national territory. I discovered several attributes
proper to these natural views, including the feeling of interiori­
ty, the incessantly changing tropical light that is diaphanous
after the rains while dark and mysterious before the storms, the
lush diversity and tonality of the evergreen vegetation, the sky
as an infinite backdrop, and the “enmountainment” considered
by Constantino Láscares to be a behavioral attribute of the
population. From these elements arose our architecture, which
is modest and executed at a small scale and in creative solitude
but nevertheless awards us enormous joy.

Upon examining recurrent elements that represented a
“tradition” by the mere fact that they reappeared in all local
architectural styles, we discovered an original formal concept:
perforated space vs. hermetic space. It is precisely through this
perforated space that light and breeze are filtered. It responds
and expresses a climatic condition and a conceptualization of
architecture that is of much interest. The blue sky with low­
flying clouds that modify the light projected into the interior,
the relationship with nature, and the need for shade and breeze
are only some of the attributes of this perforated architecture.

From it we developed a dematerialized facade (fachada des­
materializada), reproduced in many of our projects, which
expresses the absence of hermetism and the individualization
of its different constitutive elements: structure, walls, windows,
roofs, and eaves.

We believe this architecture of “ambient syncretism,” a
name we arrived at in conjunction with Roberto Segre, ade­
quately expresses and summarizes our trajectory in Costa Rica
(see “Retrospectiva del Sincretismo en la Arquitectura
Latinoamericana,” Paper Colegio de Arquitectos de Costa Rica,
Marzo de 1991). This concept implies the cultural and histori­
cal synthesis of an architecture that is nourished by different
identities, and which pretends, within the narrow margins
allowed by its subtle limits, to create an expression that con­
tains and rescues traditional and local elements while remain­
ning modern upon incorporating universality and
contemporaneity. Within this subtle dialectic stance, we
believe we can evolve and design with a conceptual synthesis
between universalism and regionalism which expressly man­
ifests a continuity of attitude from the beginning to the end
of the project. In this way, we can respond to the traditional
challenges posed by atemporal environmental conditions by
incorporating modernity in a conscious manner, and only
when it enriches.
CRAFT IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF TEAM ZOO

Mira A. Locher

The beauty of traditional Japanese architecture is typically described as being in its clarity: simple lines and flexible spaces. While true, this description overlooks the variety of textures, colors, and forms which give life and scale to the buildings. Vernacular Japanese architecture evolved in response to specific climatic and environmental conditions, as well as the lifestyle of the user. Naturally, different architectural forms developed in different regions, always using locally available building materials and construction methods. Roofs may be thatched, tiled, or covered with wood shingles weighted down with rocks. Walls may be heavy and solid, paneled with wood, or plastered with a rough mixture of mud, sand, and straw or a smooth stucco, or they may be light translucent sliding paper screens. Floors may be simply exposed earth — salt pounded into the soil until it hardens, or they may be lifted off the ground and covered with tatami, wooden boards, or rows of thin bamboo. Even the most basic structures show the skill of the carpenter who designed and built them, the beauty coming from the details of the construction and the character of the materials.

Contemporary Japanese architecture — especially as it is depicted in publications intended for international audiences — has strayed far from the traditional forms, materials and construction methods. Many recent works reflect the idea of an architect-designed building as a sculptural element placed on a site: an autonomous, scaleless object in the landscape. With this trend has come a concern for new materials and technology, emphasizing the idea that the contemporary Japanese architecture community is primarily focused on high-tech, highly stylized buildings of concrete, metal and glass.

In contrast to much of the internationally publicized Japanese architecture of recent years, the work of Team Zoo, a group of loosely affiliated offices located throughout Japan, provides a new interpretation of traditional Japanese architecture, building materials, and construction methods. Team Zoo’s buildings are notable for their connection to the site, for their treatment of function and form as inseparable, and for the use of readily available local building materials — all of which qualities are learned from in-depth study of vernacular architecture. However, even though it takes its clues from traditional buildings, the architecture of Team Zoo can hardly be called “traditional.” Instead, the familiar is exaggerated — common building materials are used in unusual ways, traditional spaces are recreated for the contemporary Japanese lifestyle, and old construction methods are pushed to new limits.

Through their work with craftspeople who are skilled in traditional construction techniques (most notably plasterwork and carpentry), the members of Team Zoo have discovered an architectural language that allows them to create buildings that are to a certain extent texturally, formally and spatially familiar, but which are also undeniably contemporary. Team Zoo’s works are richly textured and reveal the skill of the human hand. For example, in Atelier Mobile’s Minegishi Trophy House, a traditional timber structure supports a heavy tile roof over meter-thick rammed-earth walls; and the multilevel living space in Atelier Zo’s Nakata House features a traditional Japanese hearth in an unusual shape and stairs which double as seating.

By including craftspeople in the design process and working closely with them to develop new materials and new uses for old materials, Team Zoo has been able to incorporate the traditional sense and feeling of craft into their buildings, and in so doing, create an architecture that is playful, warm, human-scaled, and in harmony with both the lifestyle of the user and the building’s surroundings.

CAIREE NEO-PHARAONIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A RECURRENT EXTERNAL WESTERN INFLUENCE

Aly H. Gabr

Throughout history, Egypt’s ancient ruins have sparked architectural imitation and innovation. While Western fascination with Pharaonic Egypt has a long and well-documented history, the influence of Pharaonic architecture on later cultures within Egypt itself has received little attention. This paper attempts to fill in a small portion of this gap by focusing on Neo-Pharaonic Architecture in Cairo in the twentieth century.

Cairo has been a close witness to the twentieth-century transformation of Egypt from a colony to a modernizing independent nation. Despite the varied agendas driving styles in Cairo, the remarkable fact is that only a handful of buildings show any sign of Neo-Pharaonic influence. Much of this influence appears to have as much to do with Western architectural ideas as it does with Ancient Egypt.

European interest in Pharaonic architecture was restored at the time of the Napoleonic Expedition (1798 AD). Conversely, elites in Cairo at the time became fascinated by “modern” Western ways. In the early nineteenth century, a modern European-styled Cairo was planned to grow alongside the traditional one, and European architecture was imported to complete the image. Among Egyptians themselves, elites looked to the West for inspiration while the bulk of society was still firmly embedded in a Muslim tradition that avoided referencing pagan ancient Egypt. Thus, there was little avenue for Pharaonic Revivalism to occur in Egypt in the colonial period.

The few Cairene buildings with Neo-Pharaonic influences do not naturally fall into groups. To understand why the Neo-Pharaonic style was so short lived, categorization has been applied against a backdrop of relevant social, and historical events. These groups of buildings have been found to be as follows: the Colonial, the Nationalist, and the Abstract Sympathetic.
The few buildings of the Colonial category exhibiting any Neo-Pharaonic origins have been found to keep it primarily to ornamentation: that is, the massing, rhythms and organization are European, while Egyptianizing features are included to enliven the facade. The only significant exception occurred during the growth of Egyptian Nationalism (1920-50s). During this period, amid construction of many styles, a few tentative forays into the Neo-Pharaonic were made by Egyptians. The importance of the buildings within this category should not be overstated because they hardly represent a wave of popular sentiment. It appears that it was only the Westernized, elite nationalist leaders who showed interest in the Neo-Pharaonic.

Since the 1950s and the rise of internationalist architecture, Egyptianizing forms have made occasional if not subtle appearances in Egypt. In general, this category of buildings acquire an abstract sympathy to Pharaonic architecture that does not usually emanate from conscious intent; rather, its sources originate from design trends and approaches to massing.

The scarcity of Neo-Pharaonic buildings analyzed in this paper show that the style was unpopular; ironically, the Neo-Pharaonic became a difficult “external foreign” style for Egypt. From close observation, the Neo-Pharaonic can be considered as a style derived and developed in Europe, based on Ancient Egyptian art and architecture. Thus, it has remained far removed from the Egyptian society.

12. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

CHANGE, THREAT AND OPPORTUNITY: COURTYARD BUILDINGS IN COLIMA, MEXICO
John S. Reynolds
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THE NATURAL SETTING AND THE SOCIAL SETTING: INFLUENCES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL MORPHOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL COASTAL COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA
Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto and Frank Edward Brown
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RETHINKING ENVIRONMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE TROPICS: A CASE OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA
Mas Santosa
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THE CLIMATE AND THE SOCIAL CLIMATE OF A DESIGN STEREOTYPE: THE COURTYARD PARADIGM
R. Hanna and P. Simpson
Mackintosh School of Architecture, Glasgow, U.K.

TRADITION AND ADAPTATION
Dieter Ackerknecht and Geoffrey Kenworthy
Zurich, Switzerland

CHANGE, THREAT AND OPPORTUNITY: COURTYARD BUILDINGS IN COLIMA, MEXICO
John S. Reynolds

The courtyards (patios) in Hispanic colonial buildings are a richly varied set of examples of Vitruvius’ architectural triad: “firmness, commodity and delight.” This paper looks at the technical, social and aesthetic roles of some patios within their buildings in Colima, Mexico, and how they have changed as this central-western Mexican city experiences a flight from the central city to its suburbs. The paper (research for which received major sponsorship from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts) compares selected patios in an initial documentation in December-January 1981-82 to subsequent documentations in January and June 1996.

The change over fifteen years in thirty observed patios falls into the following categories (with numbers of patios): demolished (2); completely covered over (2); partially covered (3); open but stripped of major vegetation (6); neglected (5); sustained (10); and improved (2). All these patios are within a
few blocks of the main plaza. They include official, commercial, institutional and residential occupancies. They are one or two stories in height. They serve a wide range of socioeconomic groups. One patio in each category will be discussed in this paper.

"Demolished" was a one-story rooming house for street cart vendors, with an enormous tamarind tree in the patio center. It is now a parking lot for an upper-class hotel. "Covered" was a one-story home of a wealthy family, whose patio was crowded with plants. It is now a bank, whose lobby is the former patio, with skylights. "Partially covered" was a restaurant with a large tree shading the patio. It is now an office with widened arcades; the tree is gone. "Open but stripped," on the main plaza, was a two-story higher-class hotel. The patio was framed in bougainvillea, with a graceful central fountain. Now devoid of these furnishings, it is a museum and gallery owned by the University of Colima. "Neglected" is a two-story office building, now empty and for rent or sale. "Sustained" is the one-story Colima City Hall. Extensive thermal comfort data from 1996 permits a detailed comparison with "improved," formerly a two-story, lower-class hotel, and now the Colima City Hall Annex.

These last two examples, facing across a busy narrow street, were monitored simultaneously for four days in two seasons. This yielded insights into wide/shallow versus narrow/deep patio thermal performance, as well as the advantages of various orientations for the arcades. The temperature and relative humidity data will demonstrate to what extent these patios, arcades, and some surrounding rooms maintained comfortable conditions in the mildly hot-dry western Mexican winter, and the hotter and humid early summer.

THE NATURAL SETTING AND THE SOCIAL SETTING:
INFLUENCES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL MORPHOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL COASTAL COMMUNITIES IN INDONESIA
Endang Titi Sunarti Darjosanjoto and Frank Edward Brown

This paper, which represents part of ongoing Ph.D. research in the School of Architecture at the University of Manchester, U.K., examines the pattern of building layout in traditional coastal settlements in Indonesia. A number of rules are identified, which are seen to be critical in shaping the morphology of settlements in the area of Surabaya, and possibly elsewhere on the island of Java.

As Dutch ethnographers and other scholars have shown, most houses throughout the Indonesian archipelago are traditional in form, and follow principles that have been handed down over the generations. There is little specialization or differentiation among building types. In form and layout, they follow precedents which are collectively understood and sanctioned, and which have gradually evolved to satisfy most of the social, cultural and physical requirements of the people. In essence, then, these settlements are marked by a lack of change: they are basically "uniform, nonchronological, and anonymous" (Iwan Sudradjat, 1991).

The author's research has shown that the exact layout of buildings may vary from settlement to settlement in response to the physical topography of the site. However, certain principles remain unchanged. One of these may be termed the location principle; the other is the orientation principle. Most houses are located along the perimeter of the block, normally with their short sides facing the street. They may have their own private space at the back, but many are built back-to-back and are therefore without any private open space away from the street edge. The arrangement of houses reinforces the established hierarchy of streets. In some cases houses may also be arranged around a common open space.

Within any settlement, however, the roof of the house will normally be oriented in a specific direction. This applies irrespective of the particular geometry of the house. The various features — building dimensions, distance between houses, the orientation of the roof, the orientation of the principal facade, and the continuity of open space at the rear — are tied up with social and cultural expectations. The houses that compose a coastal settlement provide a setting of everyday social activity — for family life and relations with other members of the community — and offer an extended cosmological setting. The main problem is to disentangle the various influences on building arrangement.

To explain settlement form, this paper argues that both the natural and the social setting have to be considered. The implications of nature and society are considered for the organization of space within the house, the relationship to the street and to open space, and the way buildings are aggregated to form the settlement as a whole.

RETHINKING ENVIRONMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE ARCHITECTURE IN THE TROPICS: A CASE OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA
Mas Santosa

Indonesia is not only a prosperous country economically, but it also has a rich architectural heritage. One of its most intriguing aspects in this regard is its traditional architecture, which is varied in form due to cultural influences, but which shares a common purpose as a climate modifier.

This paper is a result of a focused architectural research by the author, intended to establish a view of traditional architecture toward an intelligent building. Eight traditional architectures from different parts of Indonesia were selected as the case study. The selection was mainly based on consideration of the uniqueness of local impacts, including the social, cultural and geographical conditions underlying the
architectural forms.

Traditional builders introduced the concept of intelligent building in their approach to design. The stages of design and building of traditional structures showed the intricacy and concern for comfort of the owner. The intelligence of the traditional building in response to the inclement climate was evidenced in the physical built-up form of the architecture itself. The Indonesian multicultural interaction has not produced a single architectural style. While a common cultural base can be identified, strong regional, cultural and architectural forms and characters persist.

It is agreed that most of the traditional architecture reveals a very high level of performance, even when judged in the light of modern technology. It reflects a precise and detailed knowledge of local climate and a remarkable understanding of the performance characteristics of locally available building materials.

The main part of the paper will address the unique tropical climate of Indonesia and the philosophy of using the natural environment as a tool for cooling the buildings, including the layout and form of buildings. The paper also looks at the ways traditional designers used their intelligence to formulate buildings that responded to the environment and the needs of the users, including their cultural and social needs.

The discussion of the socio-cultural aspects of building will include consideration of the norms governing the selection of building sites. People agreed that they should observe certain beliefs and constraints in planning and selecting sites for their buildings. Some of these were practical, while others were abstract and symbolic.

In terms of architectural form, the paper includes a description of selected case studies. Included in the description are factors of building orientation, arrangement and form; materials used; and construction details. Architectural and construction details are presented as highly competent solutions to structural, climatic and constructional problems dealing with locally available materials.

In terms of the climatic response, a comparative analysis of construction techniques and their role in society precedes a qualitative assessment of the thermal habitability of each building type. Architectural form as a response to the natural environment is discussed, and conclusions are drawn which identify the traditional architectures of Indonesia as intelligent to some extent. It is not claimed that all traditional architectures in Indonesia are intelligent.

In the current preoccupation with regionalism, the use of local and traditional forms, materials, and construction techniques are often widely accepted as a means of creating an intelligent architecture of a region. But traditional considerations of building siting and the selection of building forms are here shown to result from nonclimatic concerns. This runs parallel with findings that the variety of orientations in traditional architectures are a result of cultural considerations.

It is found that in the tropics different building orientations cause the same problem of overheating inside buildings when the buildings are fully shaded, while consideration of roof form and construction type are more important to the overheating problem. To support these findings historical evidence is presented to show how socio-cultural aspects are linked with each other and how traditional architecture contributes to the environment.

Graphic materials presented as part of the paper are drawn from the author's extensive collection or slides covering traditional buildings and climate.

THE CLIMATE AND THE SOCIAL CLIMATE OF A DESIGN STEREOTYPE: THE COURTYARD PARADIGM
R. Hanna and P. Simpson

The traditional courtyard house is one of the most attractive features of domestic architecture in North Africa and the Middle East. This widely accepted house form owes its long existence and survival to its effectiveness in dealing with the harshness of hot-dry climates, as well as its appropriateness to the socio-cultural needs of societies within which it is found.

Examination of literature on traditional forms of settlement has revealed that many research scholars maintain that many of the new urban patterns for arid zones do not address the challenge of the harsh climate; nor do they fulfill the social needs of occupants.

This paper first describes a framework within which problems related to climatic and social design of urban forms in hot-dry zones can be addressed. Second, it presents the findings of a detailed empirical investigation, carried out by the author, on the thermal and social performance of both courtyard and modern (noncourtyard) houses in the Middle East during the very hot months of July and August. Using computerized data-loggers and monitoring stations, both house types were assessed at two levels: the settlement level and the house level. Several environmental variables were recorded at short time intervals. Social variables were also measured using condescriptive surveys and statistics. Crosstabulations and correlations between the variables were computed by SPSSx (Statistical Package for Social Sciences, version X) to determine the significance of relationships.

TRADITION AND ADAPTATION
Dieter Ackerknecht and Geoffrey Kenworthy

To cite René Descartes, the French philosopher, traditions have both advantages and disadvantages, and while there may
be no need for change, traditions must be revised if their principles become unrecognizable or meaningless. The same remarks can be made about traditional architecture: tradition may become just a kind of formalism or style. This may lead to inadequate forms being based on roots that are no longer valid. Many requirements for buildings might be considered such as climate response for all seasons, bodily comfort, building skills, maintenance, durability, usefulness of design, protection and safety, hazard resistance, etc.

Traditional, vernacular or regional architectures develop from a place and its inhabitants: the “genius loci,” climate, geomorphologic situation, available materials, hazards, human needs for comfort and protection, skills and social-cultural values, ethnic context, and economic system. Traditional architectures have different roots and have been continuously influenced by very different factors. Thus, building methods have shifted from place to place through trade, tools, skills, migration of people, conquests, and fashions. This has meant that traditional architecture has changed and developed through history in most places, following the dominant design factors.

No perfect solution exists for all requirements or needs and desires. We need new solutions to old problems and old solutions for new problems.

As an example of change of tradition because of hazard, one could mention the alpine Swiss “Engadine” house. Situated in a rather dense village pattern, fire disasters led centuries ago to a new building tradition, as stone walls were added to the outside of the houses, which had originally been built entirely of wood.

Similarly, the adobe or unburned clay buildings of many regions are not resistant to mechanical stress, driving rain, or rising moisture. They have often been abandoned because of safety reasons (earthquakes, etc.), because of their interiors are dark and often unhealthy, and because of high maintenance requirements. Buildings may also fail to provide an adequate indoor climate for bodily comfort during all seasons, as for example some traditional houses demonstrate with regard to the hot-wet monsoon.

The traditional windcatcher for ventilation and cooling of dwellings in the Middle East can only provide limited relief for residents during the hot seasons. On the other hand, active and passive heating of a building is easier than cooling. Nevertheless, for ecological reasons, burning of firewood should be reduced in many regions, and traditional constructions should be adapted for efficient heating and thermal insulation.

These are only some of the questions which arise as a result of proposing traditional design, for instance, as a model for climate-responsive architecture in general and the need to provide guidelines for a more pragmatic approach to the adaptation of traditional indigenous architectural forms.

13. FLUID TRADITIONS: THE IMMIGRATION OF PEOPLES AND CULTURES

CULTURAL TRACES IN BARBADIAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE: WHERE HAVE THEY COME FROM AND WHERE MIGHT THEY GO?
Laura A. McClean
Technical University of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Canada

THE DURABILITY OF NUBIAN TRADITION
James Steele
University of Southern California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

MIGRATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: PATHAN MOHALLAS IN BHOPAL, INDIA
Manu P. Sobti
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, U.S.A.

REBUILD EDEN: OVERSEAS CHINESE SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH FUJIAN, CHINA
Mei Qing
Xiamen University, Xiamen, China

IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY: MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE OF NEW ENGLAND
Khalil K. Pirani
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, U.S.A.

The paper proposes that the examination of unselfconscious practices such as vernacular architecture, music and cooking can begin to unravel the complexities of our composite cultural mixes. It examines the history of Barbados and the development of its culture for clues to understanding how these practices have evolved and how architecture might evolve in a similar manner. It explores how the Barbadian Chattel House displays its cultural history and raises the question of appropriateness. The paper concludes that it is not what is brought but the spirit in which it is brought and its consequent manifestation that determines its appropriateness.

The transfer and adaptation of different cultures has been occurring since the beginning of time and continues to occur today. Once people migrate and settle in a different environment, cultural contact occurs and the process of cultural evolu-
These reflections can be found in the traditional dwellings of Barbados. A closer examination, then, might allow architects to choreograph a meeting point of different cultures which preserves the essential qualities in each while going beyond them to create a symbiotic architecture which not only draws from its diverse cultural components but also nurtures them. To this end, local recipes, music and vernacular architecture are examined, noting the circumstances of their arrival and their subsequent appropriation. These circumstances may be the key to creating new traditions and enriching architectural expression. These investigations, then, begin to cultivate a cultural sensitivity that might help architects to reinforce an evolving cultural identity without threatening its very existence.

THE DURABILITY OF NUBIAN TRADITION

James Steele

The five main segments of Nubian society have distinguishing traits, as subgroups, but they also share common cultural elements. Taken together, these groups represent a classic example of a traditional society displaced by technological and developmental progress, primarily because of the construction of the Aswan High Dam in 1966. Globalization has affected Cairo as equally as it has the other mega-cities of the world, and Nubians have also been subjected to this inexorable process as they migrate to Cairo for economic survival. In spite of these twin forces of displacement and cultural fragmentation, the Nubian diaspora has stubbornly clung to strong traditions, determined to keep them intact. The villages to which half of the 200,000 people displaced by the dam were relocated, near Aswan, have been significantly altered, reflecting their close association with certain architectural configurations. There has also been a concerted movement to return to the high ground around Lake Nasser, the traditional homeland, by both halves of the population.

This paper will examine how Nubians have maintained their identity in the face of overwhelming change, how their traditions have allowed them to retain a sense of self in the face of the pressure of globalization.

MIGRATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: PATHAN MOHALLAS IN BHOPAL, INDIA

Manu P. Sobti

We live in a world of shrinking dimensions. The creation of an international/global culture has caused travel and movement between distant regions to become relatively simple. Foreign tourists and immigrants find unfamiliar environments abroad increasingly hospitable and easy to adapt to. The “Chinatowns” or ghettos within the city have finally begun to assimilate into the larger urban environment. The movement of substantial populations from one area to another has caused cities to become increasingly “international” in their spirit, population and appearance. Changes such as these have dramatically altered our understanding of “place” and “place-ness” in the built environment in a number of ways. This paper therefore sets off by asking three important questions. How do migrating populations re-establish identity in new physical settings? Why do culture-specific communes or neighborhoods develop in urban environments? And can culture actually “move” from one place to another with migrating populations?

A cursory review of history reveals that similar situations also occurred in the past, although with slightly different causative factors. The three great empires in the medieval Islamic world (1400-1800 AD) were the Ottomans, the Safavids, and the Mughals — actually created in some sense distinct geographical domains wherein comparable levels of travel and cultural assimilation existed. Urban centers such as Isfahan, Shahjanabad and Agra displayed an increasingly cosmopolitan and multicultural character, tolerating the growing influx of migrants from distant lands. Mass migrations of entire sub-communities, clans, and ethnic groups to urban areas, especially imperial capitals, were strongly encouraged. The Mughals, in fact, seem to have devised a specific administrative policy controlling recruitment to their armies which favored the selection of armed, trained mercenaries from Central Asia and Iran over the native populace.

The city of Bhopal in Central India is an urban center created as a result of these processes. Its foundation in 1722 AD is attributed to Sardar Dost Mohammed Khan, an armed recruit who deserted the Mughal army after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 AD. Dost Mohammed and his Pathan clansmen hailed from the Mirazi-Khail family of the Karar tribe in Afghanistan, a part of which had migrated to India in the wake of employment opportunities in the imperial forces. The Shahr-i Khas, or city proper at Bhopal, was initially established as a four-quadrant core with two intersecting bazaar streets, reminiscent in many respects of the cities of Herat and Quandhar. More significantly, the large majority of the Pathan administrative and military elite settled in two particular quarters, or mohallas, of the city, which display an organization and fabric in remarkable contrast to those of the adjoining Hindu and Gond inhabitants. The house type within the Pathan quarter itself is radically different from the one.
used by the native populace, and bears a distinct resemblance in its spatial and formal properties to the qala house native to rural Afghanistan.

This paper examines the two Pathan quarters mentioned and the house type which constitutes them in relation to the issues of migration, community and identity in the urban built environment. It delineates formal and spatial characteristics of the *mohalla* organization and the house type which causes them to be perceived as "foreign imports" in a new environment. The specific case of Bhopal is used to demonstrate that this exodus of Afghan mercenaries (in the course of their migration from the Tirah Tehsil in the Jalalabad district of Afghanistan to North India, and subsequently to the Deccan) retained the notions of a highly specific social structure and the conceptions of the house within the larger neighborhood/*mohalla* community.

The paper includes substantial historical and archival research, illustrated by extensive measured drawings, including plans and three-dimensional axonometrics of the city, the two *mohallas*, and individual houses.

**REBUILD EDEN: OVERSEAS CHINESE SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH FUJIAN, CHINA**

*Mei Qing*

South Fujian is the famous homeland for many overseas Chinese, and there are lots of settlements built by them in the areas of Xiamen, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou. After 1684, many local people went abroad from this area on account of the political atmosphere and economic conditions. Some of them went to and stayed in the countries of Southeast Asia, such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Generations after generations, they worked hard and intermarried with local people there. Then, after they became rich, many of them returned to their homeland — South Fujian. They rebuilt their houses, ancestral halls, and community halls, and the constructed many new buildings. These buildings had many differences from the local buildings. The overseas Chinese settlements differed greatly from the traditional ones. Many factors account for this, but the main factor was cultural difference.

The paper contains two parts: 1) a brief analysis of traditional settlements in the local area; and 2) examination of settlements built there by overseas Chinese, including a case study of the planning and development of an island (Gulangyu, Xiamen) and studies of the types and styles of the buildings, the details and materials of the buildings, and the outstanding figures.

Some of the styles of the buildings in Fujian come from Southeast Asia; some come from pattern books. Through the study of settlement and buildings and figures of overseas Chinese we can see what a great role the multicultural plays in the structuring of the human environment.

**IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY: MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE OF NEW ENGLAND**

*Khalil K. Pirani*

There are about 800 mosques in the United States, and the number is increasing everyday. This paper will be based on a study funded by the American Institute of Architects on the architectural trends influencing mosques in New England. Designs of a majority of mosques surveyed reveal nostalgia for traditional forms such as domes, minarets and arches. Such a trend has produced mosque architecture in this country which is nearly devoid of meaning and proper interpretation of the faith. Just as the lure of high technology and the short-sighted importation of Western styles has diluted the traditional environmental equilibrium in Muslim countries, a reverse trend is evident in the U.S.

The primary purpose of this study is to raise the issue of the use of traditional forms and icons in newly built mosques by the recently established Muslim community in the U.S. The study is also intended to bring to the attention of design professionals and decision makers that Islamic architecture could be interpreted beyond traditional forms and icons in this country. Focus will also be on how, through architecture, the new Muslim community in the U.S. can blend harmoniously with American society, while maintaining its own identity.

A survey of nine New England mosques will be presented to reveal how the Muslim community is striving to express its identity by using traditional forms and icons. These icons are used to the extent that the surrounding built environment is overlooked. The paper will include views of the non-Muslim community regarding the mosques. Interview results with Muslim community leaders and architects will be presented to indicate factors that influenced the design of these mosques, and to illustrate obstacles that were encountered in the construction process. Among other issues, the paper will raise the question whether it is an appropriate practice in these pioneer mosques to imitate past styles (appropriate, that is, for the future of culturally diverse and ethnically plural American society). It will present possible ways of interpreting the concepts of Islam into architecture and possible ways that mosque architecture can be used as a tool to build bridges with non-Muslim communities. The paper will not identify or prescribe a specific solution to the wide-ranging problems currently being faced by designers and the Muslim community in this country, because an important aspect of the spirit of Islam is to allow for new and innovative solutions to evolve over time and place — and not to prescribe or limit architectural expression to one specific formula. Furthermore, the U.S. is a vast country, and different regions within it may, and should, offer differing solutions.
Mostar, a modern city of the embattled Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is formed around an historic center called Stari Grad (Old Town). Mostar has become famous in the last two years because of the destruction of its four-hundred-year-old bridge. Stari Grad contained not only the bridge but also marketplaces, shops, inns (hams), a number of mosques, religious schools (medresas), watermills, a public bath, and surrounding mahalas (neighborhood districts). This area of the city was designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Monument in the late 1980s, and the planning and preservation work of Stari Grad was awarded an Aga Khan Award for Architecture by the Aga Khan Trust in 1986. Stari Grad now exists only as rubble and pockmarked building fragments. The bridge and its surroundings became important as political targets for those who wished to dominate the inhabitants.

There is an ongoing international movement to rebuild Stari Grad by the people in this area, by those who recognize it as a valued place in the world, and by people who want its multicultural and cross-cultural heritage to come back to life. One such effort, called Mostar 2004, initiated by Bosnian architect and planner Amir Pasic, has been formally recognized by UNESCO. The Mostar 2004 summer workshops and conference sessions have been attended by scholars, faculty and students from Europe, Asia and the United States, and they have included Bosnian and Ottoman scholars, Bosnian planners, and European Union, UNESCO, and Aga Khan representatives involved in the rebuilding of Mostar.

This presentation will reveal the pedagogical approach and cross-cultural studies used in an architectural design studio, and document the work of a group of upper-level students in the Architecture Program at Temple University who took up the challenge of planning for the rebuilding of neighborhoods of the Old Town of Mostar during the spring semester of 1995. It will also explain the urban-preservation, political, and cultural response strategies that were discussed at the Mostar 2004 workshops in Istanbul over the last two summers.

The scope of the students' work included the study of climatic and cultural influences, the Balkan Ottoman and contemporary urban context, and the development of specific mahala designs and housing units which could be built in post-war Mostar. The students studied design imperatives of this multicultural and cross-cultural place, and finally, through their designs, suggested ways to provide new homes within a remembered context for the people who remain, and for those who return when peace returns.

Students were asked to consider both cultural and pragmatic interpretations of the idea of mahala, and to respond to the issues of site, program, technology and construction. Their conceptual solutions for the mahala and for typical dwelling units strived to respond to and synthesize concerns for the former and anticipated post-war urban contexts, appropriate programmatic potentials, culturally important issues of privacy and outdoor living, and the importance of rebuilding within the formal and traditional context of Stari Grad. Their designs reveal approaches to the questions of reflected memories, opportunities for contemporary living patterns within an historical context, and explorations into how to build anew in a place that has suffered from the tragedies and ravages of war.

A PROCESS OF DIALOGUE AND DESIGN TO ENHANCE COMMUNITY AND PRESERVE CULTURAL IDENTITY

John A. Koepke

This paper presents the results of a design collaboration between the Port Gamble S’Klallam Tribe, the community of Hansville, Washington, and students of design at the University of Washington. The design collaboration began when the tribal community and the Town of Hansville invited
the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Washington to work with them in the development of a set of design visions for a lighthouse property known as Point-No-Point.

The lighthouse site lies at the northern tip of the Kitsap Peninsula and is rich in historic and visual character. Currently owned by the United States Coast Guard, it may soon be relinquished to the S’Klallam Tribes. The Port Gamble tribal members and the people of Hansville have, for the first time in their collective histories, agreed to work cooperatively in an effort to protect, restore and maintain this wonderful place.

As this project developed, it became clear that the scope should be expanded to develop design visions for several proposed facilities on the Port Gamble S’Klallam Reservation (including an education center, longhouse, and commercial village) as well as for downtown Hansville.

After visiting and studying each of the sites and working with people from the tribe and from Hansville to share information and ideas, the students analyzed various site conditions, developed alternative design concepts, and finally, proposed design solutions for the various facilities.

The work presented in this paper details the process of this unique collaboration and the students’ proposed solutions. The plans and designs developed during the project are not necessarily meant to be definitive solutions, but to represent the beginning of a new process of dialogue and design for the tribe and the people of Hansville.

INTERFACING A NEW CULTURE: PEDAGOGICAL REALITIES OF ARCHITECTURE IN CYBERSPACE

Frank Chi-Hsien Sun and Tsou Jin-Yeu

With the advent of the third millennium, facile intimacies created via electronic imagery will come to substitute for a wide range of ideas, facts, and de facto engagement. The dawning of the computer age is imminent and present. To say that a new culture has been created by the electronic media is not to make an understatement. The computer is becoming the link to new ideas and a new structure of culture; yet, of its language, tradition, folklore, and system of thought we know little. Within the framework of defining culture, traditional perspectives in acquiring an understanding of culture are applicable to an electronically communicated culture. The protocol of a computer-generated communication in cyberspace has its own language, tradition, folklore, system of thought, and structure from which cultural facts can be analyzed and received. In many ways, it qualifies as a culture and is legitimated with the rapid development of its membership and a circumscribed system of network communication.

This paper will attempt to investigate the incongruous juxtaposition between an electronic culture created in cyberspace and a more “rational” system of analyzing traditional manifestations of culture. In the case of architecture, the very foundation of design has been challenged by the facile manifestation of Computer-Aided Design (CAD), telecommunication, and Virtual Reality (VR). As a mechanism in design implementation, the electronic culture can deny all precedence established as a process with respect to pedagogical traditions in architecture. Historically, the fundamental methodologies of teaching have been entrenched in the making of drawings and models as expressions of building design. Students have been educated through an accumulative process of concept generation and design development based on prior knowledge and previous experiences. But the “causal” factor in a traditional pedagogical system is today being replaced by an “interactive” approach provided by computer technology. Today, the relationship between concept and form can be represented through a computer-generated virtual environment in a community that is not location specific. This placeless phenomenon of a represented reality through computerized imaging processes is what is known as a virtual community.

With the demands of a global economic market and parallel developments in information technology as a support system, the implementation of design ideas in architecture is coming to be influenced by the vicissitudes of economy and technology. The role of the computer in the field of design is taking on an inevitable importance. As the demand for an efficient design delivery system in architecture complements a rapidly developing global market and the transformation of the built environment everywhere, design schools are today confronting new demands made by both economy and technology. The role of education in the training of future professionals must be reexamined at this juncture of technological development in the contemporary world.

As part of the presentation, examples will be given from existing research projects in collaboration with other educational institutions (MIT, HKU) on design pedagogy, and also projects with the Ministry of Construction in China on a communication delivery system named Architectural Information System (AIS).

MUSEUM AS REPRESENTATION: A PEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Andrzej Piotrowski

This paper will focus on the relationship between the process of exploring cultural issues and designing architecture. More specifically, using examples from design studios I have taught in the past, I will argue that a design studio pedagogy may and should engage cultural practices outside the educational institution. This type of engagement may turn out to be essential for students to understand the function of architecture and the architectural profession in the processes of repre-
senting cultural identity. Designing a museum or a history center was found to be helpful in structuring such an educational agenda.

In my paper I will discuss the theoretical underpinnings and the workings of a particular pedagogical strategy I have developed. I established the educational objectives, discovered the difficulties involved in teaching it, and finally, prepared a new approach exploring how the functioning of an institutional building, a museum, can be understood. I brought to the fore two interrelated aspects of that functioning: (1) the functioning of the material form of architecture; and (2) the cultural function of the institution, for which architecture provides material manifestation.

The functioning of a material form was associated with an understanding of how existing buildings represent culturally-grounded interpretations of their meanings and how the common understanding of their usefulness is constituted. I will address this issue by discussing how a group of students was critically engaged in a city's controversial planning decision: the decision to demolish a fragment of a local historical district.

The cultural functioning of an institution was introduced as a separate design issue. Specifically, I will discuss how the students dealt with the programming of a history center. This functioning was approached as subjected to political and ideological influences. As a result of this approach, I developed an exercise, a critical programming exercise, which consisted of two phases. First, the existing and functioning Minnesota History Center was analyzed. The initial competition guidelines for that center, as well as various points of view presented by its designers, administrators, and visitors, were explored. One of the objectives of this study was to explore the problems of representing the cultural identity of local communities. In the second phase, the projected and perceived meanings, found in this exploration, were used by the students in their own conceptualization of the program and design for a new history center. Later, the same educational approach was tested against the latest museum commission in the Twin Cities, the Minnesota Science Museum, which is scheduled for construction in 1999.

Having analyzed the theoretical issues involved in and the workings of this particular pedagogical enterprise, I will make the following suggestions for design studios: (1) that architectural design should be introduced as capable of engaging current cultural and political issues; (2) that a typical critical distance to the “object of design” needs to be replaced with a sense of “critical intimacy” (Gayatri Spivak) which would present current issues as inseparable from students' own cultural or professional identity; and (3) that there is a need to establish a disciplined, nonverbal mode of exploration of those issues, a mode that should be inseparable from a verbal, critical discourse in architecture.

LEARNING FROM THE TRADITIONAL CITY
Manuel C. Teixeira

The ISCTE, Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa, a state university in Lisbon, Portugal, has begun a new Master's Program in Urban Design this academic year that builds on the concept of tradition as a strategy for the design of the contemporary city.

A greater articulation between the teaching of architecture and the social sciences, a strengthening of the links between the teaching of architecture and urban design and professional practice, and a reevaluation of traditional urban values as the basis for contemporary intervention in the city are the key ideas which structure this Master's program.

The course is based, and structured around, the execution of a real project of urban design in which both students and researchers are involved. All theoretical disciplines, seminars and the design practice which make up the course's syllabus are directly articulated with this project.

A protocol of collaboration has been established between ISCTE and the Municipality of Sintra, a small town in the periphery of Lisbon; and both the students and the teachers of the M.Phil. course are carrying out the design project for the urban rehabilitation of an old and decaying urban center in the town. The area has serious urban and social problems, and the overall intervention is partly financed by the European Community. This experience of teaching and professional practice is taking place right now, and the work is due to be finished by June 1996.

This communication is structured in three parts. It outlines the ideas and the objectives that structure the master's course, its syllabus and methodologies of teaching, and the nature of the collaboration established between the university and the Municipality of Sintra. It describes the architectural and urban characteristics of the area of study and the themes and formal references that were picked up in the research, and which constitute the basis of the urban design project. And it explains the design solutions that were developed based on the research in traditional architectural and urban forms, and how the reinvention of tradition was used as a basis for contemporary design.
15. ELEMENTS OF URBAN TRADITIONS: ANALYZING FORM

UNDERSTANDING THE POTENTIAL LIVING TRADITION FOR CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN HISTORICAL AREAS: THE JAVANESE NOBLE-RESIDENCE
Ikaputra
Gadjahmada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

TRADITION, CHANGE AND STREET ENCOUNTERS: THE CASE OF TWO PEDESTRIAN STREETS IN CAIRO
Yasser ElSheshtawy
United Arab Emirates University, Al-Ain, United Arab Emirates

URBAN EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION IN LUCKNOW, INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ITS STREETS
Amita Sinha and Rajat Kant
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.; and Government College of Architecture, Lucknow, India

A TRANSFORMATION OF THE LI-FANG RESIDENTIAL FABRIC: CONTEMPORARY IMPLICATIONS OF CHINESE IMPERIAL CITY BLOCKS IN MIXED-USE ASIAN CITIES
Weijen Wang
University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

ORIENTATION AND IDENTIFICATION IN THE GREAT BRASILIA
Maria Elaine Kohlsdorf
University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil

UNDERSTANDING THE POTENTIAL LIVING TRADITION FOR CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN HISTORICAL AREAS: THE JAVANESE NOBLE-RESIDENCE
Ikaputra

The palace environment of the historical cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, the heart of the greatest Javanese living tradition, presents typical layers and city compartments that include (from the center) the Sultan’s palace, square, the great mosque, the city market, followed by the residences of the nobility and of high-ranking court officials called dalem, located in and around the grounds of the palace citadel.

Different from the other layers and city compartments, which made up a compact cluster or stood as a single great building, dalem actually assembled the city structure. Historically, dalem were the first structures built in each area of the city, and all subsequent development grew from them since the living aristocracy demanded or attracted people to come and find a better life and social status other than work in rural areas. Dalem, thus, caused the population growth which ultimately altered their use from that of a residence of a noble family to that of a residence for many families, which eventually formed a community. In other words, these scattered dalem became the primary urban units, and they motivated the development of their own intermediate environment.

Over centuries the growth of wealth and the demand for space have emphasized the need to manage dalem and their lands. Nowadays, the position of dalem in the urban area, accompanied by the increase of land values, has resulted in pressure to use dalem more beneficially, and they have become the subject of commercialization. Moreover, because of their relatively large lots, every change in the utilization of a dalem’s land will influence its intermediate environment, not only in terms of land use but also in terms of the environmental landscape, since dalem also represent the remarkable heritage of Javanese architecture.

Using nearly 100 dalem in the two most remarkable Javanese palace cities, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, this study will explore an approach to preserve the dalem environment as a part of efforts to guide the development of the area. (I conducted the fieldwork covering 45 dalem in Surakarta and 49 dalem in Yogyakarta: the sample size represents an estimated 70-80 percent of all the dalem that were built and which structured the historical part of both cities). The approach will look at the potential contribution and typical problems of our past tradition for possible solutions to contemporary socioeconomic needs. By examining the growth, the trends, and the changing uses of this traditional settlement type, by recognizing current development as a continuation of a living tradition, and by acknowledging the possibility of utilizing urban land more beneficially within the traditional context, we can initiate development in a way which preserves the spatial context of the dalem as the primary structure of the traditional urban landscape.

TRADITION, CHANGE AND STREET ENCOUNTERS: THE CASE OF TWO PEDESTRIAN STREETS IN CAIRO
Yasser ElSheshtawy

Developing countries are faced with what some have described as a paradox (Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, Evanston University Press, 1965, pp.276-77): the need for both modernization and change and the recognition of a people’s individual cultural heritage. This cultural heritage manifests itself not just in artifacts (e.g., buildings) but also in a distinct world view and life-style. While many great cultures — including Islamic culture — derived their “greatness” from an ability to assimilate, adopt and borrow from other cultures, thus being able to advance and “change,” there is a growing trend toward viewing the past and tradition as a rigid, unchanged model. This is
Would assume that such projects would be an instant success. As to support new forms of street encounter while at the same time ensuring continuity. Dahab Street, on the other hand, represents a romanticized/idealized version of a traditional street. Its failure could be directly attributed to the fact that it did not take into account societal change.

The above contention is supported with over 200 hours of field research, more than 1,000 black-and-white photographs, field notes based on observation, interviews, and extensive mapping. Taken together, the documentation offers a compelling view of the “inner life” of these two streets and how — particularly in the case of Mohamed Ali Street — they have made a significant change for residents in the surrounding communities. It is hoped that the result of this study could be tested in other places, thus making a significant theoretical contribution. Most important, though, it is the hope that the result of the studies will show the importance of tradition, as it may be seen as the framework within which change takes place.

**Urban Evolution and Transformation in Lucknow, India: A Comparative Study of Its Streets**

Amita Sinha and Rajat Kant

Urban scholarship on South Asian cities has largely dwelled upon the schism between indigenous and colonial urban forms. In this binary scheme of thinking, traditional form is involuted and organic, lacking public spaces. By contrast, the colonial city is likened to a garden city with wide thoroughfares, spacious bungalows, and public parks. The paper questions this categorization, using Lucknow as a case study. The urban history of Lucknow is traced in the comparison of two of its streets: Chowk, which forms the core of the old city; and Hazratganj, the backbone of the colonial city. The two streets, with their distinct morphologies, coexist as part of the contemporary urban fabric. Chowk is believed to be the oldest street in the city, existing since the seventeenth century, if not earlier, while Hazratganj is a nineteenth-century addition. The two streets are spaces of commerce and recreation, but they also contain religious and civic institutions and are thus multifunctional arenas of the public realm. They are symbolic of different epochs in the growth of the city, marking them in their contrasting typologies, varying architectural orders, different types of institutions, and commercial activities.

Chowk in Sanskrit refers to a crossroads, and the term designates an urban square created by two streets intersecting at right angles. In North Indian cities, and particularly in Lucknow, a ganj is a settlement unit, developed around a chowk. It is a walled enclosure, with two main gates marking the primary axis, and two smaller ones at the ends of the secondary axis. A ganj is a multifunctional space with no segregation between residential, commercial, and light-industrial uses. It supports an integrated way of life, with little distinction between living and work, and even sacred and profane.

Both Chowk and Hazratganj in Lucknow are based upon this spatial prototype. Presently, Chowk, center of the oldest inhabited part of the city, exhibits only a vestige of the crossaxial, rectilinear geometry. It is now a linear spine with the two ends marked by gateways. The primary axis, no longer perfectly straight, has secondary streets branching off it, in turn leading to tertiary streets. The street hierarchy is very clear in its increasing sense of enclosure as one moves from primary to tertiary, or from public to private realms. In Chowk, one experiences a heightened sense of volumetric enclosure, an indigenous feel induced by traditional crafts, food, and high perceptual density caused by people, activities and sounds.

In contrast is the layout of the mile-long Hazratganj. Though it was based on the traditional urban prototype, some of the buildings fronting it displayed the influence of European...
A TRANSFORMATION OF THE LI-FANG RESIDENTIAL FABRIC: CONTEMPORARY IMPLICATIONS OF CHINESE IMPERIAL CITY BLOCKS IN MIXED-USE ASIAN CITIES

Weijen Wang

The planning principle of Chinese imperial cities, found in passages in classical texts such as the Kaogong Ji of the first millennium BC, established a grid-like residential fabric, the li-fang system. Within this system, the cardinal orientation of major boulevards divided the four-sided enclosure of the city into rectangular enclosures, forming city sectors. Thus, from the seventh to the ninth centuries the capital of Chang’an had a sophisticated system of one hundred and eight wards enclosed by walls.

These wards, subdivided by smaller streets and alleyways, originally served as a form of government population census and a mechanism for social and spatial control. Identifiable as distinct neighborhoods, wards were composed of mostly residential units, retail stores, and various forms of public space such as temples, institutions and parks. By the Tang dynasty the layout of these mainly residential blocks of approximately 1,000 x 500 meters was already widespread in China as well as along its borders. This was a pattern which continued into the twentieth century and has become the planning module of many Asian cities today.

A distinct character of the Asian city is the commercial/residential mixed-use pattern, which is historically deep-rooted in cultural and economic structures. The Western concept of zoning, with designated central business districts and purely residential areas, was never successfully implemented in most Asian cities. Colonial cities such as Hong Kong have adapted the Western-style smaller blocks of 50 x 100 meters but retained the mixed-use concept (each building facing the main street), producing a congested environment and homogenous monotony.

Other cities using large imperial city-block size planning modules — e.g., Tokyo, Taipei and Shanghai — developed a different type of mixed-use pattern, one where only commercial buildings faced the main boulevard. These formed an outside commercial ring, enclosing large blocks similar to the walled wards of the imperial city. Inside the commercial layer were residential buildings, neighborhood retail stores, and parks, all oriented to face smaller-scaled streets and alleyways. Thus, the transformation of the imperial city block took place, leading to a new type of mixed-use space and a spatial structure that provided a better environment for residential neighborhoods in contemporary high-density Asian cities.

The three major tasks of this paper are as follows:
1) outline the character of the li-fang residential fabric in Chinese imperial cities, and identify the influence of this pattern in Asia;
2) examine the spatial structure and residential quality of cities using the large size block type, and compare them with cities using small size block types; and
3) outline a proposal for improving the existing model of mixed-use block size in Asian cities.

ORIENTATION AND IDENTIFICATION IN THE GREAT BRASILIA

Maria Elaine Kohlsdorf

This paper deals with the performance in terms of orientation and identification of five types of spatial organization (morph types) in settlements in the Federal District of Brazil. The types were selected by the specificity of the physical elements in each to represent different cultural expressions of urban space. The types were as follows. A) two types from Brasilia/Piano Piloto representing the genuine culture of the Modern Movement in architecture: (a.1) the gregarious theme as seen in the South Commercial Sector (Setor Comercial Sul); and (a.2) the residential theme as evident in Superblocks 102–302 South (Superquadras 102–302 Sul). B) One vernacular type, representing the Brazilian traditional culture as expressed in legally built towns like Planaltina, founded in 1893. C) One type from a satellite town, representing a poor translation of the spatial rules of the Modern Movement of architecture, as shown in Taguatinga, created in 1958. And D) one squatter settlement type, representing the culture of poor, illegal Brazilian settlements constructed by self-help communities, such as Vila Planalto, which started in 1957 and was suppressed in 1992.
The types were considered in terms of their informative conditions for generic subjects, such as inhabitants and foreigners. Orientation and identification in each place was then determined to occur through visual perception of spatial form, even though such a mode of perception involves all the human senses. The perceived spatial structure was then theorized to organize itself as a mental image, although perception and image work together in a wide form of knowledge. By comparison, the urban-design process operates according to a Euclidean representation of space, which is never perceived because it belongs to an abstract and restricted order.

The selected morphic types were analyzed, evaluated and compared through their attributes on each of the three cognitive levels: perception (through visual sequences), mental image (through mental maps), and Euclidean representation (through geometrical shapes). The results showed different behaviors at each cognitive level as well as clearly different performances of each morphic type. In general, orientation and identification were found to be easier in the traditional types (vernacular and squatter); average in the genuine modernist types (both the gregarious and residential examples from Brasilia/Plano Piloto); and very difficult in the poor modernist type (satellite town). The sample and the methodology we used indicated that daily orientation and identification among the subjects was better in those places shaped using Brazilian cultural elements: free spaces with variable proportions delimited by continuous walls; harmonic compositions between unity and diversity of building volumes and facades; reticulated and irregular street networks; and the presence of natural relief and vegetation. By contrast, the modernistic types didn’t perform satisfactorily in the cases we examined, despite their claims to represent an “international” style.

16. INFUSING TRADITION: INTERNAL DISCOVERY OR EXTERNAL INFLUENCE?

THE MOTHER GODDESS, UNEXPECTED DIVA IN VERNACULAR PRESERVATION
Morna Livingston
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, U.S.A.

THE CHINATOWNIZATION OF BEIJING: URBAN RENEWAL AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF IDENTITY
Anne-Marie Broudehoux
University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

IN BETWEEN ORIENTALISM AND OCCIDENTALISM: THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINESE ARCHITECTURAL DILEMMA
Jin Feng
Indiana University, Bloomington, U.S.A.

TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS BETWEEN IMPORTED AND AUTOCHTHONOUS PRINCIPLES: A CASE OF NORTHERN IGBO LAND, NIGERIA
Emmanuel I. Ede
Goettingen, Germany

INFUSING TRADITION: INTERNAL DISCOVERY OR EXTERNAL INFLUENCE IN TUNISIA?
Thomas Rochon
New York University of Technology, New York, U.S.A.

For Indian monuments, history leans toward “peniplanation,” the gradual leveling of structures by erosion and gravity. The longest building histories belong to temples in politically changing North India. But lately, farther west, a force of unexpected power has been enlisted by preservation. The result, when viewed beside the successes of formal conservation groups, has been striking, even if we accept a frustrating tendency of Indian buildings not to be preserved at all. In recent years increasing numbers of the large west-Indian water-buildings, which have served as wells, baths, shade houses, and religious sites, are turning into temples. This is startling, because Hindu temples have been the precinct of high-caste Brahmins, while stepwells, although they had shrines in them, have freely offered their water to cows, artisans and housewives in a noisy, social, busy way. An ancient deity and her worship are burgeoning in the
culture to produce this change. The deity is the Mother Goddess, well known throughout India and the ancient Near East. She has many names connected by the term Devi, and is addressed "Mataji," that is, mother, with the honorific ji added at the end.

This transfer of value to a popular building is a grassroots phenomenon. No elite planning or deliberations of the Archaeological Survey or Indian National Trust mar its simplicity. It is vibrant, underfunded, and non-"patron"-sponsored, and it bypasses the media. It is local, but symbolically it confronts organized preservation with the paradox of its grassrootsness. As Nezar AlSayyad pointed out, a strategically placed mosque can face up to a bulldozer, "demonstrate[ing] the power of religion as a counterforce to the ideology of modernism."

This paper will identify issues addressed in the newly forming "water temples" and look closely at Mata Bhavani, a Centrally Protected Stepwell in Ahmedabad that was recently reconsecrated to the Mother Goddess. The local players in the spontaneous drama of preservation are women, for whom the government's sanitary water taps did not meet ritual needs. Its backers are Brahmans, too numerous to be employed in temples, who sought new lines of work. With ritual, the local women built a bridge between the abandoned stepwell and the reincarnation of that space as an embryo temple. A pujari family then legitimized that link, bringing an advantage as custodians the government could not bring — the long time frame of Hinduism.

Low-cost, low-tech preservation, based on part of a building, begs all question of refinement, but it can keep the spirit of "place" alive. The stepwell becomes a large niche for Devi and an occupational niche for the pujari, who become the well's advocate. In its new, unofficial state as proto-temple, the building will be unceasingly added to by worshippers. Mata Bhavani's stepwell reflects the ambiguity and vitality inherent in successful methods of preservation that involve inalterable change.

ANNE-MARIE BROUDEHOUX

THE CHINATOWNIZATION OF BEIJING: URBAN RENEWAL AND THE COMMODOIFICATION OF IDENTITY

Jin Feng

An architectural style called the "national form" or "traditional form" is a major development in contemporary Chinese architecture. It features overhung, curving roofs and decorative details, following the ancient forms of palaces and temples. Buildings of this style can be seen all over China and have been seen as an important form of Chinese national identity. When looking into the history of this movement, however, one can surprisingly discover that this Chinese national style of architecture was actually invented by foreign architects, especially Americans, in the early twentieth century. In studies of contemporary Chinese architecture, however, the role of the Western architects is currently being transformed into a world-class city "with Chinese characteristics." In recent years as part of a large-scale renewal program, inner-city neighborhoods have been demolished to make way for Western-style redevelopment, while a few monuments have been sporadically preserved. The image of new projects is generally an eclectic collage of features abstracted from diverse regional architectural traditions, stereotyped in a reductionist and anachronistic way.

Four main forces, both endogenous and exogenous to the Chinese capital, have been influential in the reconstruction: the central government, the international tourism industry, foreign investors, and an affluent elite of returning expatriates engaged in the real estate boom. Numerous pressures exerted upon design professionals in terms of policy and regulations, time and budget constraints, and ideological attitudes have also influenced the redevelopment process.

The paper argues that the current renewal program is slowly turning Beijing into the world's largest Chinatown and demonstrates how this form of self-Orientalization is actually part of the ongoing worldwide process of commodification of identities, and is not at all contradictory with the Chinese political ideology. The paper raises several issues related to the redefinition of national identities in the current globalization process. In the Chinese context, this problem of representation and of construction of identity is especially complex given the multiplicity of regional identities and the often-conflicting interests of the several agents involved. While the current approach successfully creates an image which is at once unifying, marketable, tamed and reassuring, and retains a distinctive exotic flavor, through the symbolic recuperation of both imposed and inherited traditions, it may, however, only exacerbate the current identity crisis by blurring the boundaries between the spurious and the authentic, the traditional and the constructed, the universal and the particular.
in the creation of the Chinese national style, and the historical and cultural complexity of this phenomenon have usually been downplayed or ignored. Throughout the twentieth century, the debate between the advocates of the national style and its modernist critics over the legitimacy of the traditional style has been the central theme of architectural discourse in China. The debate, however, has been very much limited to a simple dichotomy between progress and conservatism. The international relationship between China and the Western powers has not been seen as an important factor of this architectural development. In the recent development toward modernization, foreign investment in China has brought foreign architects back to the scene of Chinese architectural development. Interestingly, these foreign architects, once again after almost a century, are trying to employ traditional Chinese forms in their designs, and are trying to educate their Chinese clients to accept these designs since the Chinese developers have been dreaming about a style that would be “more American than American.”

This paper examines this complex, dramatic and eventful historical development in Chinese architecture in terms of the impact of foreign influence on an indigenous architectural style in order to provide a better understanding of the nature of the development of architectural styles as symbols of national identity in a world of cultural interaction, conflict and transformation. The findings of this paper demonstrate that the Chinese national style was created according to the Western conception of Chinese architecture. Although this created image was first employed in Western cultural institutions in China such as churches as a kind of camouflage to promote better acceptance of Western culture on the part of the Chinese people, it exemplified to the Chinese what Chinese architecture should be like. This invented style then found its way into the Chinese mind at a time when China was looking for an image of the new Republic, which had just been born in the ashes and ruins that resulted from imperialist assault. In the current development in China, Western architects, once again, are imposing their vision of China over their Chinese clients, who are indulging in some Occidentalist illusions that are mainly informed by Western capitalism and commercial propaganda on the one hand, and the Marxist notion of social progress on the other. This indicates that the architectural discourse and imagination of contemporary Chinese architecture has been very much defined and confined by Western influences from different sources. The Chinese people were first caught by the Orientalism of Western architects, then by the Occidentalist created by Western capitalism. Such Western influences on Chinese architectural development are not only important, but they are also complicated and contradictory. In order to step out of the dilemma of choosing between architectural styles, the Chinese people and Chinese architects have to have a better understanding of the presence of Orientalism in its different forms, and they need to base their imagination of the future on a more realistic conception of the life experience of the Chinese people, instead of on Occidentalist fantasies.
INFUSING TRADITION: INTERNAL DISCOVERY OR EXTERNAL INFLUENCE IN TUNISIA?
Thomas Rochon

When Tunisia attained independence from France and embarked on an ambitious plan to develop the country, the government hired European and American architects, planners, and engineers to provide the interim skills needed to develop public facilities and "modernize" towns and cities. A quarter of Tunisia's public investment for several years was earmarked for housing.

When the United States Peace Corps was formed in 1962, the government of Tunisia requested Peace Corps architects to assist with the design and construction of many of these projects. Most of these approximately 130 Peace Corps architects worked in the public works department, office of tourism, or possibly, certain municipalities. These architects were often cut off from decision-making processes, but their idealism, fresh professional skills, and a need for building led many of the creative projects to be built with external influence through internal discovery. Rather than infusing an American vocabulary of design, many of these projects were built using vernacular techniques and indigenous materials. Arches, domes, and vaults were often used to span these structures. Communicating with communities and being open to new social and environmental problems, these architects developed new solutions to architectural and planning problems.

One case in particular, that of the market at Houmt Souk, Djerba, Tunisia, provides a good case study. Its design solved many problems, and the market has since expanded and is still successfully in operation today as the town continues to increase in size. The 2.5-acre market was originally built nearly thirty years ago using indigenous methods and materials to create arches, vaults, and domes. Methods of arranging and rotating the vaults at right angles enabled breezes to circulate and indirect light to enter. The market was adapted to the needs of the town through community planning and the use of vernacular structures. Fortunately, the master plan kept vehicular traffic away from the town center, making it easy for the town to adapt to the market over the years.

This paper will show examples of these projects when they were built and investigate the influence and impact these built environments have had on the surrounding areas during the last thirty years. Some of these projects are still used as they were intended, and others have been adapted to new uses, depending on the needs of society. This paper will also seek to illustrate that the Tunisian cultural and work experience has shown up in solutions to design problems faced by these architects in present-day practices or their work as educators in the professions of architecture and planning.

Material for this study is gathered from interviews, slides, and plans. Photographs (slides) representing numerous built projects and planning studies from 1962 to 1973 will be shown. Progress slides from 1962 through 1995 will emphasize the usefulness of these projects over the years.

17. PLANNING STRATEGIES AND DESIGN GUIDELINES: REGULATING TRADITION?

REGULATING TRADITION OR CONTROLLING WRITING?
Thomas Chastain
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FINDING A PLACE FOR TRADITION IN SHATIN, HONG KONG, 1976-1996
Jeffrey Cody and James R. Richardson
Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong; and University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, U.S.A.

ERASING MEMORY, INVENTING TRADITION, REWRITING HISTORY: PLANNING AS A TOOL OF IDEOLOGY
Robert Powell
National University of Singapore, Singapore

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE DESIGN GUIDELINES IN RURAL AREAS
Eeva Aarrevaara
Helsinki University of Technology, Helsinki, Finland

ETHNIC-SPACE OR ETHNIC-STATES: IDENTITY POLITICS AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN BEIRUT
Maha Yahya
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, U.S.A.

REGULATING TRADITION OR CONTROLLING WRITING?
Thomas Chastain

Issues of stasis and change are central in the discourse on tradition and the production of the built environment. Implicit in tradition are continuities of material, identity and culture which are typically thought of as place bounded, or at the very least, through their interaction with a landscape, to generate the expression of a local character. Yet, contemporary practices that produce the built environment, if anything, exemplify change. These practices, which encompass present design concerns, legal frameworks, building systems, economic systems, and program imperatives, are often seen as forces diverging from the course of the above continuities. In attempting to rein in these practices and thus conserve traditions, locales have turned to regulating production, typically through guidelines which constrain, control, and in some cases determine the forms to be used in building. What on the surface seems to be a reasonable proposition of constraining the action of the individual for a larger good, is contradictory in terms of conserving a culture. One can ask a simple parallel,
illustrious question: what are reasonable guidelines to have for writing? Would we constrain, control and determine the output of the storytellers of a culture? This paper argues that guidelines are typically deployed outside design practices and result in commodification of images. Further, it asserts that tradition is authentic only if it is ongoing and synthetic, that is to say, embedded in the practices that produce a place. The paper argues for an alternative way of extending traditions through pedagogy and tools.

Nantucket is an island located off the coast of Massachusetts settled by whaling captains and fishermen. Its historic built environment is comprised of both elaborate houses as well as simple vernacular dwellings which reflect a coherent traditional practice. As an island, it has escaped much of the ravages of development in terms of transformed uses, industrialization and urbanization. It is, in fact, considered by the inhabitants — both those in residence year-round and those that come and go — to be a refuge whose physical environment needs to be defended against corrupting outside influences. The form of this defense is an elaborate and extensive guideline which informs and directs the design of buildings on the island and is enforced through a design review. The goal of this process is to ensure a continuity of building tradition on the island. The guidelines reflect the historic image of the island by explicitly controlling material choices, fenestration, massing, siting and positioning of building elements, and which are illustrated by extensive examples of the rules. Decisions about conformance to the rules are made by a committee which judges the adherence of the proposed building to an image — an image shared and held by the people in charge. The island, its built tradition and guidelines, are used as a case study to examine the issue of regulating a tradition. The work compares the result of the guideline process to both the tradition it is defending and the tradition it is promoting. Houses are described as a result of informed architectural decisions, as well as from the point of view of a way of life that is being propagated by both old and new.

A way to characterize the practices which produced a coherent, varied, and local character is through what they share as either tacit agreements or explicit systems. The question is not one of free will, but rather how to induce greater local coherence without sacrificing the authenticity of the cultural practice. By casting the question in terms of free will versus control or the wishes of the individual regulated by the desire of the collective, it presumes that the cultural practices which produced the environment lack the information about, sensibility of, and connectiveness to a place. Yet, as the case study argues, extensive regulation generates a continuation of an image as a commodity, owned and regulated by a local authority, and misses the opportunity to expand the dialectic a cultural practice offers about a place, a way of life, and a built form. Anyone concerned about the quality of place cannot be ambiguous about the choices taken by designers. Nevertheless, the best-intended controlling regulation must be seen as a cultural rear-guard action, not forward looking and hardly optimistic. As an alternative, this paper offers another view of influencing design practices through pedagogical means and computational tools — means and ways that embody the shared systems of a tradition through information about the tectonic systems, landscape imperatives, and the spatial structure of daily life.

FINDING A PLACE FOR TRADITION IN SHATIN, HONG KONG, 1976-1996
Jeffrey Cody and James R. Richardson

Since the 1949 Revolution in China, Hong Kong has had to cope with a continual housing crisis. While managing a flood of immigrants, a fire in 1953 left 50,000 squatters homeless. By 1960 the government engaged in a resettlement and housing program, and in 1972 set a goal to house 1.6 million people by the mid-1980s. The centerpiece of this policy lay in building three "self-sufficient New Towns" in Hong Kong's New Territories. Shatin, one of those new towns, was planned to house 500,000 people in an area containing 35 traditional Chinese villages.

In 1976 the policy of the Shatin New Town Development Office was to preserve the majority of the villages in the valley. While the original objective of the preservation policy was "to maintain and respect the villagers' lifestyle, culture and heritage," by the mid-1980s most of the villages had either been abandoned or had been redeveloped as places for low-scale, high-amenity housing leased to high-income renters. In 1996 the original policy of village preservation is untenable. This paper discusses why the policy of wholesale preservation failed, and argues for a planning strategy that balances regulation and preservation of tradition in a context of intense regional development. The paper will begin with a discussion of the original objectives for Shatin New Town, now a city of approximately 450,000 residents.

In 1976, as the government began to develop Shatin, one of the questions it faced broadly was how to accommodate the villages. One answer was in land resumption and compensation, another in village relocation, and another in preservation — drawing lines around villages and connecting them to water and sewer services. The driving force behind the government’s policy to regulate tradition in the Shatin Valley originated in the fact that, unlike other Hong Kong residents, the villagers had long-standing rights to their land.

However, by the early 1980s the Development Department revised this policy so that additional villages could be demolished for land reclamation, road creation, river channeling, and other construction. During the 1980s, as the market for land intensified, some villagers leased their land, while others sold and moved away. Still others remained, building new
dwellings up to the three-story height permitted by the ordinance, sparking an unexpected physical transformation: "traditional" villages were redeveloped and sold as enclaves of low-density housing for the wealthy. Some developers approached the planning office with comprehensive redevelopment proposals. In the mid-1990s, then, although the broad policy of village preservation is now no longer effective, the Planning Office (the former Development Department) continues to search for a policy which might address tradition and development.

The paper analyzes the current dilemma about how to preserve key places and aspects of village tradition while continuing the valley development. Just as wholesale preservation of the villages in 1976 did not work, wholesale village revitalization seems to be inappropriate today. A balanced policy of preservation and redevelopment implies a flexible governmental policy that might encourage the active involvement of the villagers, Hong Kong’s Antiquities and Monuments Office, and governmental planners. However, this task is challenging because the policy is rooted in complex legal and land-rights issues.

Since 1976, development has clearly found a place within the tradition of Shatin. In 1996 the question remains how tradition will find a place within the context of that ongoing development.

ERASING MEMORY, INVENTING TRADITION, REWRITING HISTORY: PLANNING AS A TOOL OFIDEOLOGY

Robert Powell

Singapore gained its independence in 1965, and in the course of the next three decades the number of rural villages sharply declined as the government laid emphasis upon modernization, urban renewal, decentralization and industrialization. In May 1991 the very last kampong (indigenous settlement) on the main island was demolished. With the demise of Kampong Wak Selat, the link with the country’s pre-colonial rural heritage was erased.

This process continues. On the earliest maps of Singapore an area to the north of Kampong Glam on the south bank of the Rochor River is marked as "The Tombs of the Malay Kings." If one visits the site, one finds tombstones which are draped in yellow cloth — the color reserved for Malay royalty. In a 1994 analysis of this area by the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) it is marked as an "Incompatible Use," and assessed as being one of the Weaknesses and Constraints which reduces the area’s potential for redevelopment. In two words the nation’s history dating back to the time of Raffles and the connections with the native Malays who occupied the Singapore River before the arrival of the British East India Company is confined to the archives. And with this analysis the URA has been able to propose that the area be rezoned as high-density housing at a plot ratio of 3.5.

On Goodwood Hill, a short distance from the city’s major shopping mall, there are a number of splendid dwellings that were built to house colonial civil servants in the 1920s. They fall into that unique category known as "Black and White Houses," and are a precious piece of Singapore’s heritage. In a 1994 planning report, aside from their initial identification, nothing is mentioned about their future. While they are not zoned for redevelopment they are also not designated for conservation. The land on which they sit is government owned, and it is highly likely that they will eventually be replaced by condominiums.

The process appears, whether consciously intended or otherwise, to be gradually erasing memory. This process of erasure started in the 1965, and since, the transformation of the island into a modern city-state has involved the constant remaking of the landscape. The land has been the most malleable material (Koolhaas, 1995), as hills are leveled, the coastline extended. One is bound to question if this erasure of memory, which contributes to a permanent condition of instability, is an explicit intention of the planning process or otherwise? The usual response to such questions is that Singapore has limited land, and that it is incumbent upon planners to optimize its use.

In parallel with the erasure of memory is the invention of tradition. In 1990 a "Malay Village" was constructed in Geylang Serai, designed by the Housing and Development Board. It is an idealized re-creation of the indigenous kampong, but without any inhabitants. There is a certain irony in the demise of the indigenous villages and the simultaneous creation of a simulacrum. We bid farewell with various degrees of nostalgia to the absolutely real and embrace the absolutely fake. For future generations, however, it is the latter that will shape ideas about the nation’s past. The absolutely unreal has become the new reality.

Similarly, in the west of the island a twelve-hectare “Tang Dynasty City” has been constructed. It is a totally false simulacrum of the ancient Chinese city of Ghang An, where visitors are invited to "Experience life in the heart of the ancient city, just like in AD 618 – AD 907.” Even as a reproduction, it completely fails to convey accurately the urban form and spatial quality of the original.

Accompanying this process is the rewriting of history. When the Housing and Development Board restored a two-story house at 37 Kerbau Road in Little India in 1991, it announced that this was “Belilios Mansion, built in the mid-19th century by IR Belilios, a Venetian Jew born in Calcutta” who dominated the cattle trade in Singapore from 1887 to 1921. This was a plausible story given Belilios’ influence on the growth of Little India, but it was nevertheless inaccurate. In fact, the house was built for a Madam Teo Hong Beng to the designs Moh Wee Tek in 1905. Madam Teo married into the Tan family, who occupied the house until 1981.

The erasure of memory through the planning process in Singapore is transparent. Currently Design Guide Plans prepared by the Urban Redevelopment Authority are available via
Internet (http://www.livewire.nch.gov.sg/ural/).

The question is does tradition lose its relevance as culture becomes more information based and less place rooted. It has been said that the antidote to the alienation perpetuated by virtual space is the reactivation of spiritual space. But can the latter survive without authentic visible symbols?

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE DESIGN GUIDELINES IN RURAL AREAS
Eeva Aarrevaara

This paper deals with the problems of giving design guidelines in rural environments, which are partly traditional and partly changed by character. In Finland, less than 20 percent of the current building stock was built before the 1920s, which is a very small amount compared with most European countries. During the post-war period different types of standard houses became popular and spread over the land, leaving the traditional buildings as a minority. Still, many rural environments have preserved their traditional landscape and village areas. If we want to start planning rural areas according traditional principles, we must first ask ourselves how to describe “tradition”.

Some ethnologists define tradition as a building process which doesn’t use professionals in a modern sense. In other words, everybody can take part of the process, and everyone has sufficient knowledge to do so. In that meaning, the traditional way of building still continues in self-made, single-family houses. On the other hand, tradition can be perceived as a continuing process which changes its characteristics all the time. In my opinion, the post-war development represents the breaking of the tradition. Since then, ideas and materials of building have been adapted straight from urban and foreign contexts.

As a case study I present the design guidelines made for the rural areas of a municipality in southern Finland. The area represents a typical situation in rural environments that consists of both traditional and contemporary elements. I have searched for different ways of presenting the guidelines as design examples or suitable dimensions of the buildings.

In planning, the visual qualities of the traditional environment form the base from which the design guidelines arise. The characteristics of the landscape and the built environment are analyzed and the most general phenomena are described. The main problem is how strictly and by which means to regulate the contemporary building on the basis of the environmental analysis.

ETHNIC-SPACE OR ETHNIC-STATES: IDENTITY POLITICS AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN BEIRUT
Maha Yahya

The present inability of architecture to play a significant role in addressing socio-political issues, especially in the current conditions of constant flux and movements, has perpetuated a theoretical as well as practical crisis within the discipline, both in its self-perceived role, as well as in its constructed position as part of a larger cultural sphere. In practical terms, this crisis has initiated within architectural discourse and practice some sporadic attempts by architects to return to various forms of collaborations with urban planners. In theoretical terms, the terms of the debate are often simplistically subdivided into a modern-postmodern rhetoric, which are supposed to roughly correspond to a conservative-liberal political agenda. Attempts at articulating any sort of pluralist politics in architecture are aestheticized. Such dialectics deny the more complex processes by which the generalization of “post-conventional” identities, and the conception of a new world order is being challenged by the explosion in the expression of ethnic, religious and national identities — and thus the manner by which the built environment is formed and transformed.

In this paper I would like to examine some of these issues through the case of Beirut. Characterized by an ethnic and religious plurality, the urban landscape of Beirut during sixteen years of civil war came to reflect the territorial identities of its various inhabitants. Between 1975 and 1991 contending forces laid claim to different segments of the city in a bid to delimit, influence and control interaction between various communities. With the violent expulsion of 450,000 individuals from various sectors of the city, social exclusion became instrumental to such control. Through their individual territorial practices, the militias dictated a new visible/invisible, physical/limmaterial order of the city, while the “logic of identity” (Young, 1990, 96-121) adopted by various communities became firmly entrenched in the separatist policies constructed by the militias. Grounded in territorial fragmentation and symbolized by the geographic dislocation of various communities during the war, collective modes of identification such as ethnicity, nationhood and community were reinterpreted through various modes of reconstituting the built environment.

With the termination of the fifteen-year civil war and the dissolution of the militias, a new set of power relations have come to prevail in Beirut, altering the war-engendered classification of space. Through current reconstruction proposals both for the city center and for various housing sites, the state is attempting to locate itself in a position of centrality. By fabricating and spatializing a particular notion of identity, the state is also trying to consolidate and assimilate the various Lebanese communities. Different pluralities are coerced into a visible set of circumscribed identifications which deny alternative realities.

Following Rabinow, I would like to examine the “norms”
embedded in the territorial attitudes of those in power, which guided the "forms" found to be adequate for the regulation of modern Lebanese society during the war period and in current post-war reconstruction proposals. This represents a study of the shifting and constantly changing interaction of a plural culture with an undefined (and maybe undefinable) political/national identity as it manifests itself in the built environment. Two of the questions I will be asking are as follows. What is the notion of stability conjured up through architectural efforts to preserve traditional appearances in these projects? And how do these aesthetic practices, which proclaim a devotion to history, function within the growing historiographic awareness of the different communities and the actual historiographic conditions of redevelopment.

18. IDENTITY, MEANING, AND PLACE

TRADITION, WAR AND TOURISM: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND REDEFINITION OF SPATIAL MEANING IN KINMEN VILLAGES
Pai-Hwai Wu and Min-Fu Hsu
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THE COMMODIFICATION OF RURAL PORTUGUESE HOUSING: INCREASING ITS SENTIMENTAL MEANING
Denise L. Lawrence-Zuniga
Cal Poly, Pomona, U.S.A.

TRAILERS: CHALLENGING A TRADITION OF PERMANENCE AND PLACE
Sandra Stannard
University of Idaho, Moscow, U.S.A.

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF HOMES AND THE PLACELESSNESS OF BEDOUIN SETTLEMENTS
Yasser Mansour
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RHYTHM AND RITUAL: MAINTAINING THE IDENTITY OF A PLACE
Ralph Knowles
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TRADITION, WAR AND TOURISM: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND REDEFINITION OF SPATIAL MEANING IN KINMEN VILLAGES
Pai-Hwai Wu and Min-Fu Hsu

Kinmen, an island near the Amoy Bay of southern China, has been the location of farming and fishing villages for several hundred years. As in the southern villages of nearby Fukien, many traditional buildings, temples, and other constructions were located in the Kinmen villages. However, after 1949 the villages were transformed into closed border settlements, used to defend Taiwan at the point of contact with the People's Republic of China across the Taiwan Strait. In the late 1980s the hostile relation between the two sides began to cool gradually, allowing the Taiwan government to partly demilitarize Kinmen and reconstruct the local economy by opening it to tourism. One can conclude that the Kinmen villages have been through three historical periods: before 1949 (tradition), between 1949 and 1990 (militarization), and after 1990 (tourism).

This paper is a study of the spatial transformation of traditional villages through these three periods. We try to understand the Kinmen villages in their landscape according to a
THE COMMODOIFICATION OF RURAL PORTUGUESE HOUSING: INCREASING ITS SENTIMENTAL MEANING
Denise L. Lawrence-Zuniga

Sentimental attachment to the physical qualities of home seems to increase in response to the intensifying commodification of house production and changing class structures in a rural southern Portuguese community. Class differences have long been linked to different uses and meanings of domestic space. For example, Fried and Gleicher (1970) observed that working class residents of Boston's West End were most attached to home as a function of its permeable and fluid connection with the neighborhood, rather than the physical qualities of the house. Juliani, et al. (1986), argued that the Italian bourgeois and working classes name some household spaces differently, indicating the participation in different life-style models. Hillier and Hansen (1982) identified differences in the organization, use and meaning of interior and exterior spaces by middle and working classes living in the same London neighborhood. And Duncan (1982) described the contrasting perceptions and uses of home by "traditional" and "new" elites in India. This study argues that the transformation of "traditional" rural classes in a latifundist area over the last one hundred years shows a process of "bourgeoisification" (Riseboro 1982) in both house form and family lifestyle aspirations. New architectural forms, at various historical points, have engaged residents in a discursive process that teaches the devaluation of "traditional" house forms for their lack of comfort and symbolic backwardness, while urging the acquisition of a "modern" commodified standard of living represented by mass-produced, industrialized housing elements and forms. The discourse of changing house forms has provoked a consciousness of attachment to the physical qualities of housing that did not exist previously.

Observations over a twenty-year period in a small agricultural town (population approximately 600) indicate that recent changes in house form, both in terms of new construction and the remodeling of older houses, have involved homeowners in the reformulation of meanings, associations and aspirations for home life and identity. This study considers two dimensions of the interaction of people with their physical environment: 1) house forms constructed or remodeled at various historic periods, including pre-1925, 1925-65, and 1965 to the present; and 2) class and generational differences in the conceptualization of domestic functions and meanings. In addition to participant observation, documentation of house plans and remodeling histories, and the carrying out of house-to-house census surveys in various years between 1976 and 1993, a number of town residents were selected for in-depth interviews with the aim of exploring personal housing histories. These interviews reveal patterns of class, generation and relative affluence that affect the conceptualization of attachment to the physical qualities of home through strategies for remodeling and new construction.

Four class identities are described and compared in order to determine the extent to which attachment to home is affected by the commodification of housing. These classes include three categories representative of what can be called the "traditional" class structure (remnants of which still existed in 1976 and now constitute a large retired segment of the community), and one class of younger, more affluent and upwardly mobile working-class families for whom new housing has become not only an essential means for comfortable living but an expression of status. While all classes have been affected by the commodification of housing through, at minimum, remodeling of older homes, the younger, rural working classes have increasingly used house forms to explore and realize new rural life-styles.
TRAILERS: CHALLENGING A TRADITION OF PERMANENCE AND PLACE
Sandra Stannard

Mobile homes: an unrecognized revolution has occurred.
—Margaret J. Drury

Trailers currently represent a significant portion of the new single-family home market in the United States. Due to the fact that trailers are a viable competitor in the housing market, it is interesting to consider how the values of trailer housing contrast with the traditional architectural values often associated with site-built housing, particularly regarding issues of permanence and place. This paper will examine trailers as a housing type, studying their use and examining their relationship to the idea of tradition and place in American housing.

Although both influence the built environment, the motivations of the trailer industry directly contrast with the values of the architectural profession. The trailer, in all of its forms, is a product of socioeconomic forces. This capitalist motivation contrasts sharply with the core values of architecture, which are socially, culturally and artistically based. Furthermore, the trailer is a commodity associated with impermanence, particularly when contrasted to the permanence of buildings. Though all trailers have wheels at one time or another, this is not necessarily the characteristic that makes them seem impermanent. The physical and sociological attachment to the land that architects strive for in their profession is missing in the American use of trailers. Respect for the relationship between a piece of architecture and the land is a near-sacred tenet held by the architectural profession, as can be seen from this quotation from an article in Landscape by Donlyn Lyndon in 1962:

The existing structure of the land is a resultant of unseen natural processes operating over a long period of time. We must respect this structure and work to have our constructions be a continuation of that process, letting the present landscape play an evident role in the determination of suitable form for each place, respecting the impact that any structures have on the land. Similarly, the existing structure of a community is a result of many, often conflicting, processes, and is analogous to organic growth. Whatever we build significantly affects neighboring structures and the overall sense of place.

The current use and siting of trailer homes is antithetical to this philosophy. Though housing in general has become a commodity in this country, this fact is overwhelmingly apparent in the trailer industry. A buyer can pick a trailer out of a catalog, and his trailer is wheeled to him in one, two or three pieces. Unlike site-built homes, trailers do not qualify for mortgage loans, as they are considered personal property rather than "real property." Financing can be difficult to arrange, and trailer loans are typically of shorter duration at higher interest rates than mortgages. The siting of trailers within Americans towns and cities is often restricted or prohibited, often resulting in their banishment to designated trailer parks. In a zone somewhere between nomadism and landownership, trailer park residents lack any sense of relationship to or control over the land immediately around them. Thus, the current trailer park system essentially prohibits rootedness. In contrast, traditional development patterns generally support attachment to, accountability for, and control over the land, with the resulting creation of the sense of "place." Due to the perception of impermanence and the fact that the trailer industry continues its steady growth, it is appropriate to consider how the use of trailers as housing reflects not only upon the nature of dwelling but also upon the trend of our cultural values.

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF HOMES AND THE PLACELESSNESS OF BEDOUIN SETTLEMENTS
Yasser Mansour

The house is considered a symbol of the self. The self is always rooted in a horizon of culture and tradition. Thus, understanding house forms entails the understanding of a whole life, both in terms of its present condition and its historical development.

In the United Arab Emirates the rapid economic growth during the 1960s and 70s contributed to a large-scale urbanization and modernization movement. Due to the urgent demand for mass housing, large-scale residential districts, designed mainly for Bedouins, were hastily constructed in many cities. Also, during the oil boom of the mid 1970s and 80s, more sophisticated and modern house models attracted the attention of the local residents. Accordingly, a great number of the country’s original houses and traditional settlements were deserted or left for the use of low-income expatriates. This fact led to the rapid deterioration of the original local settlements. With the growth of expatriate migration, many cultural forms were borrowed and mixed with the original and were reflected in the shaping and design of the house.

This paper closely examines the transformation of house forms during different stages of recent economic development in the United Arab Emirates. The paper presents and discusses the three main stages of house transformation, starting from the life structure of a tent in a desert, moving to a manufactured house provided by the government, and finally reaching present house forms with all their luxurious representations. Understanding the metamorphosis of house form contributes to a better understanding of how culture develops different means and techniques of maintaining its place in history. The critical analysis in this paper approaches issues of identity, placeness of culture, placelessness of desert shelter, migration of life forms, and urbanization and globalization.
RHYTHM AND RITUAL: MAINTAINING THE IDENTITY OF A PLACE
Ralph Knowles

We humans, in all our practices, engage in ritual. Some rituals are attributed to culture; others seem to be personal inventions. This paper explores the notion that, whether a property of culture or personal invention, rituals emphasize the rhythms of actual experience in a place. When the rhythm is complex rather than simple, the corresponding rituals are more elaborate and tell an expanded story. This idea is examined in four steps connecting rituals to the rhythms of real places. Historical examples, laboratory experiments, and personal feelings are cited in the course of the paper.

Each place has distinguishing rhythms that measure its separateness and possibilities. This point is introduced by tracing the settlement of Ashtabula County, Ohio. First there was the land, sold to successive waves of settlers. Then villages emerged as complements to the rural life surrounding them. Finally, towns appeared. As circumstances changed, people measured their possibilities by different rhythms.

Ritual is an elaboration of the rhythms we experience in a place. This second idea is illustrated using two contrasting examples: the ceremonies of monastic life and the eating habits of my family on our back porch. The first example is formal, based on medieval church values. The second example is relaxed and, as far as I know, unique to our family. Both cases illustrate rites of the passing sun.

Ritual is communicative behavior, passing on the identity of a place from generation to generation. The connection between ritual and identity is observed in native settlements of the American Southwest. The first example is a hunter-gatherer society that occupied an entire river valley. The next two examples were both permanent settlements, one inside a cave and the other free-standing in a canyon. Despite these contrasts of site and lifestyles, all had strong patterns of unifying action that totally engaged a place.

It is the ritual connection to nature, especially to seasons, that identifies traditional environments and that is often missing in modern settings. This last point is illustrated by comparing two parts of Bratislava, the capitol of Slovakia. One part, a remnant of older village life, is Prievoz. People commute daily to work in the surrounding city, but in the evenings, on holidays, and on weekends they have an intense village life centering on streets lined with cherry trees, shops, a convent, cemetery, and private gardens. The result is a complex rhythm of experience offering manifold chances for ceremonial expressions of self and group.

The contrasting part of Bratislava is Petrzalka, the most recent product of urban planning. Unlike Prievoz, there is no banding together, no gardens or cherry harvest to remind people of the passing seasons. A single rhythm dominates life: to work and back, a forgettable cadence too simple to excite the imagination.

The comparison is broadly applicable to urban places everywhere: if people don't finally develop complex celebrations of both time and season, they cannot learn nor sustain the whole truth of a place.
19. TRADITION: MAINTAINING IDENTITY IN THE FACE OF CHANGE

TWENTY YEARS OF CHANGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF YEMEN
Fernando Varanda
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THE USE OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE
Dana Buntrock and Mira Locher
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TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AND THE "NEW URBANISM": A REGIONAL AND HISTORICAL CRITIQUE
Nina Vereggé
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CONTEMPORARY INITIATIVES AND TRADITIONAL PROCESS
Howard Davis and Hajo Neis
University of Oregon, Eugene, U.S.A.; and University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

SACRED LANDSCAPE IN A CHINESE VILLAGE: A MODERN READING
Puay-Peng Ho
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TWENTY YEARS OF CHANGE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF YEMEN
Fernando Varanda

This paper deals with the definition of identity traits in the process of change in the built environment of North Yemen between 1970 and 1990, dates appearing as landmarks in the progression of this culture toward exposure to the world outside its long-established natural and political limits.

Until the 1970s the built space of North Yemen conveyed to the unspecialized observer a notion of homogeneity, consolidated through centuries of fierce isolation, never entered by any of the Western powers that colonized, politically and economically, the surrounding countries. Thus, it became common to talk of “Yemeni architecture,” notwithstanding the diversity exposed in surveys covering as much of the country as possible.

It is true that the images selected as an emblem of the country’s building originality — terraces and tower houses — correspond to fragmentary aspects of a whole, yet they have set the polar references which allowed an expatriate to say in 1975 that “all Yemenis are architects.” Implicit in the affirmation was the association of tradition with harmony in the relationship between dwellers and the environment and the way this reflected on social and individual values.

The changes brought about by the Republican Revolution of 1962 have shattered some of the components of this instinctive image. For example, the decadence of terraces and terrace-based agriculture is a function of the development of a road network and the penetration of trade. Preservation of the terraces at the present time, relegated to government obligation, appears to be more a matter of maintaining an identity factor than of economic or ecological concern, even given the role played by the terraces in the control of erosion.

The new order made obsolete containment of settlements by manmade walls or natural features, with their characteristic mimetic component. Deconfinement soon turned to expansion and sprawl around confined cores, which might be more or less preserved — be it out of an effort to respect a prevalence or as an identifying sign in an itinerary drawn by the tourist trade.

The introduction of new building materials and typologies determined various degrees of rupture. Structurally, utilization of concrete frames became generalized: building in solid stone became a sign of acquired wealth, particularly vigorous in the countryside. Earth construction was seriously threatened, yielding to concrete blocks in general, and to stone in better constructions. Power saws made possible a formal compromise, with concrete used in structures and in blocks for walls clad with stone tiles, and where a decorative grammar, directly inspired in traditional motifs or intentionally reacting to them, was possible.

Typological fragmentation — announced by the proliferation of apartment buildings, one- or two-story single houses, and new types for institutional use — appears to have been less radical than expected, and soon one- and two-story buildings were growing in height, as was the custom in the past with, ultimately, the same internal organization.

Regional identities were easily recognizable in the early 1970s. In the following twenty years, besides the syncretic languages developed in the main centers, regional identities seemed to be maintained or bloom in new forms, usually because of the increased accessibility to materials from other regions, such as stone. The development of free — and somewhat whimsical — decorative treatment of houses with less substantial quality became one of the aspects worth following in the countryside. At the same time, in the main towns the first consolidated examples appeared of local architects work, often revealing attempts at interpretation and stylization of a traditional language.

It appears, thus, that out of this period arose intuitive or deliberate efforts to shape an identity. The different types of building initiatives — entrepreneurial, architect-designed, and “popular” (or controlled by the traditional master mason) — began to develop identities of their own, with, nevertheless,
enough common traits allow one to perceive a common formal background. However, it may well be that the homogenous image of pre-revolutionary Yemen may have no correspondence in the production of the years that have followed. At the same time, there may be reason to speak of the emergence of a “vernacular architecture" expressed in the spontaneous manifestations marginal to mainstream building production.

THE USE OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE
Dana Buntrock and Mira Locher

Twentieth-century Japan has seen significant and dramatic change, often occurring in notable waves. At the beginning of the century, most Japanese still lived in ways that would have been familiar to their parents and grandparents, although the opening of the country to trade and political interaction in the mid-nineteenth century had already set the tone for subsequent periods of economic expansion: during the Meiji period, increased levels of consumption and access to foreign goods led to fashion being defined by the West—the most up-to-date clothes, cultural events and architecture were all perceived as American or European, although these were often naive variants of their original.

The three key periods of economic expansion and cultural change during the twentieth century were the “Taisho liberalization" of the 1920s, the post-war occupation of Japan by the United States, and the 1980s economic boom (often referred to as the “bubble"). In architecture, these periods have distinct and notable forms of expression which reflect explicitly to the West: the Taisho period was one where simple white buildings, inspired by European modernists, defined what was stylish; in the post-war period, a neo-brutalist modernism inspired by Le Corbusier flourished; and recently Japanese architecture has embraced an architectural expression based on the use of industrial materials and excessive “quoting" of significant buildings from the world’s history.

Intellectuals, alarmed by cultural shifts, have responded during each of these periods with notable literary and architectural contributions addressing the role of history. As an expression of the significance of tradition, no work on Japanese buildings is better known outside the country than In Praise of Shadows, by Jun’ichiro Tanizaki, published at the end of the Taisho period. Tanizaki, politically a nationalist, extolled the virtues of dark recesses and the deep-eaved Japanese architecture, and suggested that Western conveniences such as the ceramic toilet bowl and electric light disturbed the harmony of the home and, by extension, the spirit of its occupants. By contrast, Soetsu Yanagi, who founded the Japan Folkcraft Museum in 1936, called for recognition of the intrinsic beauty of folkcraft, allying mingei and the Japanese decorative arts they influenced with the English Arts and Crafts movement and related global trends. While Yanagi started from the beauty of Japanese crafts as a basis for his work and treated tradition as something which could be recognized and built on in a direct way, modernist architects of the 1920s used European trends to reinterpret Japanese architecture; it was those shared points, such as modularity and the use of materials in their raw state, which modernists argued were most significant.

The 1980s were also a time of rapid expansion, until the overheated economy collapsed into the current recession. Here, as well, traditional Japanese architecture has played several differing roles: shop, restaurant and hotel owners have cashed in on consumer nostalgia; books such as Japan Style, inspired by the homes of foreigner collectors, have promoted an interior design which isolates indigenous elements as exotic; architects have argued that attributes unique to the culture are reflected in unseen elements particular to Japanese designers; and other architects have called for approaches which integrate and support Japanese traditions of fabrication. The juxtaposition of contemporary approaches to tradition with similar periods from the past offers some insight into architectural trends today. On this basis, the authors hope to suggest which of these trends may have long-term impact, and what the nature of this impact may be.

TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS AND THE "NEW URBANISM": A REGIONAL AND HISTORICAL CRITIQUE
Nina Veregge

"New Urbanism" is an emerging movement in the planning and design professions which addresses perceived social and environmental failings of North American cities and suburbs. In its emphasis on designing public spaces to encourage civic participation and create a sense of local place, New Urbanism draws heavily on the forms and imagery of vernacular architecture. Critical analysis of new-urbanist projects and writings reveals, however, a very limiting cultural and historical perspective with regard to public space, one which risks superficial and inappropriate use of traditional precedent.

This paper examines New Urbanism’s limitations within the regional and historical context of the Greater Southwest. I propose that meaningful evaluation of traditional environments as precedent for urban and architectural design must incorporate analysis of the historical conditions in their social production, and, following A.D. King (1984, 1990) and others, I employ a political-economic perspective that relates changes in the local built form of public space with regional and global changes in the mode and relations of production.

After introducing the broad outlines of regional urban history, I focus on historical changes in the social and material construction of the public/private boundary in Sonoran towns between the late colonial period (1770-1821) and "the Porfiriato" (1876-1910). These two periods are chosen for comparison because they represent distinct political economies, and also because both are periods of urban growth and the con-
The paper will use the following elements of the building production process to describe the formation of selected traditional environments: the interrelationship between design and construction; the layout of settlements; the production of materials; control of the "user"; and the flow of money. It will then describe contemporary initiatives in which these elements of process, closely connected to traditional situations, are being used.

SACRED LANDSCAPE IN A CHINESE VILLAGE: A MODERN READING
Puay-Peng Ho

The New Territories of Hong Kong will revert to Chinese sovereignty again shortly after 98 years of what the Communists see as a chapter of shame in modern Chinese history. At this juncture we may ask what has changed in the village life in the time since Chinese last ruled the land? Specifically, how do the once loyal and gentrified villagers of the Qing dynasty see their tradition today in the current socioeconomic milieu vis-à-vis the sacro-cosmological world of the past? Without doubt, there are enormous changes in 97 years of development, during which many traditional values have been lost to the torrents of capitalist consumerism. However, there are remnants of world views and customs that still linger today, in stark juxtaposition with the high-technological late twentieth century.

This paper aims to trace the changes that have taken place in the last one hundred years through the study of the matrix of sacred landscapes in Ping Shan villages, and to interpret the villagers' reading of the ancient landscape. Chinese settlements were products of a world system that placed men in harmony with the spirit of earth and heaven. The system animated the universe and ensured an ontological existence at peace with all forces operating around the settlement. This was achieved through the geomantic reading of the site and the positing and maintenance of ritual to regard to the ancestral spirits and seek their continuing blessing on the living descendants. The proper balance of the sacred landscape in a traditional settlement between men, ancestors, deities and the land will be investigated in this paper. The maintenance of a select part of the traditional culture can be read as a means toward the preservation of community identity; at the same time that the land use around the settlement has inevitably changed, particularly in the last decades. I will also demonstrate that the traditional reading of the landscape is still used today as the most effective way of demonstrating village solidarity in the face of adversity.
20. THE ROLE OF CULTURE AND TRADITION IN DEVELOPMENT

CULTURAL CONTINUITY IN DEVELOPMENT
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TWO MISSIONS: CASE STUDIES IN THE MEANING OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
Derek Japha and Vivienne Japha
University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa

UTILIZING THE PAST IN REALITY OF THE PRESENT: A CASE STUDY OF BELL-AND-DRUM TOWER DISTRICT IN BEIJING
Heng Chye Kiang and Gan Ser Min
National University of Singapore, Singapore

OUR WAR WITH HOUSES IS THE FIERCEST OF ALL
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NEW TRADITIONS, NEW ENVIRONMENTS: THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY MORIBUND INNER-CITY INDUSTRIAL AREAS
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CULTURAL CONTINUITY IN DEVELOPMENT
Venkatesh Babu and Kalpana Kuttaiah

Tradition is rooted in “culture,” and culture is rooted in “place.” The customs and practices that are passed from generation to generation are bound in cultural evolution. Culture manifests the ideology, beliefs and values of a civilization, be these political, social, religious/spiritual, philosophical, environmental, ethical, or other. It represents a continuous “process of refinement” of a civilization or a society. Tradition and culture bind society, and the combine collective values with individual values to establish an overall value system and framework. Culture is a product/factor of historical development, environmental conditions, natural resources, social evolution, intellectual and spiritual enlightenment, developed in the permanency of a geographic boundary. Studies in history clearly show how the origins of one culture differ from those of another on the basis of geographic distribution. No two cultures in different locations are alike in all their characteristics. The cultures of transient societies, such as of gypsies, are as fluid as the transient nature of their inhabitation. Their values and belief systems are subject to constant change because they operate in constantly changing conditions. The dissimilarities between cultures are due to the way cultures adapt to natural surroundings, and to their perception and understanding of nature and patterns of thinking. Communal or group living provides a commonality to a culture’s pattern of thinking, thus, a common belief system evolves. In many societies one can notice subtle changes, sometimes even distinct changes, within a distance of 100-200 miles. The question is how does this occur? “Place” is a sensitive factor in these subtle changes. The permanency of place and the history of social evolution give an unique identity to each culture and society. The physical realm, built form, manifests itself in a culture’s value system, resources, adaptiveness, etc.

Why are “place and culture” so important? The answer lies precisely in the adaptation of “society/culture” to and in a particular “place”: the continuum of evolutionary change and the refinement that culture makes through experimentation over centuries. Globalization trends, massive urbanization, the information revolution, and the spread of consumerism fail to recognize the totality of culture. They operate beyond the subtleties that distinguish one culture from another. The underlying nature of the present globalization trend can by no means include the innumerable factors of culture: factors such as attitudes, beliefs, values, etc. Proponents of globalization and liberalization of culture may argue that multiculturalism and hybridity will enable one culture to embrace another culture and thus bring change and growth, and that this globalization will aid multiculturalism. The evolutionary process of culture already operates within this mechanism; the only difference may be the factor of time and the discreet adaptation. But the globalization trend, instead of operating within the mechanism of flexibility and adaptation, ignores the cultural values/effects and works to displace existing cultural values and systems. The effects of such globalization can be seen in development patterns, where tradition and culture have been ignored. Instead, many problems emerge: an indiscriminate pattern of land use; a universal pattern of design construction, and material use; inappropriate uses of the gridiron system of planning; wasteful patterns of social consumption; the rise of a corporate culture; and the development of environmental problems. The problems are self-evident. The effects are illustrated in every aspect of physical form that closely tie into the social and cultural realm. The classic example is the extinct of vernacular practices of construction; the materials and methods that respond so specifically to the culture and environment in its totality.

The diversity of culture is essential for a society and civilization. Cultural identity and continuity of tradition in built form is essential. It is the basic tool of innovation, growth and progress, and it reflects the true nature of freedom. The value system and framework of culture allows individual expression and self-actualization within a collective framework. The globalization trend disregards this essential characteristic of individ-
ual expression. It displaces it with mass culture, mob thinking, and monotony. The most threatening aspect of globalization is the destruction of the process of cultural evolution, which operates within a value system. The proponents of globalization may argue that such aspects as economy and affordability, speed and efficiency, convenience, and an improvement in the lives of the masses are the benefits of globalization. The question is at what cost do these benefits arise, and do the benefits outweigh the losses. Drastic change alters the value system drastically, and thus affects other things. Culture is a sensitive fabric of many elements; the role of tradition and culture must be considered in change, growth and development.

This paper will conduct a critical inquiry into the role of cultural continuity in development, the role of collective and individual values within the framework of culture, and the representation of these aspects in the built form.

TWO MISSIONS: CASE STUDIES IN THE MEANING OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
Derek Japha and Vivienne Japha

This paper will present case studies of two mission settlements to examine different aspects of the prospects for traditional environments in contemporary South Africa and their uses in contemporary development. The first will be the settlement of Genadendal in the Western Cape, and the second will be the large mission complex of Healdtown in the Eastern Cape. Missions, in general, are interesting case studies for several of the conference sub-themes, because of the extreme ambiguity of their cultural role in South African history. These specific missions have been selected for this paper because each has had a different history that bears on the meaning of tradition to its contemporary user, making possible a comparative commentary about the use and significance of each as a traditional environment in contemporary development.

As background, in the nineteenth century South Africa was among the most heavily missionized territories on earth. The character and history of specific missions was influenced by many factors, one of the most important being whether the mission was in front of, or behind, the line of colonial advance. Missions beyond the border of colonial control, such as Healdtown, had from the start a contradictory and constantly shifting meaning to local communities. They acted as fronts for colonial penetration, and therefore posed a well-understood threat to the social and cultural stability of the areas in which they were situated; but they also provided access to information and goods and could become useful channels for diplomacy. Their sites reflected this ambiguity — always far enough from the chief’s Great Place to prevent interference, but near enough to be watched and used with discretion.

Initially, it was common for these missions to have only small resident populations. After colonial dispossession was complete, however, pressure for land forced more and more people onto mission properties, and the missions began to play increasingly important roles in the provision of services to rural people. Mission schools, in particular, represented the main source of high-quality schooling available to Africans until the mid-century. But missions also provided access to churches, vocational training, health services, agricultural extension programs, and even land and employment. At their peak, many missions were vibrant centers of rural social life, substantial places centered on large complexes of colonial buildings. Healdtown followed this general profile in most respects, and by the early twentieth century, it had become a large campus surrounded by a number of villages on the mission land.

The mission education system was systematically destroyed by Apartheid education planners after the introduction of “Bantu Education.” The education provided by mission schools such as Healdtown represented an obvious challenge to an education policy that was designed to equip Africans only for menial social positions. The mission schools were taken over in the mid-1950s by the Department of Bantu Education, beginning the process of decline. After the 1976 uprising, when education institutions throughout the country became the focus of resistance to Apartheid, mission schools, including Healdtown, were torched and vandalized, sometimes explicitly because they had come to represent not just Apartheid education, but the entire history of colonial oppression.

However, the current paradigm of multiculturalism that has become dominant in national life has opened the way for reevaluation of this colonial heritage, and mission institutions and environments are rapidly acquiring new meanings that are unifying various sectors of rural society. These meanings draw heavily on a powerful image of what missions once were as places and as social institutions, and their physical reconstruction is coming to stand for both to local communities and politicians, as a powerful symbol for new possibilities of integrated rural development.

Genadendal, unlike Healdtown, was established behind the line of colonial advance, as a refuge for dispossessed indigenous people. Missions of this kind were always settled from the start; in fact, until well into the nineteenth century Genadendal was the second largest settlement in South Africa after Capetown. Some of the most distinctive vernacular landscapes in South Africa were established in Moravian missions such as Genadendal, based on an initially thriving local economy of agriculture and craft production. These missions combined a waif (the social and religious center of the mission), a system of houses located around irrigated land for vegetables shared by all residents, and a carefully defined system of land use defining access to land resources for agriculture and pastoralism.

The decline of missions like Genadendal began in the nineteenth century, as competition from industry and commercial agriculture forced the local enterprises out of business. Thus, although Genadendal retained its resident population and successfully initiated a process of secularization that placed control of the mission lands in the hands of these local people, the
Genadendal community became progressively more marginalized economically. Although it today has rich land resources for development, Genadendal now is home to an impoverished community of the old and the very young, and of seasonal laborers obtaining employment outside the mission.

The qualities as a vernacular landscape of this unique local environment may immediately be apparent to outsiders. But to many inhabitants it represents an identity they wish to shed—an identity associated with poverty and backwardness, diametrically opposite to the progress that for the is represented by the increasing presence in the settlement of images of global culture that are steadily displacing vernacular form.

This paper, using archival and contemporary illustrative material and the results of fieldwork and interviews with mission residents and community leaders, will describe the history of each mission, illustrate such as a “traditional” vernacular landscape, analyze the changing meanings of “tradition” arising from that history, and discuss the different role and significance of “tradition” in the likely trajectory of the contemporary development that can be expected in each case. It is based on research carried out over the last five years, involving extensive fieldwork in missions throughout the country, including the two missions selected as case example.

UTILIZING THE PAST IN REALITY OF THE PRESENT: A CASE STUDY OF BELL-AND-DRUM TOWER DISTRICT IN BEIJING
Heng Chye Kiang and Gan Ser Min

The uniqueness of the Bell-and-Drum Tower district lies not only in the richness of its architectural heritage—which includes a considerably large number of historic buildings, temples, well-preserved courtyard houses, juxtaposed in an interesting system of squares, hutong, and yard spaces—but also in the wealth of fascinating customs and folklore. It was located in the northern center of the Yuan dynasty (AD 1279-1368) capital of Da Du. The capital was planned faithfully according to the Chinese city-planning principle of qianchao houshi (market behind the administrative center), which was stipulated in the book of Zhou rites. The Shishahal area west of Bell-and-Drum Tower district was the navigation center, and the Bell-and-Drum Tower district was a buzzing commercial center with a rich mercantile culture.

However, when navigation activity ended in the subsequent Ming and Qing dynasties, commercial activities declined. But as the area possessed the scenic beauty of the coastal counties, it became a residential and cultural center for rich Manchu officials and scholars. Until 1924 the Bell-and-Drum Tower was also responsible for reporting time through the percussion of bell and drum. The fall of the Qing dynasty, followed by the abolition of the welfare system of the Manchu bourgeois, led to a decline in the richness of culture and tradition of the area.

Between the years of early socialist rule and those of the recent economic reforms, uncoordinated planning and poorly supervised implementation of policies led to the disintegration of the city’s urban fabric, resulting in a polluted, overpopulated inner city, with substandard housing and infrastructure. Therefore, there is an urgent call to revitalize the once-dynamic inner-city center to shoulder new responsibilities and meet modern standards of living, at the same time that it might continue to express the unique character of the place.

Recent small-scale area conservation at the fringes of the district has yielded results especially in the case of Ju’er Hutong housing project. The use of the traditional Chinese courtyard system to create a modern courtyard prototype, developed under new socioeconomic, conditions shed light on the complicated issue of urban renewal.

The Bell-and-Drum Tower district is now at the threshold of a substantial change. How the city will make use of traditional planning and design methods to inform the revitalization of the district makes this an important case study, with the potential to affect the revitalization of historic districts in other Chinese cities.

OUR WAR WITH HOUSES IS THE FIERCEST OF ALL
M. Bilgi Denel

With capitalism, decades of double-digit inflation, and uncontrolled consumerism, the Anatolian people of today’s Turkey are searching for a sense of identity within the constraints of more than 150 years of Westernization mandate, handed down from the top. The execution of the Westernization mandate has forced Western forms upon people without their intellectual, moral, and ethical content. Thus, the rich stock of vernacular houses appear to have lost their battles to the descendants of the people who once created them. When replaced with real estate development, one loses one’s chances of self-identity, self-assurance, and most importantly, self-respect.

Well into the twentieth century, the majority of people in Anatolia lived in self-sufficient villages, building their homes and dealing with climate and limited building materials in resourceful ways. In towns and cities, houses were built in the spirit of vernacular traditions, respecting site, light, wind and view, and the lifestyles of occupants. In Istanbul and other cities, fires, demands for housing due to migration from villages, and the desire to be “modern” have now led to the destruction of old urban fabrics and their replacement with grids filled with Western-style apartments. Squatter housing by migrants has created a new vernacular around the cities. But the response to increasing need has been more apartments.
by both public authorities and developers, and Western models have created a bad fit with the real needs and aspirations of the populace. Except for the wealthy, alternative typologies have not been provided. Whereas modernism was indigenous to Europe, it was imported to Turkey. After World War II, the future was based completely on Western models, while local traditions have been continually devalued. This self-inflicted cultural degradation could not have been more pronounced if it had been imposed by the worst colonial overlord.

Architects returning to Turkey after studying abroad have been ill-equipped to understand local problems and find solutions except through imported forms. Shortly before World War II many Western professors acquired influential positions in Turkish universities, pushing internationalism. Important planning and design problems and affordable housing were ignored in favor of fashionable civic projects. In a nation until recently predominantly composed of peasants — and of nomads before that — where suppression has been the law, it has been difficult to find interest in architectural quality or to sponsor a dialogue between universities, the profession, the bureaucracy, and the people. For architects trained in Western ways, it was easy to dismiss traditions as old-fashioned values.

On a more positive note, this paper will narrate comparatively the developments of the 1980s, since which time there has been a reemergence of interest in traditional house forms. This has come through large housing firms, which are capable of delivering large quantities of housing in a short time, and which are emphasizing the betterment of residential neighborhoods and the reintroduction of at least some of the visual qualities of traditional districts — and (on rare occasions) some of the maxims of traditional values, and some of the interest in user needs. Within the universities, there is interest in new design strategies and methods, together with research to document the past while looking toward a potential future.

**NEW TRADITIONS, NEW ENVIRONMENTS: THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY MORIBUND INNER-CITY INDUSTRIAL AREAS**

Jeffery Stinson

The term “traditional environments” conjures up a variety of images — no doubt a bit different from person to person. But for those of us living in the high-speed “developed” world, the idea of a tradition is likely to be very positive, carrying with it an aura of historic worth, of stability and continuity, of vernacular building, of a life lived closer to nature and to each other. These associations are often justified, but they can also be limiting.

We have established and abandoned a number of environments even within the past 200 years, and some of these deserve consideration for their traditional characteristics. They are unique in themselves; and if we were to give them the same kind of imagination and care that we lavish on conventionally defined traditional places, we could invigorate our cities and our lives.

Perhaps the most extreme example of this possibility is to be found in inner-city industrial areas. All across Canada (and presumably the U.S.) the industrial zones which fueled the prosperity of major cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are falling into disuse, victims of changing transportation technology and globalization. The conventional method of redevelopment of such places has involved eradication of all traces of the former life and the substitution of a new commercial/residential world.

It is the proposition of this paper that by failing to recognize them as important assets and destroying the resources offered by them, our cities lose places which are not only historic but interesting, useful, and sometimes beautiful. One-hundred-year-old industrial areas are traditional environments totally ignored or undervalued by our society, and if subjected to thoughtful and imaginative evolution they could — like their more conventional counterparts — contribute to what Kevin Lynch has called cities of “temporal depth.”

This paper examines the conventional perception of old industrial areas, underlines the reasons for their cultural invisibility, and offers new strategies for the future. Understanding them as a type of traditional environment, we can capitalize on their special characteristics to develop new city places in which the traditional and the new are effectively interlocked. Illustrations are drawn from Canadian case studies.
A salient characteristic of vernacular building is the almost infinite variation in visual composition that can be achieved within a relatively limited and clearly ordered vocabulary of architectural components. This quality often eludes contemporary designers and architects, particularly in large-scale building projects. Fractal geometry provides concepts that can introduce a mix of order and surprise to the design process, and musical notation embodies these concepts. The paper demonstrates the use of musical notation to enrich the design of housing in an historic neighborhood, and suggests that the use of fractal concepts may help architects design more sensitively in a traditional context.

Vernacular architecture has been a significant inspiration for architects and designers of the last half of the twentieth century. For example, modernists such as Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier found justification for their own design philosophies in the utilitarian use of materials and technology, the functional adaptation to site and climate, and the beauty of apparently simple manipulations of space and form. Furthermore, in 1964 the exhibition and book by Bernard Rudofsky, Architecture Without Architects, emphasized the humane quality of vernacular built environments, and provided numerous examples of rich settings for social interaction. The fit between cultural context and architectural form further reinforced the social agenda of modern architects.

Nonetheless, much of modern architecture has been lacking in the very qualities of vernacular building that it is supposed to emulate. Particularly in the realm of housing, there has been a worldwide proliferation of standardized apartment blocks that do not adjust to landscape, climate, and existing architectural and social conditions. Whereas vernacular builders were able to create almost infinite variation within a relatively limited palette of architectural components, the repetitious and anonymous qualities of the modern housing block are rarely relieved. The contrast is most vivid when modern construction replaces or is inserted into traditional neighborhoods. More often than not, the new construction is insensitive to its context, possessing neither the aesthetic richness nor the social viability of the original.

This paper describes the use of fractal geometry in the design of housing in a traditional environment. More specifically, the paper shows how design methods informed by fractal theory were explored in the development of the architectural composition of a facade by using the rhythms, intervals and dynamics in a musical score. The study took place in the context of a graduate design studio at the University of Maryland School of Architecture during the spring semester of 1995. The subject of the studio was the design of approximately two hundred units of mid-rise housing neighboring an historic district in Akşehir, a mid-sized Turkish city. The project was initially carried out according to conventional methodologies: that is, analysis of the urban, architectural and cultural context of the site preceded the establishment of an urban design scheme, with rules for street sizes and types, systems of public open space, and building types and scales. Examination of individual buildings in greater depth determined their internal organization and external character. Finally, all parts of the proposals were assembled into a complete design.
compare the box-counting method of calculating fractal dimension with the rescaled-range-analysis method of calculating fractal dimension.

The box-counting method applies a grid of boxes over the elevation of a building. Boxes that have lines in them are counted. Another smaller-scale grid is then applied over the elevation. Again the boxes with lines in them are counted. A log-log linear correlation is then made between the number of counted boxes and the size of the grid used to make the count. The slope of the regression line is an estimate of the fractal dimension of the elevation. As the grid gets smaller, the fractal dimension calculation will reduce to 1.0 as the boxes chase straight lines around the elevation drawing. The box-counting method is capable of measuring the range of scales over which self-similarity exists. It was applied to the multifamily housing project designed to be sympathetic with Turkish vernacular building by William Bechhoefer and Marilyn Appleby, described in the paper mentioned above. The results indicate a lack of sensitivity to complex rhythms.

Rescaled range analysis is a calculation method that was derived to study the variation of natural entities through time. It was developed by H.E. Hurst to study natural fluctuations through time. The procedure looks at the average growth of range between high and low levels of a fluctuation over different time scales. A log-log plot of the average fluctuation range, versus the time scale the range was calculated from, produces a linear correlation for many natural phenomenon. The slope of the correlation line is the Hurst exponent. The Hurst exponent (H) is related to the fractal dimension (D) through a simple formula: $D = 2 - H$. The Hurst exponent and the resulting fractal dimension provides a method of quantifying the mix of order and surprise in a rhythm sequence: the higher the fractal dimension the more surprise is raised into the order. Rescaled range analysis was applied to the multifamily housing design discussed in the Bechhoefer and Appleby paper. The results demonstrate the ability of rescaled range analysis to distinguish between simple and complex rhythm structures.

**LANGUAGE AND VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE**

*Rosemary Latter*

This paper proposes that an understanding of the terminology and conceptual basis of the language used by a population can inform the study of its traditional architecture and settlement patterns. There is evidence that areas of the world rich in language and dialect correspond to those rich in vernacular architectural traditions, such as Indonesia and Europe, and that much can be revealed about the concepts, values and meanings which underlie the built form of a culture by the study of its language.

The study of linguistics can contribute to the interpretation of vernacular architecture. I will examine three ways in which it can do this: first, by translating the language structures that a culture uses to describe the environment in order to understand the particular way it conceptualizes space; second, by investigating linguistic associations in order to map the historical relationships of building types; and third, by examining the terminology both of building technology and of building use in order to trace the transmission of skills and design developments.

Linguistic examples will be used to illustrate the conceptual nuances between different cultural and physical environments, where an understanding of the language, and therefore of the spatial concepts of a culture, can provide a key to a much deeper appreciation of its architecture. The use of linguistic evidence to reveal information about the historical development of building types will be shown with reference to examples which trace the shift in design of building types and the terminology used to describe them. The paper concludes with an examination of how the overlapping of building and settlement terminology in Central Europe can show the transmission of craftsmen’s skills and design influences, by using my ongoing study of this subject in the French-, German-, Italian- and Romansch-speaking areas of the Alps and pre-Alps of Switzerland.
The built environment of an area is central to the understanding of a culture. In that context the environment provides an important connection between the past and present, which is increasingly important as cultural identities become more merged. Unfortunately, this unity at present is becoming more difficult to maintain in an epoch of transition, as change becomes more intense and more rapid than ever before. An attempt has been made here to identify these problems by studying the significance of certain house types. The paper demonstrates the functional quality and design of the types within two cultures comparatively: Turkey and Sicily. Regarding the vernacular urban settlements, the paper looks at the “past” and seeks to identify areas of continuity and areas of change that affect the relationship between built environment and culture in both examples. Specifically, areas of continuity and change include religious base, gender relationships, family structure, and relationships with the outside world.

The explanation for differences and similarities between the cultures is looked for by analyzing the interrelationship between socio-cultural ideas and spatial norms. So far this work endeavored to describe the way in which the house types are the material expression of a matrix of socio-cultural influences, including the site layout, the spatial organization of the form, and the arrangement and the use of spaces. The position held here is that design and behavior are functionally interdependent, and that there exists a fundamental relationship between the organization of space and that of social structure. As proposed, this spatial structure, however, not only reflects, but also influences, the social structure. Thus, while giving ideas about the structure of spatial behavior, the study also examines ways in which people adapt their behavior to different designs. On the whole, the background purposes of the study have been to identify design conflicts and compromises which may seem unavoidable in the present use of vernacular architecture, but which could possibly be resolved in future planning.

For people in traditional Taiwanese societies, the ultimate origin of all existence, or the ultimate source of everything is called “Tien” (Heaven). People in traditional Taiwanese societies attributed all phenomena, good or bad, to the will of Heaven. The idea of the sacred was strongly presented and represented in the built environment. In order to establish a link between the human and the celestial worlds, people in the past erected temples and endowed many buildings with cosmological meaning, through which they came to form the sacred part of the settlement.

However, as Taiwanese societies have become modernized, the idea of the sacred increasingly has lost its power. As the secular world intrudes on such sacred-centered societies, activities unrelated to the idea of the sacred become increasingly important. Life becomes compartmentalized as the individual leads much of his existence in the secular world. On the one hand, urbanization, an inevitable concomitant of modernization, has had a great impact on the decline of people's attitude toward the idea of the sacred. On the other hand, the rationalist and materialist coloration of modern science and technology induces many well-educated people to regard the idea of the sacred as superstitious. When the idea of the sacred disappears, the meaning of a building is reduced to that of a mere machine to live in or an aesthetically pleasing object.

This paper will, first, review how the idea of the sacred is embodied in the traditional built environment and, second, discuss several phenomena which have emerged as the idea of the sacred declines in the development of the Taiwanese post-war built environment.
THE ALEXANDRINE PARADIGM
Shams Eidien Naga

Alexandria, once the capital of the Hellenistic world and only second in importance to imperial Rome and Constantinople, today faces the problem of reconciling its architectural heritage with urban development pressures. Modern-day Alexandria is an eclectic city, contemptuous of its past, more interested in development than in conservation, eager to destroy the visible stages of her progress.

Denocrates’s classical planning for Alexandria, with its gridiron pattern and the major perpendicular axes running north-south and east-west, intersecting at the Soma, has influenced the city’s modern linear expansion. Coptic architecture with its neo-Byzantine and neo-Romanesque style blends with the city’s exceptional Islamic monuments. The architectural monuments of the Turkish town, though not as grand as Cairo’s mosques and wekalas, are especially unique for their application and reuse of classical elements in their architecture.

Alexandria’s modern urban development is experienced as a continuity of its past and as a product of two major phases in its modern evolution. The first phase began with Mohammed Ali’s assertion of power in 1805 and efforts (and those of his successors) to modernize Egypt along European models. During this period, urban society was structured in two different groups. The cosmopolitan, European national community, protected by the capitulation, dominated the city’s center, and the colonial city followed European models in its expansion on the basis of commerce, finance, service, industry, and the exportation of primary products, mainly cotton. On the other hand, the traditional city, with its pre-modern vernacular order, extended its influence to new local quarters, with European formalism suppressing local traditions.

The Caffarian biographer Robert Liddel fictionalized Alexandria in his novel Unreal City as a city with a sea front “on which several cultures had done their worst,” whose architecture resembles “bad wallpaper, as it were overlaid with bands of vulgar jewelry.” But he added: “I think that is a comfort. I should be less happy in Birmingham, I dare say, or in Pittsburgh.” For Liddel, the Alexandria that grew under Mohammed Ali’s influence, though hardly beautiful, seemed to have a strange and pleasant spirit: Occidental and Oriental.

The importance of Alexandria lies in the role it maintained throughout its history, due to its geographic location in terms of the other cultures of the Occidental world, as a link between Egypt and the rest of the world. The resultant residual or emerged hegemonic culture, suppressing local existing traditions, is exceptionally unique and exclusive in its character. The cosmopolitan Alexandria of the nineteenth and mid-twentieth century, a residual of Occidental European culture, was by no means Paris or London, just as Roman Alexandria was not Hellenic Athens or imperial Rome. In an attempt to recreate Alexandria’s identity, this essay will attempt to explain the development of its urban environment, set in historical perspective and viewed as a product of change in the social, cultural and political development.

TIBETAN ARCHITECTURE: EXPLORING A CULTURAL CONTINUUM
William Semple

In many of the changes which are occurring in the world today (in both the developed and undeveloped countries, for lack of better terms) the speed and process of change is causing a crisis of identity. Architecture, regionally and internationally, has both enhanced this change and largely failed to help cultures create new identities for themselves. The questions of who architecture represents and how architecture functions as an instrument of empowerment are key to adapting architecture to change and using it as a process to reflect change.

This paper uses the Tibetan refugee community in India as a focal point for this discussion. While the political exodus of the Tibetan community to India occurred in 1959, the cultural implications of this departure took longer to come about. The devastating influence which the Cultural Revolution in China had on Tibetan society placed an increasing responsibility on maintaining cultural traditions within the Tibetan community outside of Tibet. The Tibetans provide an example of the efforts made by a community to maintain culture under the influence of both political change and as a refugee community whose traditions are now surviving outside of their land of origin.

The paper explores some of the differing notions of preservation which exist in Tibetan society, as compared to those of the West, by examining some of the issues which have influenced the preservation and development of the Tibetan architectural tradition in India. This includes issues such as emphasis on the sacredness of the site versus the importance of the object, traditional architecture as a reflection of the collective consciousness of a people, and the role of the master builder vs. the architect.

Focusing on the community in Dharamsala, India, the home of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in Exile, the paper will look at three different stages of evolution in the preservation of Tibetan architecture and the Tibetan building tradition in India:

- Settlement: The establishment of the Tibetan community in Dharamsala including the building of housing, developing local resources, and establishing the community. Issues relating to limited resources, limited skills within the community, changes in environment from Tibet to India, and attempts to bring Tibetan style into the community are examined.

- Rebuilding: The re-establishment of Tibetan architecture. The local rendition of traditional Tibetan architecture as well as the reinterpretation of Tibetan style is examined.
In Dharamsala, this has included the mirroring of the traditional look of buildings in Tibet by copying this aesthetic using nontraditional building materials.

- Reinterpretation: Recent projects have offered a reinterpretation of traditional Tibetan architecture through the combining of traditional elements with design ideas which reflect the Tibetan community today. Two projects are examined: the Norbulingka Cultural Centre (nearing completion), and the Dolma Ling Nunnery (beginning construction).

Tibetan architecture is clearly at a crossroads. If traditional Tibetan architecture is not to become a caricature of itself, it will be necessary to explore new materials, technologies and ideas. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to the continuing dialogue which will be necessary to understand this issue.

23. SPONTANEOUS AESTHETICS: THE TRADITIONS OF SQUATTERS

THE MISSING ATTRIBUTES OF THE NEW VERNACULAR: A BRAZILIAN EXAMPLE
Doris C.C.K. Kowaltowski and Lucila Chebel Labaki
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PAPER OR PLASTIC? A WRAPPED CULTURE BY THE HOMELESS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MATERIALS THE HOMELESS USE IN SÃO PAULO AND LOS ANGELES
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THE SPACES OF HOME: AN EXAMINATION OF DOMESTIC SPACE IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS
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THE MISSING ATTRIBUTES OF THE NEW VERNACULAR: A BRAZILIAN EXAMPLE
Doris C.C.K. Kowaltowski and Lucila Chebel Labaki

Self-built houses of urban settlements in developing countries are frequently termed the new vernacular. Brazilian regional self-built houses are analyzed, through a survey, with regard to construction and design attributes considered essential in the definition of a vernacular architecture. Factors of building process and technology, function, aesthetic and environmental comfort are shown to be specific to the self-building activity in the region of the city of Campinas. This local new vernacular is influenced by the evolution of the traditional colonial Brazilian house, middle-class values, building codes, as well as economic limitations. Some important quality attributes are found to be missing, especially effectiveness of response to climate. For the new vernacular to attain lasting value, specific attributes must be added. This architectural quality can be acquired through deliberate aid mechanisms which increase design awareness.
PAPER OR PLASTIC? A WRAPPED CULTURE BY THE HOMELESS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MATERIALS THE HOMELESS USE IN SÃO PAULO AND LOS ANGELES

Maria Cecília Loschiavo dos Santos

At the end of this century, the wealthy countries that are dominated by an economy which controls and designs products that can be discarded — reducing each time their useful life — are facing a phenomenon that has made a deep impact on society. What should be done to the products that are no longer used? This question becomes even more important in global cities such as São Paulo and Los Angeles which provide data representative of worldwide practices regarding products and materials. The effects of this perversive imperative generate such a quantity of discarded and disposable products of all types that they transform the streets and spaces of the metropolis into a true receptacle of surpassed products, in a practically paleotechnical jungle. Global cities are facing challenges created by this process that interfere with the identity of the built environment.

Defunct, defunctus, de-functus, disfunctionalized and abandoned, the degraded objects rest on city streets, like garbage of the technological and industrialized culture, exposing publicly the contradictory relations among technology, society, arbitrary necessities, and accumulated choices in our time.

The unceasing search for material strategies of survival have brought to the homeless a possibility of exhuming these dead products and materials, attributing to them other definitions and establishing new relations, and above all constructing a new materiality on their part. Material boundaries have become blurred. The materials that the homeless use to shelter themselves have several lives by their own criteria of selectivity, creativity and improvisation.

Materials and functional objects can reappear in unexpected ways forcing us to reorder our thinking: for example, the commonest query, “Paper or plastic?” of our daily life. In the material world of the homeless, paper or plastic become the basic resource for a wrapped culture. Plastic is the basic resource for building the so-called tent-houses, the blue-plastic condominiums in Skid Row, Los Angeles, and the mocós in downtown São Paulo. Cardboard, the basic resource to generate some protection reappears as insulation between the body and the sidewalk, as a blanket that affords some heat, as a temporary refuge by the juxtaposition of a variety of boxes, as a skeleton for a drape that provides some privacy. Alexander, a member of the Homeless Writers Coalition in Los Angeles, evocatively portrays “Cardboard America” as “Real U.S.D.A. Americans sleeping in cardboard condominiums” with “cardboard blankets” and “sleeping in cardboard box.”

This paper seeks to understand the reuse of materials and products by homeless people in two global cities: São Paulo, Brazil, and Los Angeles, California. In both cities the reuse of materials and products provides a representative and powerful scene to explore the creativity of material strategies of survival of the homeless from different points of view in the First and Third Worlds.


Anne Hublin

Historic cities once developed aesthetic patterns that left places for the upsurge of irregular urban forms. In 1889, these ancient patterns were described as relevant models for planning modern cities in “Sadtebau” by Camillo Sitte. Since the early 1960s, historicism has proposed a revival of such ancient urban and architectural forms. But modern planning is still very far from the lessons of urban tradition. Paradoxically, it is in the unplanned spontaneous settlements that we can today observe the making of tradition-mimetic urban forms. Because they are made by people, such places have developed space patterns which, in a way, can be compared to the aesthetics of the medieval “città naturale” (a term used in 1967 by Enrico Guidoni to describe “arte urbanistica in Toscana,” from 1000 to 1315 AD). The case study of a squatter settlement, Volga-Plage, located in the periphery of Fort-de-France (Martinique, F.W.I.) is developed to explain the making of these “modern traditional” organic forms.

Volga-Plage settlement started in 1963. The site included a marshy land and a steep sloped hill, which in 1988 were both entirely occupied by squatters. Aerial photographs and topographical maps of 1950, 1968 and 1988 are compared to analyze the spread of constructions on the site; and an oral history of the making of the site is proposed, based on interviews of inhabitants. The description insists on following morphological aspects of the “medieval” pattern of the squatter settlement.

- The making of sinuous streets adapted, stage by stage, to the constraints of the site topography.
- The variety of the forms of allotment, due to a process of sharing land between households, who arrive one by one on the squatted site.
- The diversity of house forms, due to individualized construction.
- The rugosity of the hand-made texture of constructions.

In conclusion, the urban harmony of the salvage city is globalized under the term “real aesthetics,” which is opposed to the “placeless” aspect of a nearby low-cost housing estate built during the same period according to conventional urban planning. For Aldo Rossi, “the city” is a thing of art, and each historical site is a unique “locus.” Volga is certainly not a piece of medieval art like Sienna or Pisa, but it is a real city. Unconsciously, modern squatters have followed the same path as ancient “blind builders,” who used to build houses for
specific families directly on-site, stage by stage. We have also
to add that if Volga is now a unique site with a strong authen-
tic identity, the planned low-cost housing estate looks like . . .
a "no-thing," nowhere!

THE SPACES OF HOME: AN EXAMINATION OF DOMESTIC
SPACE IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS
Hülya Turgut and Peter Kellett

Until recently it was assumed that dwellings within squat­
tter areas were essentially minimal shelters and that the forms
and spaces produced were largely a response to severe econom­
ic constraints with little or no opportunity for cultural expres­
sion. However, within the limitations of their situation, many
squatter households are able to create meaningful spaces which
respond to and reflect their cultural values. In addition, in
many places such residents are experiencing a process of trans­
formation from rural-based values, to urban values and it is
believed that these changes will be reflected in the types of
spaces produced as well as the way the dwellings are used.
Central to this discussion is an understanding of the meaning
of home, and how such meanings are created through the
processes of settlement and consolidation of the dwelling.
The paper consists of three main parts. The first will
examine the theoretical literature on the meaning and use of
space in domestic environments. The second will then test
these ideas by analyzing space creation and space usage in spe­
cific squatter areas in two contrasting contexts, Turkey and
Colombia, where the authors have collected detailed primary
data. The third part continues with a dialectic analysis of the
cases presented. The study concludes with some brief observa­
tions about the relevance of these ideas to contemporary
debates concerning official responses to low-income settlements.

24. ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS OF
TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENTS

TRADITIONAL HOUSES OF KULA, TURKEY
Cigdem T. Akkurt
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A STUDY OF WORDS AND BUILDINGS: CARDAKS OF THE
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
Judith Bing
Drexel University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

PATTERNS OF PRIVACY AND HOSPITALITY IN THE TRADITION­
AL PERSIAN HOUSE
G. Hossein Memarian and Frank Edward Brown
University of Manchester, Manchester, U.K.

THE TRADITIONAL ARAB COURTYARD IN THE CONTEXT
OF ISLAMIC CULTURE
Subir Saha and Salwa Mikhael
School of Architecture and Planning, New Delhi, India

TRADITIONAL HOUSES OF KULA, TURKEY
Cigdem T. Akkurt

In the last thirty years, due to migration from provincial
towns to large cities, changing life-styles, and the need for
modernization, the traditional Turkish house has somewhat
lost its charm and importance for city as well as provincial peo­
ple. At a very fast pace the old traditional-type houses are
being abandoned in favor of impersonal, poorly planned and
built, reinforced-con crete structures, creating "old" and "new"
districts in towns regardless of size and population.
In other words, traditional architecture is disappearing in
Turkey. Attractive, sensitive, modest wooden structures, espe­
cially houses, are being replaced by concrete-frame/masonry­
infill structures, creating a "concrete jungle." Meanwhile, the
essence of the Turkish architectural heritage lies in the modest
but charming houses of the little towns of Anatolia and
Thrace, where somehow it has been left undisturbed and
unspoiled. Kula is one of these towns.

In light of this rapid process of Westernization, as
opposed to modernization, it is necessary to study, regentrify
and preserve such communities of buildings. As the noted
Turkish architect and professor Dogan Kuban has written, "We
are obliged to keep alive the historical continuum which pro­
vides a balanced transformation of the society by resisting the
natural forces created by economic and social changes."

One of the ways to keep the historical continuum alive is
to make people aware by helping them appreciate the historical,
A Study of Words and Buildings: Cardaks of the Former Yugoslavia
Judith Bing

In our contemporary world of composite cultures we lose track of the rich and complex associations present between words and architecture — we name spaces and forms using words whose meanings we have long taken for granted. This presentation suggests that the words we use to name the spaces we inhabit are worth considering, and it examines one word as an example of the richness carried in a consciously named architectural form. In the diverse landscapes of former Yugoslavia — particularly the countries of Macedonia, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro, including Kosovo), Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Croatia — cardak is a word which permits diversity while retaining its powerful poetic heritage as "a place between heaven and earth."

A cardak (pronounced "chardak") is a place for social exchange, for solar warmth or shaded cooling, for enjoyment of the landscape, and (in towns) for viewing into the street and neighborhood. A symbol of leisure and prosperity, cardaks are richly constructed, with great attention to detail. The semi-enclosed spaces reveal construction techniques which are elsewhere obscured beneath finish materials. They are small spaces, for intimate conversation among family and friends. In the context of Western architecture, porches are the closest parallel, yet none of our terms collects into one the social, formal and contextual purposes of cardaks. The architectonic power of cardak spaces has inspired past travelers to the Balkans, among them Le Corbusier, whose travel journal and sketchbooks demonstrate his appreciation for these raised-up, view-oriented rooms.

This presentation will survey the sources of the cardak and explore regional variations of the word. The purpose is to rekindle appreciation of the power, constancy, variability, and constructed richness of architectural language. The presentation includes examples in the form of research drawings and photographs of examples from urban and rural contexts, including dwelling, religious, and even military forms. In all cases, the cardaks indicate the vital bond between indoors and out, between building and site. They encapsulate at once the differences and the similarities among the many peoples who are now subject to religious division and aspiring uniform culture in separate zones of the former Yugoslav environment.

During 1987-88 the author and research colleague Brooke Harrington spent eleven months in former Yugoslavia researching and making field observations of traditional wooden architecture. Information and visual representation of this vernacular architecture is little known in English-speaking countries, since publications on the subject are written in local languages. The co-researchers have continued to create an archive of books, photographs and drawings which have formed the basis for several papers, presentations and exhibitions, and which are intended for eventual publication. This study of cardaks is one of the topics of their continuing research.

Patterns of Privacy and Hospitality in the Traditional Persian House
G. Hossein Memarian and Frank Edward Brown

Few works have studied in any detail the patterns of privacy and hospitality in traditional Persian architecture. Both patterns derive from the ancient beliefs and customs of the Iranian people. The separation of public and private domains goes back to pre-Islamic culture: in Persepolis the two were set apart and located on quite different levels. During the Islamic period (i.e., after the seventh century) the spatial division between public and private became firmly established as a principle of Persian architecture.

The position of the guest room in the house may vary from one part of the country to another. Moreover, different methods are adopted to divide the public from the private realm. This is demonstrated by reference to nomads' tents, huts, courtyard houses, and row houses drawn from various regions of Iran.

We shall analyze the influence of privacy and hospitality needs by reference to specific spatial characteristics, such as the access pattern, and to the overall form of the house. The different methods used to reconcile the demand for both privacy and hospitality are explored for a range of house types. The solutions can be divided into three categories: 1) where guests and inhabitants occupy the same space; 2) where there is separation of areas within the same floor space; and 3) where there is complete physical separation of domains. The most extreme example of separation (type 3) occurs in multi-courtyard hous-
es, where each courtyard represents an independent complex, devoted either to reception or to private functions. The multi-courtyard house is analyzed and contrasted with the nomads’ tent, which exemplifies the undifferentiated, single-space (type 1) solution.

Finally, attention is drawn to some of the changes in space use that have recently taken place through the multiple occupancy of large houses. As the courtyard house becomes home to increasing numbers of families, the traditional provisions for hospitality and privacy have ceased to have any meaning.

THE TRADITIONAL ARAB COURTYARD IN THE CONTEXT OF ISLAMIC CULTURE
Subir Saha and Salwa Mikhael

The Arab world has been influenced strongly by pre-Islamic traditions such as those of the ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Greek and Roman civilizations. In fact, Islamic tradition has been influenced by most all traditions which existed in present-day Arab lands in former times, an influence that permeates all spheres of Arab life, and in particular, Arab architectural expression.

Since the most prominent feature of Islamic architectural expression in Arab countries today is the courtyard building style, a brief overview and analysis of pre-Islamic architecture is necessary to understand where this building style came from.

This will bring us to the Islamic era, where the privacy of the family, and of women in particular, is a basic need, according to stipulations in the holy Quran, quotations from the Prophet Mohammed, and the traditions that have formed a second source of law for Muslims. This does not mean, however, that the courtyard house morphology is the only Islamic style. On the contrary, Muslims in places such as northern Anatolia and India have found different kinds of house styles to suit their local resources and climatic conditions. For the purpose of this study, however, examples were taken from Damascus in Syria, a Mediterranean country where many old civilizations have flourished (also the native country of one of the authors). It is interesting to note how Islam has taken advantage of the existence of the courtyard form and modified it to such an extent that it has become one of the most important spatial elements in the traditional Arab house.